THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLGGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c. &c.,

EDITED BY

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E..
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

AND

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
MAJOR, BENGAL STAFF CORPS.

VOL. XX.—1891.

Swati Publications
Delhi
1985

Published by Swati Publications, 34 Central Market, Ashok Vihar, Delhi-110052 Ph. 7113395

and Printed by S.K. Mehra at Mehra Offset Press, Delhi.

CONTENTS.

The names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.

MISCELLANEA AND CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	tha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	ḷṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ẖ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḫ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ	—	ಱ	ṛa
Anunâsika	—	m̐	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೞ	l̤a
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî **marks of punctuation** than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets,** for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshar* or syllable.



THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME XX.—1891.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

A FEATURE of special interest in the grants of the Eastern Chalukya kings is the record, that many of them give, of the length of each successive reign, commencing with that of the founder of the dynasty, Vishṇuvardhana I. or Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, a younger brother of the Western Chalukya king Satyâśraya-Pulikêśin II. There has been no difficulty in deducing from these details the approximate historical period of each member of the family. But, the lengths of the reigns are mostly stated in even years, without fractions; the earliest case in which a specific date is given in the Saka era, is that of Amma II., whose coronation is recorded to have taken place in Saka-Saṁvat 867 (expired); and the reigns anterior to him covered, according to different records, from three hundred and twenty-nine to three hundred and forty years. Consequently, the limits within which the commencement of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana I. might be placed, were rather far apart; and a good deal of uncertainty attended also the dates of some of the intermediate rulers. As a matter of fact, in the most complete and authentic genealogical list of the family that has yet been given, — that published by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32, — the initial date of Vishṇuvardhana I. has been placed no less than eleven or twelve years before what I shall shew to be really the correct time; and Dr. Burnell, in his *South-Indian Palæography*, placed it, in the first instance five years after, and in the second instance eight or nine years before, the proper time (see page 4 below, note 5). The objects of the present paper are, to determine the exact period within which the starting-point of the Eastern Chalukya chronology must be placed; to adjust the dates of the successive reigns from that time; and to group together such historical details as are furnished by the records of the family and other documents.

There is a record from which we can determine very closely the period of the commencement of the reign of Satyâśraya-Pulikêśin II. And obviously, this is a preliminary point which must be considered first. The information is given in the Haidarâbâd grant (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73, line 11 ff.), which records that, while residing at the city of Vâtâpi (Bâdâmi in the Bijâpur District, Bombay Presidency), Pulikêśin II. granted the village of Mâkarappi to a Brâhmaṇ, — âtmanaḥ pravarddhamâna-râjyâbhishêka-saṁvatsarê tṛitîyê Saka-nṛipati-saṁvatsara-śatêshu chatustriṁś-âdhikêshu pañchasv=atîtêshu Bhâdrapad-âmâvâsyâyâṁ sûryya-grahaṇa-nimittaṁ, — "in the augmenting third year of (*my*) own installation in the sovereignty; when five centuries of the years of the Saka king (or kings), increased by the thirty-fourth (*year*), have gone by; on the new-moon day of (the month) Bhâdrapada; on account of an eclipse of the sun." I have had this date under consideration twice before; and it is

necessary now to dispose of it finally. On the first occasion on which I dealt with it (*ante*, Vol. XVI. p 109 f.), I brought to notice that it had been calculated some years ago by Mr. D. B. Hutcheon for Dr. Burgess, who passed the notes on to me, and also had been considered by Sir George Airy, with the result that the corresponding English date must be the 23rd July, A. D. 613; on that day there was a total or almost total eclipse of the sun; it was total probably at Bâdâmi, or certainly close to that place; and the totality occurred when the sun was very near the zenith of Bâdâmi; so that the eclipse was a very marked and memorable one for that locality. And I expressed the opinion that there could be no doubt that this eclipse is the one referred to. This opinion, however, was the result of a misconception. In the record, the given year, Saka-Samvat 534, is distinctly specified as an expired year; so that the details of the month and the eclipse belong to Saka-Samvat 535 current. In the published Tables, *e. g.* those of Mr. Cowasjee Patell and of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, which contain no distinct intimation that they are arranged for the expired years of the Hindu eras, Saka-Samvat 535 is shewn as commencing in A. D. 613. I was then under a mistaken impression, — which was by no means confined to myself; and which, I think, must in fact have had something to do with the case that was laid for consideration before Mr. Hutcheon and Sir George Airy, — which led me to suppose that A. D. 613-14 was the equivalent of Saka-Samvat 535 as a current year. And, as the 23rd July, A. D. 613, corresponds to the new-moon *tithi* of the first *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, — the month being in that year an intercalary month, — I entertained no suspicion as to the correctness of the result which I then published. Subsequently, however, I had occasion to consider specially the subject of the epoch and reckoning of the Saka era (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd., Appendix I. pp. 137 to 144; and *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 205 to 210). And, as a result of what I established in that inquiry, the above date, the 23rd July, A. D. 613, is, as a matter of fact, later by one year than the date given in the original record; being in reality the equivalent of the new-moon *tithi* of the first *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada of Saka-Samvat 536 current (535 expired). On this point, there is now no possibility of any doubt. And, on the second occasion on which I dealt with the date now under consideration (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 141), I brought to notice that the real equivalent of the new-moon *tithi* of the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada of Saka-Samvat 535 current (534 expired) was the **2nd August, A. D. 612.** On this date, also, there was a total eclipse of the sun. But it was not visible in or anywhere near India; because the line of centrality, commencing at sunrise in the North Pacific Ocean, ran across North America and the Atlantic, and ended at sunset about halfway across Africa, towards the north.[1] And I left the matter then with an expression of doubt, as to whether the record really refers to the eclipse of the 2nd August, A. D. 612, or whether the eclipse intended being that of the 23rd July, A. D. 613, we have in this record a genuine mistake in respect of the year that is quoted; the question being one for settlement when we should be in a position to determine whether invisible eclipses were, or were not, to be occasions of ceremonies and public acts. This latter point is one that has not yet been disposed of. But, whatever may be the strict custom of later times, other instances are accumulating, in which eclipses of the sun, at any rate, which we know to have been not visible in India, are quoted in genuine early records as occasions of ceremonies.[2] And though, looking back from the present time, and comparing the circumstances of the two eclipses, it does seem likely that a person in India would select for celebration that of A. D. 613, in preference to that of the year before, still there is in reality no option of the kind. We must, if it is found in any way possible, adhere to the details of the contemporaneous record,

[1] See von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 174, 175, and Plate 87; as also for the details of the eclipse of the 23rd July, A. D. 613.

[2] A noteworthy instance is the solar eclipse of the 2nd January, A. D. 987, which is referred to in Prof. Kielhorn's Vikrama date No. 83 (*ante*, Vol XIX. p. 166). It was a total eclipse. But it was visible only over a comparatively small area in North America and the Pacific Ocean. And yet it is the eclipse that answers to the other details of the given date. — Another instance is the solar eclipse of the 17th February, A. D 668, which is the only one that answers to the solar eclipse in Phâlguna in the fifth year of Vishṇuvardhana II. (see page 8 f. below). — See also a note on Wrong Predictions of Eclipses, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 323.

without seeking to vary them. And, though it was not visible in India, there really was an eclipse of the sun on the day denoted by the given details. Hence, I feel no doubt now, that we could not be justified in assuming the existence of any mistake in the Haidarâbâd record; and that, be the explanation what it may, the eclipse intended in it is that of the **2nd August, A. D. 612, belonging to Saka-Samvat 535 current** (534 expired); invisible in India though it was. As, then, the new-moon of Bhâdrapada, Saka-Samvat 535 current, fell in the third year of his reign, the new-moon of Bhâdrapada, Saka-Samvat 533 current, fell in his first year; and consequently **the accession of Pulikêsin II. took place,** on some day still to be exactly determined, **in A. D. 609 or 610**; on any day from Bhâdrapada śukla 1 of **Saka-Samvat 532 current,** up to the *pûrnimânta* Bhâdrapada krishṇa 15, the new-moon day, of **Saka-Samvat 533 current.** For the present, this point cannot be determined more closely; but this settlement of it is sufficient for the purposes of the inquiry in which we are now engaged.

The preceding result is our first guide, towards fixing **the initial point of the years of Vishṇuvardhana I.** Now, as has been intimated, for the coronation of Amma II., we have the date of Saka Samvat 868 current, with certain full details in the month of Mârgaśîrsha, the ninth month of the Hindu luni-solar year; and the corresponding English date is Friday, 5th December, A. D. 945 (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 102 f.). The previous reigns, as given in the same record, — P. in the series of documents quoted in the latter part of this paper, — covered three hundred and thirty-seven and a half years. Deducting $337\frac{1}{2}$ from $867\frac{3}{4}$, we have the early part of Saka-Samvat 530 current, for the approximate starting-point of the chronology. And this falls so near the period of the accession of Pulikêsin II., that, on previous occasions (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73, Vol. VII. p. 185; *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 23), I have assumed that a formal separation of the two branches of the Chalukya family took place practically at the time of the accession of Pulikêsin II.; and that the separate sovereignty of the Eastern Branch existed from that same date. This, however, is a view which the further acquisition of knowledge compels us now to correct. In the first place, the Sâtârâ grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 303 ff.), — dated in the eighth year of a *Mahârâja* who can be no one but Pulikêsin II., — gives to him only the subordinate title of *Yuvarâja*; thus shewing that at any rate up to Saka-Samvat 539 or 540 current there had been no actual separation of the two kingdoms; Pulikêsin II. was then reigning as the paramount sovereign of the entire Chalukya family, and Vishṇuvardhana I. was assisting him in a subordinate capacity. And in the second place, the materials for determining precisely the period within which lay the starting-point of the years of Vishṇuvardhana I., are to be found in another of his grants, from Chîpurupalle (page 15 ff. below), and in two grants of his grandson, Vishṇuvardhana II., the dates of which could not until recently be properly dealt with.

In the Chîpurupalle record, Vishṇuvardhana I. himself has the title of *Mahârâja*. And it records a grant made by him on the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon in the month Srâvaṇa**; while, at the end of the charter, the date is also given as being, — saṁ 10 8 mâ 4 di 10 5, — "the year 10 (*and*) 8; the month 4; the day 10 (*and*) 5;" or more explicitly, if the text is interpreted in the meaning which suggests itself as the most obvious one, at any rate according to European ideas, the grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, which took place on the full-moon day of the month Srâvaṇa, being the fifteenth day (of the bright fortnight) of the fourth month in the eighteenth year.

For the approximate period with which we have to deal, there were **eclipses of the moon on Srâvaṇa śukla 15,** commencing with the first such eclipse after the accession of Pulikêsin II., as follows:[3]—

Saka-Samvat 545 current; on the 28th July, A. D. 622. From the details given in von Oppolzer's *Canon*, Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit finds that this eclipse was not visible anywhere in India.

[3] See von Oppolzer's *Canon*, p. 353.

Saka-Saṁvat 546 current ; on the 17th July, A. D. 623. This eclipse was visible all over India.

Saka-Saṁvat 555 current ; on the 7th July, A. D. 632. This eclipse was visible all over India.

Saka-Saṁvat 564 current ; on the 27th July, A. D. 641. This eclipse was visible all over India.

Saka-Saṁvat 573 current ; on the 18th July, A. D. 650. This eclipse was visible all over India.

Saka-Saṁvat 574 current ; on the 8th July, A. D. 651. This eclipse was visible all over India. In this year Srâvaṇa was an intercalary month ; and the eclipse took place on the full-moon day of the first Srâvaṇa.

The first point to be noted is, that there was no eclipse of the moon in Srâvaṇa in the eighteenth year of Pulikêśin II. ; when the month in question would fall in Saka-Saṁvat 550 or 551 current, according to what may be the exact date of the commencement of his reign.[4] **The date, therefore, must belong to the eighteenth year of Vishṇuvardhana I. himself.** And the next point is, to determine which of the eclipses, noted above, is the one referred to.

Of these eclipses, the first two have been considered before, by Dr. Burnell, and by Dr. Burgess. Dr. Burnell's opinion (*South-Indian Palæography*, p. 137, note 2) was that the only possible date is one or other of these two. And, while mentioning Dr. Burgess' preference, because it was fully visible, for the eclipse of the 17th July, A. D. 623, he rejected it because, "as this occurred in the evening, it seems, astrologically, inadmissible (*conf.* Hêmachandra's *Dânakhaṇḍa*, pp. 61-62, 79);" and he expressed his own opinion that the eclipse of the 28th July, A. D. 622, "appears to satisfy all the necessary conditions." On the other hand, in some notes on the Eastern Chalukya chronology which he made over to me in 1878, Dr. Burgess, who had examined all the lunar eclipses in Srâvaṇa from A. D. 600 to 663, repeated his conclusion that the eclipse in question must be that of the 17th July, A. D. 623. Both of these eclipses, however, equally fail to meet the requirements of the case. On Dr. Burgess' view of the matter, — if the full-moon of Srâvaṇa, Saka-Saṁvat 546 current, fell in the eighteenth year of Vishṇuvardhana I., then the full-moon of Srâvaṇa, Saka-Saṁvat 529 current, fell in his first year ; and his reign commenced on some day from the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada-kṛishṇa 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 528 current, up to Srâvaṇa śukla 15 of Saka-Saṁvat 529 current. But, that Vishṇuvardhana I. should ascend the throne of Veṅgî three full years at least, — or, on Dr. Burnell's view of the equivalent of the date in question, fully four years,[5] — before the accession of his elder brother Pulikêśin II. to the throne of the Western Branch of the family, is out of the question. Anterior to Saka-Saṁvat 532 or 533 current, he could be *Yuvarâja* only on behalf of his uncle Maṅgalêśa.[6] But the contemporaneous Aihole inscription tells us (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 244), that Maṅgalêśa sought to secure the succession for his own son ; and, with such an object in view, he certainly would not entrust any share of the sovereign power to either of his nephews, even in the eastern part of the country, if it then formed a portion of the Chalukya dominions. This reason, alone, is quite sufficient to lead to the rejection of both the above eclipses. And on this account, and on other grounds which will be shewn further on, I select, instead, the next, — **the eclipse of the 7th**

[4] Nor was there any such eclipse in the sixteenth year of his reign, when the month in question would fall in Saka-Saṁvat 548 or 549. I note this, because I originally read the year of the date, now under consideration, as the sixteenth year ; see page 17 below, note 8.

[5] Or respectively one and two years, if the date in question were really in the sixteenth year of his reign. — In his genealogical Table (*South-Indian Palæography*, Second Edition, p. 21), Dr. Burnell gave "about 620 A. D." for the date of Vishṇuvardhana I., and apparently as his initial date. This must have been repeated from the first edition of his book, without allowing for the intermediate recognition by me of the date in the Chîpurupalle record. Taking the latter into consideration, with his date of the 28th July, A. D. 622, for the lunar eclipse, the initial point would lie in Saka-Saṁvat 528 current, in A. D. 605. And Dr. Burnell himself, following my reading of the sixteenth year, gave "about 606-7 A. D." (*loc. cit.* p. 139, note 3).

[6] I would note here, that I find that I allowed a careless mistake to remain uncorrected in Vol. XIX. p. 10, line 13 from the bottom, in connection with the accession of Maṅgalêśa ; the words "A. D. 497 or 498" should be "A. D. 597 or 598."

July, A. D. 632, which occurred on the full-moon day of Srâvaṇa of Saka-Saṁvat 555 current. Then, this date being in his eighteenth year, the full-moon of Srâvaṇa, 'Saka-Saṁvat 538 current, fell in his first year; and **the initial point of the years of Vishṇuvardhana I.** may have lain, so far, anywhere from the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 537 current up to Srâvaṇa śukla 15 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 538 current. As, however, the day of the eclipse, 'Srâvaṇa śukla 15 of Saka-Saṁvat 555 current, is specified as the fifteenth day (of the bright fortnight) of the fourth month in his eighteenth year, that eighteenth year plainly began in or with the month Vaiśâkha of 'Saka-Saṁvat 555 current. Consequently, **his first year began in A. D. 615, in or with the month Vaiśâkha of Saka-Saṁvat 538 current**; five or six years after the commencement of the reign of Pulikêśin II. Taking the month as the *pûrṇimânta* month, ending with the full-moon *tithi*, the corresponding English period is from **the 21st March to the 19th April, A. D. 615.** And, unless the immediately preceding Chaitra śukla 1 of the same year should be preferred, in accordance with an alternative possibility which will be considered further on, this gives the precise period within which lay **the exact starting-point of the Eastern Chalukya chronology.** I shall justify this result by means of two other dates of leading importance. Here, it only remains to add, that **the historical event** which gave this starting-point, **was the installation of Vishṇuvardhana I.**, not as the *Mahârâja* or independent king of a separate kingdom, but **as Yuvarâja**, associated in the government with his elder brother Pulikêśin II. Reference has been made already to his Sâtârâ grant, dated in the eighth year of Pulikêśin II.; the given month is Kârttika, which fell in A. D. 616 or 617, according to what may be the exact initial point of the years of Pulikêśin II.; and, when he issued this charter, at least eighteen months after the period that has been arrived at above, Vishṇuvardhana I. still had only the rank and title of *Yuvarâja*.

We have now to consider **two slightly later dates, of the time of Vishṇuvardhana II.**, the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana I. **The first of them** is contained in a charter, found somewhere in the Nellore District, Madras Presidency, which records that he made a grant of the village of Reyûru to some Brâhmaṇs, — (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 189, line 65 ff.; for a lithograph, see Vol. VIII. p. 320), varddhamâna-râjya-dv[iti]ya[7]-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsê śukla-pakshê daśamyâṁ Maghâ-nakshatrê[8] Budhavârêshu,[9] — "in the augmenting second year of the reign, **in the month Chaitra,** in the bright fortnight, on the tenth *tithi*, **under the Maghâ nakshatra, on Wednesday.**" With the earliest starting-point that has been proposed for the years of Vishṇuvardhana I., — that of 'Saka-Saṁvat 526 (expired) given by Dr. Hultzsch, — and with the shortest period recorded for the intervening reign of Jayasiṁha I., *viz.* thirty years,[10] the year in which this date should fall, cannot be looked for before Saka-Saṁvat 526 + 18 + 30 + 1 = Saka-Saṁvat 575 current. Still, allowing a slight margin before that year, **the calculations for Chaitra śukla 10** are as follows:—

Saka-Saṁvat 573 current; Chaitra śukla 10 began on **Wednesday, 17th** March, A. D. 650, at about 39 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), and ended on the Thursday, at about 42 *gh.* 10 *p.* But the moon was

[7] I am not quite certain whether the superscript *i* of the first syllable was omitted altogether, from want of sufficient space between the top of the *dv* and the subscript *y* in the line above; or whether it was inserted imperfectly, and then became damaged and illegible, along with the following *ti*. But the letters *dv* and *ya* are so distinct that no reading can be adopted except *dvitîya*, 'the second (year):'

[8] When I edited this grant, I thought that perhaps two *aksharas*, containing the name of a second *nakshatra* also, might have been broken away at the end of line 66, after *maghâ*. But this is not the case. The last *akshara*, *ghô*, does not reach quite to the end of the line, leaving a little more margin than usual; but this seems to be in consequence of an original fault in the copper. There is not room enough for two more *aksharas*, without encroaching on the margin, where the second of them would be distinctly visible, beyond the fault. Moreover, the name of a second *nakshatra* would be altogether unmeaning, without also a word to indicate that the Maghâ *nakshatra* had ended, and the next had commenced.

[9] Read *budhavârê*. This is not an instance of the use of the instrumental singular; unless *budhavârêshu* was written by mistake for °*vârêṇa*. But it appears that the locative plural was used intentionally; under the idea that the *tithi*, the *nakshatra*, and the week-day, were being expressed in a compound.

[10] The grants K. to O., and Q. to W., say thirty-three years; P. and X. say thirty.

not in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on the Wednesday. Even by the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, which gives the earliest chance in the case of this *nakshatra*, the moon did not enter Maghâ till about 6 hrs. 34 min., = 16 *gh.* 25 *p.*, (for Ujjain), on the Thursday.

Saka-Saṁvat 574 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Monday, 7th March, A. D. 651, at about 47 *gh.* 10 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 575 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Sunday, 25th March, A. D. 652, at about 30 *gh.* 20 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 576 current; Chaitra śukla 10 began on **Wednesday**, 13th March, A. D. 653, at about 35 *gh.* 50 *p.*, and ended on the Thursday, at about 36 *gh.* 45 *p.* But the moon was not in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on the Wednesday. Even by the Brahma-Siddhânta system, the moon did not enter Maghâ till about 17 hrs. 44 min., = 44 *gh.* 20 *p.*, on the Thursday.

Saka-Saṁvat 577 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Monday, 3rd March, A. D. 654, at about 58 *gh.* 40 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 578 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Sunday, 22nd March, A. D. 655, at about 58 *gh.* 35 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 579 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Friday, 11th March, A. D. 656, at about 41 *gh.* 5 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 580 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on **Wednesday**, 1st March, A. D. 657, at about 19 *gh.* 55 *p.* But the moon was not in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on the Wednesday. By the Brahma-Siddhânta system, the moon did not enter Maghâ till about 3 hrs. 16 min., = 8 *gh.* 10 *p.*, on the Thursday.

Saka-Saṁvat 581 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Tuesday, 20th March, A. D. 658, at about 17 *gh.* 5 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 582 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Saturday, 9th March, A. D. 659, at about 32 *gh.* 15 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 583 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Friday, 27th March, A. D. 660, at about 17 *ghaṭîs.*

Saka-Saṁvat 584 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Tuesday, 16th March, A. D. 661, at about 18 *gh.* 45 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 585 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Saturday, 5th March, A. D. 662, at about 28 *gh.* 30 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 586 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Friday, 24th March, A. D. 663, at about 23 *gh.* 20 *p.*

Saka-Saṁvat 587 current; by Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, Chaitra śukla 10 began on Tuesday, 12th March, A. D. 664, at about 3 *gh.* 55 *p.* (for Bombay), and ended at about 57 *gh.* 45 *p.* on the same day; it was accordingly an expunged *tithi* for Bombay; and the same would be the case for Râjamahêndri also, as the approximate difference in time is only 1 *gh.* 30 *p.* later. By Prof. Jacobi's Tables, Chaitra śukla 10 began on the Tuesday, at about 2 hrs. 20 min., = 5 *gh.* 50 *p.*, (for Ujjain), and ended at about 23 hrs. 46 min., = 59 *gh.* 25 *p.*, on the same day; and it was similarly an expunged *tithi* for Ujjain. The difference of time for Râjamahêndri, however, seemed likely to make the *tithi* end

there on the Wednesday. And the moon was in the Maghâ *nakshatra* at sunrise on the Wednesday, by the Brahma-Siddhânta and Garga-systems of unequal spaces; and, later on in the day, by also the equal-space system. Under these circumstances, and because this Wednesday seemed to be undoubtedly the real equivalent of the given date, I asked Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit to determine the times accurately; and he has done so, with the following results, in which the times are all for apparent sunrise at Râjamahêndri: — **Chaitra śukla 10** commenced at 6 *gh.* 48 *p.* on the Tuesday, and **ended on Wednesday, 13th March, A. D. 664,** at 1 *gh.* 1 *p.*, = 24 min. 24 sec.; and it is the *tithi* śukla 11 which, ending at 55 *gh.* 39 *p.*, = 22 hrs. 15·6 min., on the same day, was the expunged *tithi.* **And on the Wednesday, there was the Maghâ nakshatra for the moon,** by all the three systems. By the equal-space system, it began at 29 *ghaṭis* on the Wednesday, and continued during all the rest of the day. By the Garga system of unequal spaces, it began at 45 *palas* on the Wednesday, and ended at 57 *gh.* 12 *p.* on the same day. And by the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, it began at 55 *gh.* 5 *p.* on the Tuesday, and ended at 50 *gh.* 55 *p.* on the Wednesday.[11]

Śaka-Saṁvat 588 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Sunday, 2nd March, A. D. 665, at about 40 *gh.* 35 *p.*

Śaka-Saṁvat 589 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on Saturday, 21st March, A. D. 666, at about 42 *gh.* 30 *p.*

Śaka-Saṁvat 590 current; Chaitra śukla 10 began on **Wednesday,** 10th March, A. D. 667, at about 10 *gh.* 20 *p.*, and ended on the Thursday, at about 10 *gh.* 55 *p.* But the moon was not in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on the Wednesday. Even by the Brahma-Siddhânta system, the moon did not enter Maghâ till about 7 hrs. 52 min., = 19 *gh.* 40 *p.*, on the Thursday.

Śaka-Saṁvat 591 current; Chaitra śukla 10 ended on **Wednesday,** 29th March, A. D. 668, at about 20 *palas.* And on this day there was **the Maghâ nakshatra for the moon,** by the equal-space system only; it was current at sunrise, and it ended at about 10 hrs. 30 min., = 26 *gh.* 15 *p.* By the Garga system of unequal spaces, it had ended at about 22 hrs. 2 min., = 55 *gh.* 5 *p.*, and by the Brahma-Siddhânta system of unequal spaces, at about 19 hrs. 24 min., = 48 *gh.* 30 *p.*, on the Tuesday.

In my published version of this grant, the date was given as lying somewhere about Śaka-Saṁvat 591 current (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 186). How this statement came to be made and was allowed to stand, especially in the face of the fact that in the same paper a date in the fifth

[11] It is not necessary; still, I may mention that on this occasion, simply from want of leisure, I furnished Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit with no information as to the object that I had in view; but gave him merely the details of Śaka-Saṁvat 586 expired, Chaitra śukla 10, and asked him to determine with extreme accuracy, for Râjamahêndri, the week-day and ending-time of the *tithi*, and the *nakshatras.* — The above results are by the original *Sûrya-Siddhânta.* By the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta* they are very similar: — The *tithi* śukla 10 began at 6 *gh.* 10 *p.* on the Tuesday, and ended at 32 *palas* on the Wednesday; and the *tithi* śukla 11, ending at 55 *gh.* 20 *p.* on the same day, was expunged. By the equal-space system, the Maghâ *nakshatra*, for the moon, began at 28 *gh.* 53 *p.* on the Wednesday, and continued during all the rest of the day. By the Garga system of unequal spaces, it began at 32 *palas* on the Wednesday, and ended at 57 *gh.* 12 *p.* on the same day. And by the Brahma-Siddhânta system unequal spaces, it began at 54 *gh.* 52 *p.* on the Tuesday, and ended at 50 *gh.* 51 *p.* on the Wednesday. — In determining the apparent times, only the *chara*-correction has been taken into account.

year of the same reign was referred to Saka-Saṁvat 582 current (*id.* p. 191), — and how it came to be made also in the editorial note issued with the lithograph (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 320), — I am not able to say. Looking through the above results, we see, indeed, that in 'Saka-Saṁvat 591 current the given *tithi* did certainly end on a Wednesday, *viz.* the 29th March, A. D. 668; and that the moon was in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on that day, by one out of the three systems of the ending-points of the *nakshatras*. But these facts were not known to me then, And the year given in Dr. Burgess' notes, is Saka-Saṁvat 579 (expired); which fitted in well enough with the view that the starting-point of the years of the dynasty lay in 'Saka-Saṁvat 529 current (528 + 18 + 33 + 1 = 580 current). In that year, the given *tithi* did certainly end on a Wednesday; *viz.* the 1st March, A. D. 657. But this date is not admissible; for the reason that the moon was not in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on that day. The above results shew that the only years in which the given *tithi*, Chaitra śukla 10, was connected both with a Wednesday and with the Maghâ *nakshatra* for the moon, are Saka-Saṁvat 587 and 591 current. The latter year might answer fairly well, on the understanding that the length of the reign of Jayasiṁha I. was thirty-three years (537 + 18 + 33 + 1 = 589 current). But it is rendered inadmissible by the results for the remaining date, to be shewn in the next paragraph; for, there is no eclipse of the sun in Phâlguna, which would then answer to the solar eclipse in that month in the fifth year of the same reign. Accordingly, we can only accept the conclusion, that the English equivalent of the given date is **Wednesday, 13th March, A. D. 664, corresponding to Chaitra śukla 10 of Saka-Saṁvat 587 current,** on which day **the moon was in the Maghâ nakshatra** by all three systems.

The remaining date is contained in another charter of Vishṇuvardhana II., obtained apparently from Maṭṭewâḍa in the Kistna District, Madras Presidency, which includes the following passage, — (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 192, line 19 f.), a(â)tmanô vijaya-râjya-pañchamê saṁvatsarê Phâlguṇa(na)-mâsê amâvâsyâyâm sûryya-grahaṇa-nimi[ttaṁ],[12] — "in the year which is the fifth in (*my*) own victorious reign; **in the month Phâlguna;** on the new-moon *tithi*; on account of **an eclipse of the sun.**" Here we have to find **an eclipse of the sun in the month Phâlguna,** which shall be in suitable accordance with the details of the earlier date in the second year of the same reign. And for comparison with the years mentioned above in connection with Chaitra śukla 10 in the second year, we have **eclipses of the sun on the new-moon day of Phâlguna** as follows:[13]—

Saka-Saṁvat 573 current; on the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 27th January, A. D. 651; a partial eclipse; the line of the middle of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.; and so the eclipse was probably not visible anywhere in India.

Saka-Saṁvat 580 current; on the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 8th February, A. D. 658; a partial eclipse; the line of the middle of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.

Saka-Saṁvat 580 current; on the *amânta* Phâlguna kṛishna new-moon, corresponding to the 9th March, A. D. 658; a partial eclipse; the line of the middle of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.

Saka-Saṁvat 581 current; on the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 28th January, A. D. 659; an annular total eclipse; the central line of the eclipse ended at sunset in Lat. 51° N., Long. 39° E.; and so the eclipse cannot have been visible anywhere in India, even in the extreme north-west.

[12] The second plate ends with the *mi* of *nimittaṁ*; and the rest of the charter has been lost. The exact purport of it, therefore, is not determinable. But it appears to have recorded the grant of some land, to a Brâhman, at the village of Palliyâḍa.

[13] See von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 178-181, and Plate 90.

Saka-Saṁvat 588 current; on the *amânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 11th March, A. D. 666; an annular eclipse; not visible anywhere near India; the central line of the eclipse ended at sunset in Lat. 25° S., Long. 17° E.

Saka-Saṁvat 589 current; on the *amânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 28th February, A. D. 667; an annular eclipse; not visible anywhere near India; the central line of the eclipse ended at sunset in Lat. 24° N., Long. 6° W.

Saka-Saṁvat 590 current; on the pûrṇimânta Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 17th February, A. D. 668; an annular eclipse; not visible anywhere in India; the central line of the eclipse commenced at sunrise in Lat. 13° N., Long. 133° E., and ended at sunset in Lat. 64° N., Long. 115° W.

Saka-Saṁvat 591 current; on the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 6th February, A. D. 669; the line of the middle of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.

Saka-Saṁvat 598 current; on the *amânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa new-moon, corresponding to the 19th February, A. D. 676; the line of the middle of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.

In my published version of this grant, Saka-Saṁvat 582 current was given as the probable equivalent of the given year (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 191). And Dr. Burgess' notes are to the effect that the eclipse in question could only be one which occurred on the 18th January, A. D. 660; which day was taken by him as the equivalent of the new-moon of Phâlguna of Saka-Saṁvat 581 (expired). On this day there was a total eclipse of the sun, which was visible, not long after sunrise, over probably the whole of Southern India. But, whether Bhâdrapada is taken as the intercalary month in Saka-Saṁvat 582 current, according to the published Tables, and in accordance with the present system, — or whether the rule of mean intercalation is followed, according to which the intercalary month would be Kârttika,[14] — the day in question was the new-moon *tithi*, not of Phâlguna, but of the *amânta* Pausha or the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha. However, we require an eclipse to fit in with the result taken above, that Chaitra śukla 10 in the second year of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana II. was Chaitra śukla 10 of Saka-Saṁvat 587 current, corresponding to the 13th March, A. D. 664. From that result, it follows that the Chaitra śukla 10 of his fifth year was the Chaitra śukla 10 of Saka-Saṁvat 590 current. Consequently, the new moon of Phâlguna in his fifth year might lie either in Saka-Saṁvat 589 current, or in 590. And thus the required eclipse might be found in that of the 28th February, A. D. 667, falling in Saka-Saṁvat 589 current. But I consider this eclipse to be distinctly not admissible; because the day was the new-moon *tithi* of the *amânta* Phâlguna; whereas the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights, which continued in use in Southern India up to at any rate Saka-Saṁvat 727 (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 141 f.), is certainly the proper one for the period with which we are dealing. The required eclipse is undoubtedly that which took place on **the 17th February, A. D. 668, corresponding to the new-moon tithi of the pûrṇimânta Phâlguna of Saka-Saṁvat 590 current;** it is true, as has been stated above, that this eclipse was not visible in India; but the same remark appears to be applicable to all the eclipses, one or other of which must be the one intended. Now, this date being in the fifth year of Vishṇuvardhana II., the new-moon of the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna of Saka-Saṁvat 586 current fell in his first year; and the first day of his first year might, so far, be any day from Phâlguna śukla 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 585 current, up to the *pûrṇimânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa 15 of Saka-Saṁvat 586 current. Again, Chaitra

[14] I owe this to Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit.

śukla 10 of Saka-Saṁvat 587 current being, as we have seen above, in his second year, Chaitra śukla 10, also, of Saka-Saṁvat 586 current fell in his first year; and the first day of his first year might, so far as this date is concerned, be any day from Chaitra śukla 11 of Saka-Saṁvat 585 current up to Chaitra śukla 10 of Śaka-Saṁvat 586 current. But the two dates together limit the period for the initial day of this reign to a very short time; and indicate that **the accession of Vishṇuvardhana II. took place in A. D. 663,** on some day from Phâlguna śukla 1 of **Saka-Saṁvat 585 current,** up to Chaitra śukla 10 of **Saka-Saṁvat 586 current**; the corresponding English period is from **the 14th February to the 24th March, A. D. 663.**

A few words seem desirable here, to present **the results which I put forward as the correct ones,** in direct comparison with the views that I reject. With Dr. Burnell's opinion as to the date of the lunar eclipse mentioned in the Chîpurupalle grant of Vishṇuvardhana I., and paying attention to the number by which the month is denoted, the initial point of his years would be the month Vaiśâkha of Saka-Saṁvat 528 current (see page 4 above, note 5). Adding the reign that then commenced and lasted for eighteen years, and either thirty or thirty-three years for the reign of Jayasiṁha I., and one complete year of the next reign, we arrive at the period Saka-Saṁvat 576 to 579 current, for the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II., in which we have the date of Chaitra śukla 10, coupled with Wednesday and the Maghâ *nakshatra*. With Dr. Burgess' opinion as to the date of the lunar eclipse in question, the initial point of the years of Vishṇuvardhana I. would be the month Vaiśâkha of Saka-Saṁvat 529 current. And, proceeding in the same way, we have the period Saka-Saṁvat 577 to 580 current, for the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II. And Dr. Hultzsch has placed the initial point in Saka-Saṁvat 526 or 527 (expired); which brings us to either of the above periods, according to the date that is to be selected for the lunar eclipse. To suit the above views, we might take either Saka-Saṁvat 576 current or 580 current (see page 6 above); in both of which years Chaitra śukla 10 was connected with a Wednesday. But they are both inadmissible; in the first place, because in neither case was the moon in the Maghâ *nakshatra* on the same day; and in the second place, because in neither instance is there a solar eclipse in the month Phâlguna for the fifth year of the same reign; in the first case, the only available eclipses (see page 8 above) are in Saka-Saṁvat 580 current, which could not fall earlier than in the sixth year; and in the second case, the only available eclipse is that of Saka-Saṁvat 581 current, which could not fall later than in the fourth year. Moreover, to each of these views there is the objection, which is in itself sufficient to entail their rejection, that they make the initial point of the years of Vishṇuvardhana I. lie before the accession of his elder brother Pulikêśin II. On the other hand, for **the lunar eclipse of the eighteenth year of Vishṇuvardhana I.,** I select that of **the 7th July, A. D. 632, in Srâvaṇa of Saka-Saṁvat 555 current** (see page 4 above). Following one of the alternative statements as to the length of the reign of Jayasiṁha I., and taking it as thirty years, we arrive quite naturally at **Saka-Saṁvat 587 current, for the second year of Vishṇuvardhana II.**; and in that year, as required, the week-day for the given *tithi* Chaitra śukla 10, as an ended *tithi*, was **Wednesday, 13th March, A. D. 664**; and on that day **the moon was in the Maghâ nakshatra** (see page 6 f. above). And in perfect accordance with this, there was **a solar eclipse in his fifth year, on the 17th February, A. D. 668,** being the new-moon day of **the pûrṇimânta Phâlguna of Saka-Saṁvat 590 current** (see page 9 above). **These three dates are in perfectly natural accordance with each other**; and they entail no straining of the facts in any way, except in following the minority of the records, and taking the length of the reign of Jayasiṁha I. as thirty years only, on the understanding that some of the records mistakenly included three years of *Yuvarâja*-ship as part of his actual reign. And, as is required, **they place the initial point of the chronology later than the accession of Pulikêśin II., by five or six years.** For these reasons, therefore, there can be no doubt that the dates now put forward are the correct ones; and that, as has been shewn in detail above, the first year of Vishṇuvardhana I., and with it the chronology of the latter records of his dynasty, commenced **in or with the month of Vaiśâkha of Saka-Saṁvat 538 current,** corresponding to

the period from the 21st March to the 19th April, A. D. 615; — unless Chaitra śukla 1 of the same year should be preferred, in accordance with a possibility that is to be considered further on.

With these leading dates thus determined, and with the dates which elsewhere have been shewn to be the days of the coronation of Amma II. and Râjarâja I. (*ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 103, 130), we can now proceed to adjust **the beginning and the end of each successive reign.** Anterior to the time of Amma II., the only difficulty, — apart from the fact that the periods are for the most part stated only in even years, without fractions, — is in respect of the reign of Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II. The grant P. states that he reigned for forty-eight years; and M., N., and Q. to X., agree in this respect; L., however, puts the duration of his reign at forty-four years; while K. and O. say only forty. I find that from no point of view, if we look to such details as are considered in the arrangement of the first of my two Lists, can a reign of forty-eight years be allowed for, unless we make such large reductions as practically to shorten some of the reigns by a full year each; moreover, it seems almost an impossible length, following, in a new generation, after reigns of thirty-seven, eighteen, and thirty-six years, in three successive generations. Forty years is the period that fits in most naturally for the reign in question. But a reign of forty-four years can be admitted, without any special difficulty, if, from the time of Vishṇuvardhana II. to that of Châlukya-Bhîma II., both included, we shorten by one month each reign of seven and nine years; by three months, each reign longer than nine years and under twenty years; by four months, each reign exceeding twenty years and ranging up to thirty years; and by five months, each of the four reigns in excess of thirty years. And this is the figure that I have here adopted; being strongly inclined to think that the statement in L. is the correct one, though, for the present, it stands alone; the explanation of the discrepant statements would be, that he actually reigned for forty-four years, after ruling for four years as *Yuvarâja*; that in M., N., and P. to X., the four years of *Yuvarâja*-ship were erroneously added to the forty-four years of his reign; and that in K. and O. a mistake was made in the other direction, and, it being thought that the forty-four years included his four years of *Yuvarâja*-ship, four years were deducted, and his actual reign was thus reduced to forty years.[15]

We thus obtain the results exhibited in **the List on page 12 below.**[16] Partly to shew the way in which the details have been arranged, and partly to explain why there is apparently not always a uniform difference between the years A. D. and the Saka years, I have inserted certain months with the years A. D.[17] These months, except in a few cases, are of course hypothetical, and subject to any future correction. But, allowing for this, the List may be taken as giving, very closely, the real dates for the successive kings of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, up to the latest time for which information has been obtained.

---

15 In the case of Jayasiṁha I., the statement of the minority is certainly the correct one; since, from no point of view can a reign of thirty-three years be allotted to him. — Discrepant statements may possibly be obtained hereafter in respect of Guṇaka-Vijayâditya III. At present all the grants state that he reigned for forty-four years; but U. adds the alternative statement, "or forty-eight years," in a separate verse.

16 The order of succession given by me differs from that given by Dr. Hultzsch in his Genealogical Table from after No. 27, Râjarâja I. Dr. Hultzsch took the succession of the rulers of Vengî. But from that point the Eastern Chalukyas were primarily kings of the Chôḷa kingdom; and Vengî was an appanage of the crown, governed by viceroys. I have followed the actual dynastic succession.

17 To convert current Saka years into years A. D., the additive quantity is 77-78. In the present day, with the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurring on or about the 12th April, 77 is to be added for the first nine months of a Saka year, corresponding roughly to the English months April to December; and 78 for the last three months, answering to January to March. For the Eastern Chalukya period, when the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti ranged from the 19th to the 25th March, and Chaitra śukla 1 ranged from the 20th February to the 24th March (see Gen. Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*), the additive quantities may be taken as 77 for the first ten months of the luni-solar Saka year, corresponding roughly to the English months March to December; and 78 for the last two months, answering to January and February.

List of the Eastern Chalukya Kings.

Order and Names.	Length of Reign.			A. D.	Current Saka Year.
	Y.	M.	D.		
1; Vishnuvardhana I., Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana; the commencement of his years was in or with the month Vaiśâkha of Saka-Saṁvat 538 current, corresponding to the period from the 21st March to the 19th April, A. D. 615	18	0	0	March 615 to March 633	538 to 556
2; Jayasiṁha I.; eldest son of No. 1	30	0	0	„ 633 to Feb. 663	556 to 585
3; Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka; younger brother of No. 2.	0	0	7	Feb. 663	585
4; Vishṇuvardhana II.; son of No. 3; the commencement of his years was in the period from Phâlguna śukla 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 585 current to Chaitra śukla 16 of Saka-Saṁvat 586 current, corresponding to the period from the 14th February to the 24th March, A. D. 663	9	0	0	„ 663 to Jan. 672	585 to 594
5; Maṅgi-Yuvarâja; son of No. 4.........	25	0	0	Jan. 672 to Sept. 696	594 to 619
6; Jayasiṁha II.; eldest son of No. 5.........	13	0	0	Sept. 696 to June 709	619 to 632
7; Kokkili; youngest brother of No. 6	0	6	0	June 709 to Dec. 709	632
8; Vishṇuvardhana III.; elder brother of No. 7.	37	0	0	Dec. 709 to July 746	632 to 669
9; Vijayâditya I., Bhaṭṭâraka; son of No. 8 ...	18	0	0	July 746 to April 764	669 to 687
10; Vishṇuvardhana IV.; son of No. 9	36	0	0	April 764 to Nov. 799	687 to 722
11; Vijayâditya II.; Narêndramṛigarâja; son of No. 10	44	0	0	Nov. 799 to June 843	722 to 766
12; Vishnuvardhana V., Kali-Vishṇuvardhana; son of No. 11	1	6	0	June 843 to Dec. 844	766 to 767
13; Vijayâditya III., Guṇaka; eldest son of No. 12.........	44	0	0	Dec. 844 to July 888	767 to 811
14; Châlukya-Bhîma I.; son of the *Yuvarâja* Vikramâditya I., a younger brother of No. 13.........	30	0	0	July 888 to March 918	811 to 841
15; Vijayâditya IV., Kollabigaṇḍa; eldest son of No. 14.........	0	6	0	March 918 to Sept. 918	841
16; Amma I., Vishṇuvardhana VI.; eldest son of No. 15.........	7	0	0	Sept. 918 to Aug. 925	841 to 848
17; Vijayâditya V., Bêta; eldest son of No. 16 ...	0	0	15	Aug. 925	848
18; Tâḍapa; son of Yuddhamalla I., who was a younger brother of the *Yuvarâja* Vikramâditya I. (see under No. 14)	0	1	0	Aug. 925 to Sept. 925	848
19; Vikramâditya II.; younger brother of No. 15.	0	11	0	Sept. 925 to Aug. 926	848 to 849
20; Bhîma III.; younger brother of No. 17.........	0	8	0	Aug. 926 to April 927	849 to 850
21; Yuddhamalla II.; son of No. 18.........	7	0	0	April 927 to March 934	850 to 857
22; Châlukya-Bhîma II, Vishṇuvardhana VII.; younger brother of No. 16.........	12	0	0	March 934 to Dec. 945	857 to 868
23; Amma II., Vijayâditya VI.; second son of No. 22; crowned on the 5th December, A. D. 945	25	0	0	Dec. 945 to „ 970	868 to 893
24; Dânârṇava; elder brother of No. 23	3	0	0	„ 970 to „ 973	893 to 896
An unexplained interval; according to the records, of twenty-seven years; but in reality, of about thirty; say	29	8	0	„ 973 to Aug. 1003	896 to 926
25; Saktivarman, Châlukya-Chandra; eldest son of No. 24	12	0	0	Aug. 1003 to „ 1015	926 to 938
26; Vimalâditya; younger brother of No. 25	7	0	0	„ 1015 to „ 1022	938 to 945
27; Râjarâja I., Vishṇuvardhana VIII.; eldest son of No. 26; crowned on the 16th August, A. D. 1022.........	41	0	0	„ 1022 to „ 1063	945 to 986
28; Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva I.; son of No. 27......	49	0	0	„ 1063 to „ 1112	986 to 1035
29; Vikrama-Chôḍa; eldest son of No. 28	15	0	0	„ 1112 to „ 1127	1035 to 1050
30; Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva II.; son of No. 29; we have a record of his time, dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1056	....			„ 1127 to	1050 to ......

Alternative List of the Eastern Chalukya Kings;
taking Chaitra śukla 1 as the First Day of each Regnal Year.

Order and Names.	Length of Reign. Y.	M.	D.	Current Śaka Years.
1; Vishṇuvardhana I. ...	18	0	0	538 to 555
2; Jayasiṁha I.	30	0	0	556 to 585
3; Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka	0	0	7	(585)
4; Vishṇuvardhana II...	9	0	0	586 to 594
5; Maṅgi-Yuvarâja	25	0	0	595 to 619
6; Jayasiṁha II.	13	0	0	620 to 632
7; Kokkili	0	6	0	(632)
8; Vishṇuvardhana III.	37	0	0	632 to 668
9; Vijayâditya I.	18	0	0	668 to 685
10; Vishṇuvardhana IV.	36	0	0	686 to 721
11; Vijayâditya II.........	48	0	0	721 to 768
12; Vishṇuvardhana V....	1	6	0	768 to 769
13; Vijayâditya III.	44	0	0	769 to 812
14; Châlukya-Bhîma I....	30	0	0	812 to 841
15; Vijayâditya IV.	0	6	0	(841 to 842)
16; Amma I..................	7	0	0	842 to 848
17; Vijayâditya V..........	0	0	15	(848)
18; Tâḍapa	0	1	0	(848)
19; Vikramâditya II.......	0	11	0	(848 to 849)
20; Bhîma III..................	0	8	0	(849 to 850)
21; Yuddhamalla II.	7	0	0	850 to 856
22; Châlukya-Bhîma II. ...	12	0	0	857 to 868
23; Amma II.; the date of his coronation was the *amânta* Mârgaśîrsha kṛishṇa 13 of Śaka-Saṁvat 868 current...	25	0	0	868 to 892
24; Dânârṇava..................	3	0	0	893 to 895
An unexplained interval; according to the records, of twenty-seven years; in reality, of	30	0	0	896 to 925
25; Śaktivarman...............	12	0	0	926 to 937
26; Vimalâditya...............	7	0	0	938 to 944
27; Râjarâja I.; the date of his coronation was the *amânta* Bhâdrapada kṛishṇa 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 945 current	41	0	0	945 to 985
28; Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.	49	0	0	986 to 1034
29; Vikrama-Chôḍa	15	0	0	1035 to 1049
30; Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II.[18]	......			1050 to ......

There is, however, **another way of looking at the matter,** suggested partly by the manner in which the reigns are mostly stated only in even years, and partly by the results for the dates of Vishṇuvardhana I. and his grandson. It is that, irrespective of the actual days of their accession or coronation, the Eastern Chalukya kings may possibly have been in the habit of using **regnal years coinciding with the luni-solar years, each commencing with Chaitra śukla 1**;[19] or at any rate, — and with still greater probability, — **that this may be the real manner in which we ought to apply the details given in the later grants** commencing with K.[20] The two dates of Vishṇuvardhana II. adapt themselves just as well

[18] We have a record of his time, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1056. In respect of the details of the date, there are some difficulties, which will be noticed further on.

[19] It may be noted, however, that Vijayâditya's Aihoḷe record, in which Âśvayuja is specified as the third month in his thirteenth year (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 187), seems to prove that, if the Western Chalukya kings had any fixed point for the commencement of their regnal years, it was not Chaitra śukla 1.

[20] In the neighbouring country of Orissa, there is a custom of this kind, of regnal years commencing with Bhâdrapada śukla 11 or 12 (see a note on "The Oṅko Reckoning of Orissa;" *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 255 f.) The period to which its origin can be carried back, is not yet known. But the manner in which the month is specified in the Chîpurupalle grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. shews, — whatever may be its exact application, — that this system of years, commencing in Bhâdrapada, did not originate with the Eastern Chalukyas.

to a system of years commencing with the Chaitra śukla 1 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 586 current, as they do to an initial point ranging from the preceding Phâlguna śukla 1 to the *tithi* śukla 10 of the same Chaitra; and the narrowness of the limits, on either side of Chaitra śukla 1, within which the initial point must lie, seems in itself rather suggestive. Again, a still more pointed inference might possibly be drawn from the Chîpurupalle grant of Vishṇuvardhana I.; the date of which adapts itself just as well to a system of years commencing with the Chaitra śukla 1 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 538 current, as it does to an initial point lying in the next following month, Vaiśâkha. In this date, the details are "the year 18, the month 4, the day 15." The actual month is 'Srâvaṇa, which is really the fifth month in the luni-solar year; and the actual day is the full-moon day, which is really the thirtieth day in its own month by the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the fortnights, which is the proper one for the period in question. But, if the first month of the year is to be taken as a full month of twenty-nine or thirty days, *i. e.* if, instead of consisting only of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, it is to be taken as including also the dark fortnight of the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha, then, the following months also being treated in the same way, the full-moon day of 'Srâvaṇa is the fifteenth day in the fifth month. And the details of the date in question might be interpreted as meaning "the year 18, or 18 years;[21] 4 completed months; and the completion of the *tithi* ending on the 15th civil day of the next and current month." Accordingly, while I am not to be understood as adopting finally, as yet, such a system of regnal years, which is for the present only a possibility, I present, on the upper part of page 13 above, **an alternative list of the Eastern Chalukya kings, based on the adoption of Chaitra śukla 1 as the first day of each regnal year,** and giving the current 'Saka years which may be taken as the first and last years of each successive reign. The assumptions involved are, (1) that the whole of the luni-solar year in which the accession, or at any rate the coronation, of any particular king took place, would be usually counted as the first year of his reign, and that his second year would begin with the Chaitra śukla 1 next after his accession or coronation; (2) that there would be exceptions, in the cases of accessions taking place very late in the luni-solar year; suppose, for instance, that a king actually succeeded to the throne in Mâgha or Phâlguna; in searching for an auspicious day for the ceremony, his coronation would very possibly be postponed till after the next Chaitra śukla 1; and it is most likely that his first regnal year would then run from that Chaitra śukla 1, and would not include the luni-solar year in which his actual accession took place; (3) that, from time to time, one and the same luni-solar year would come to be counted twice over, as the last regnal year of one king, and as the first regnal year of his successor; especially when a change of rulers took place about the middle of a luni-solar year; and (4) that the close proximity to Chaitra śukla 1 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 586 current, of the limits within which the first day of the first regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana II. must lie, indicates that that day itself was the initial day of his reign, according to this system of regnal years coinciding with the luni-solar years. The manner in which, by this more rough and ready method of regulating the details, the last year of one reign and the first year of the next must have occasionally coincided, makes it easy enough now to admit forty-eight years as the duration of the reign of Vijayâditya II. And accordingly, on the chance that that record may be the correct one, in this alternative arrangement I have taken his reign at that length; and the 'Saka years have been counted twice over in passing from Nos. 6 to 8, 8 to 9, 10 to 11, 11 to 12, 12 to 13, 13 to 14, and 22 to 23. In all other respects, the lengths of the reigns are the same as in the first list. Even this system, of luni-solar regnal years, does not permit of allowing more than thirty years for the reign of Jayasiṁha I. For, though 'Saka-Saṁvat 555 current should be counted as the first year of his reign, in addition to being the eighteenth and last year of Vishṇuvar-

[21] I do not mean "eighteen expired years;" as, whatever may be the Hindu practice in respect of eras, I cannot find reasons for looking with favour on a system of expired regnal years. Such a system might be created, by counting "the year one" from the Chaitra śukla 1 next after the day of accession or of coronation; and the year would be practically "the year one, expired;" the real first current year being that in which the accession or coronation actually took place. But the idea is too much opposed to common sense to be acceptable, without absolute proof, which, for the present at any rate, is not forthcoming.

dhana I., still his thirty-third year could not come before Saka-Saṁvat 587 current; and we have found that this is, not the first, but the second year, of Vishṇuvardhana II. The Saka years for such reigns as were hardly long enough to materially affect the reckoning as presented in the records, are given in brackets.

(*To be continued.*)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 193. — CHIPURUPALLE COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA I. — DATED IN HIS EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

The plates containing this inscription were first brought to notice in 1867 by Mr. Master, who sent them in to the Madras Government. They were handed over for decipherment to the Rev. T. Foulkes, who published a fairly accurate translation of the inscription in 1870, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 153 ff. And from a letter from the Collector of Vizagapatam, quoted by Mr. Foulkes, it appears that the plates were found near the village of **Chîpurupalle**, — the 'Chipurupille' of the Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 109; in Lat. 17° 34′, Long. 83° 10′, — the chief town of the Chîpurupalle Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Vizagapatam District, Madras Presidency. Subsequently, Dr. Burnell published his own reading of the text, in his *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 137 f. (second edition); with a lithograph (*id.* Plate xxvii.). Since then, the original plates have been lost sight of. It is much to be wished that they could be recovered; because, if they were properly cleaned, a better facsimile could be published than that given by Dr. Burnell; especially in respect of the numerical symbols in the date at the end of the record. Failing, in spite of efforts kindly made by Dr. Hultzsch, to obtain the originals, I now edit the inscription from Dr. Burnell's lithograph.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number; each measuring, if the published lithograph is full-size, about 7″ by 2″. They appear to be quite smooth; the edges being neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription on them, however, seems to be in a state of perfect preservation throughout. — There are holes for a **ring** near the proper right end of each plate; but I do not find any record as to whether the ring and its seal were found with the plates. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and are of the regular type of the period and part of the country to which the grant belongs. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{3}{16}$″. — The **language** is Sanskrit throughout; and the whole record is in prose, except for two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are quoted in lines 16 to 19. — The **orthography** presents nothing calling for remark.

The **inscription** is one of **the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana I.**, otherwise called Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana; this record mentions him also by the *biruda* of **Vishamasiddhi.** It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of a village to two Brâhmaṇs.

The grant was made by Vishṇuvardhana I. himself, while residing at **the town of Cheṟupûra** in a *vishaya* the name of which seems to be **Pûki**. For the latter name, I cannot propose any identification; unless an examination of the original plates should give such a reading of the name, as would enable us to identify it with the 'Pudi' of the map, seven miles south-west of Chîpurupalle. But **Cheṟupûra**[1] is probably an older form of the name of Chîpurupalle itself, where the plates were obtained. The village that was granted was **Kâlvakoṇḍa,** or possibly **Kâlvakoṇṭa, in the Dimila vishaya.** The name of the village does not appear to be now extant; unless it is preserved in the 'Kondakirla' of the map, seven

---

[1] With the termination of this name, compare *pûraka* in Brahmapûraka, Kollapûraka, and Vaṭapûraka (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 248).

miles in a north-westerly direction from Chîpurupalle. There can, however, be no doubt that, as was suggested by the Collector of Vizagapatam in his letter to Mr. Foulkes, the name of the *vishaya* has been preserved in the modern village of **Dimile**, in the Sarvasiddhi Tâlukâ of the same District, fourteen miles towards the south-west from Chîpurupalle. And this identification is of importance; because it shews that, at the date of this grant, the sphere of the sovereignty of Vishṇuvardhana I. included, if it did not lie only in, territory considerably to the north-east of the Veṅgî country, which is always referred to, in the later records, as being specially the locality of the rule of the Eastern Chalukya kings.

From line 14 we learn, that the grant was made **on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month Srâvaṇa**. And at the end of the record there are given, in numerical symbols, the details of "the year 18, the month 4, and the (civil) day 15." The year denotes the regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana I. And, coupling these details with those in line 14, the corresponding English date is the **7th July, A. D. 632,** corresponding to the full-moon *tithi* of 'Srâvaṇa of Saka-Saṁvat 555 current; on this day there was an eclipse of the moon, visible all over India (see page 4 above). From the later records of this dynasty, we know that Vishṇuvardhana I. reigned over the Veṅgî kingdom for just about eighteen years.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

1 Svastiḥ[3] 'Srîmach-[**Ch*]alukyâ(kya)-kulà**-jalanidhi-samuditô nṛipati-niśâ**karaḥ** sva-
2 bhrûlatâ-bhaṅg-[â*]namita-r[i*]punṛipati-makuṭa-maṇi-prabhâ-vichchhurita-**charaṇâravinda**-
3 dvayaḥ **Satyâśraya**-śrîvallabha-mahârâjaḥ [|*] Tasya priy-ânuj**aḥ** **sthala-jala**-
4 vana-giri-vishama-durggêshu labdha-siddhitvâd=**Vishamasiddhiḥ** **dîn-ânâtha-dvija**-
vasu-vṛishṭi-
5 pravarshaṇatayâ kâmadhênuḥ yuvatishu **Madanâyamâna-châru-śarîratvân=Makara-
dhvaja[ḥ*]**

Second Plate; First Side.

6 sva-dân-ârṇṇavau(vê)shu parimagna-Kali-prabhâvaḥ **anêka-samara-vijaya-samudi[ta]**-
7 **vimala-yâśô-viśêsha-vibhûshita-sakala-diṅmaṇḍalaḥ Manur=iva vinaya-jñaḥ Pṛithu**-
8 r=iva pṛithu-ki(kî)rttiḥ Gurur=iva matimân **paramabrahmaṇyaḥ śri(śrî)-
Vishṇuvarddhana**-mahâr[â*]jaḥ
9 **Dimila**-vishayê **Kâlvakoṇḍa**-grâm-âdhîvâsinaḥ kuṭumbin**as=samavêtân=imam=artthaṁ=â**-
10 jñâpayati yathâ [|*] Adhi(dhî)t-**âvagata-vêda-vêdâṅgasya** **Brahmaśarmmaṇaḥ**
pautrâbhyâṁ adhi-

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 **gata-sva-śâkhâ-chôdita-sva-karmm-ânushṭhâna-tatparasya Du[r*]gaśarmmaṇaḥ putrâ**-
bhyâ[ṁ*] vêda-vê-
12 dâṁg-**êtihâsa-purâṇa-dharmmaśâstr-âdy-anêk-âgama-tat[t*]va-vidbhyâṁ Gautamâ(ma)**-
gôtrâbhyâm
13 Taittirika[4]-charaṇâbhyâṁ Vishṇuśa[r*]mma-**Mâdhavaśarmmabhyâṁ Pû(?)ki(?)-vishayê
Cheṛupûra**-
14 grâmam=adhivasataḥ[5] **Srâvaṇa-mâsê chandra-grahaṇa-nimittê sarvva-kara-parihârê**-
15 ṇ=[â*]grahârîkṛitya sva-puṇy-âyur-ârôgya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê **grâmô=yaṁ dattaḥ** [||*]
Asya

---

[2] From the published lithograph.

[3] Read *svasti !*; the appearance of the *visarga* is probably only due to a mark of punctuation, imperfectly cleared out.

[4] Read *taittirîya*; or perhaps *taittirîyaḥ*.

[5] Read *adhivasatâ* (*mayâ*); or *adhivasadbhiḥ* (*asmâbhiḥ*).

Third Plate.

16 kaiśchid=api na bâdhâ karaṇîyâ ।(॥) Atra Vyâsa-gîtau [।*] Bahubhir[6]=vvasudhâ dattâ bahu-

17 bhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ।(॥) Shashṭiṁ varsha-

18 sahasrâṇi svarggê môdati bhûmi-daḥ âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê

19 vasêt [॥*] Srîmati **Matsya(?)-ku(?)lê** prasûtaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-pratâp-âvanata-ripuḥ-

20 r[7]=âjñaptir=**Aṭavidurjjayaḥ** [॥*] **Saṁ**[8] **10 8 mâ 4 di 10 5** ॥

TRANSLATION.

Hail! A very moon of a king, risen from the ocean which is the glorious **Chalukya family;** having the two water-lilies, which are (*his*) feet, inlaid with the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of hostile kings who are bowed down by the frowning of his creeper-like arched eyebrows; — (*such is*) the *Mahârâja* **Satyâśraya,** the favourite of fortune.

(Line 3) — His dear younger brother, — (*who is called*) **Vishamasiddhi,** because he has achieved success against fortresses, difficult of access, on the plains, in the water, in the woods, and on hills; who is a very cow of plenty, through raining down showers of treasures on the poor, the helpless, and the twice-born; who is a very Makaradhvaja (Kâmadêva), because his handsome form plays the part of Madana (Kâmadêva) among young women; who has drowned the power of (*the wickedness of*) the Kali age in the oceans that are his charities; who has adorned all the regions with the characteristic of (*his*) pure fame, that has arisen from victory in many battles; who, like Manu, is acquainted with courteous behaviour; who, like Pṛithu, is of far-reaching fame; who, like Guru (the regent of the planet Jupiter; the preceptor of the gods), is possessed of wisdom; (*and*) who is extremely kind to Brâhmaṇs, —

(L. 8) — (*He*), the *Mahârâja*, the glorious **Vishṇuvardhana (I.),** issues a command to this purport to the assembled cultivators who reside at **the village of Kâlvakoṇḍa in the Dimila vishaya**; *viz.*:—

(L. 10) — "To the two sons' sons of Brahmaśarman, who studied and mastered the **Vêdas** and **Vêdâṅgas,** — the sons of Durgaśarman, who was intent upon performing **his own proper** rites, prescribed by his own *śâkhâ*, which had been duly learned (*by him*), — (*viz.*) to Vishṇuśarman and Mâdhavaśarman, who know the true meaning of the Vêdas, the Vêdâṅgas, the epics, the Purâṇas, the law-books, and many other sacred works, who are of the Gautama *gôtra*, (*and*) who belong to the Taittirîya *charaṇa*, by (*me*) residing at **(the town of) Cheṛupûra in the Pûki (?) vishaya, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month Śrâvaṇa.** this village has been given, as an *agrahâra*, with exemption from all taxes, for the increase of (*my*) own religious merit and duration of life and good health and fame. No obstruction (*to the enjoyment*) of it, should be caused by any one at all."

(L. 16) — On this point (*there are*) two verses of Vyâsa: — Land has been enjoyed by many people, and has been preserved (*in grant*) by many; whosoever at any time possesses

[6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[7] Read °*ripur*; cancelling the *visarga* at the end of line 19.

[8] The existence of the date here was first recognised by myself; and originally I read the second of the two symbols which give the year, as 6 (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 186); and the reading, of course, appears in that form in Dr. Burnell's published transcription of the text of the grant (second edition). There is some temptation to keep to my original reading; because, then the years of Vishṇuvardhana I. would run from the month Vaiśâkha (or from Chaitra śukla 1) of Śaka-Saṁvat 540 current; which would perhaps give a starting-point later than the date on which, in the Sêtârâ grant, he still had the title of *Yuvarâja*. But, on the other hand, the intervening period, up to the dates of Vishṇuvardhana II., would require to be shortened by two years; for which it is difficult to find any justification. And though, I think, the forms of the numerical symbols for 6 and 8, in Southern India, have not yet been quite finally determined, still, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 44), the symbol must certainly be taken as a form of the 8.

the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years; (*but*) he who resumes (*a grant*), or he who assents (*to an act of resumption*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 19) — (*The bearer of*) the command (*i. e.* the *Dûtaka*) is **Aṭavidurjaya**, born in the illustrious **Matsya family (?)**, who has bowed down (*his*) enemies by the strength and prowess of his arm.

(L. 20) — **The year[9] 10 (and) 8; the month 4; the day 10 (and) 5.**

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from Vol. XIX. p. 70.*)

VII. The **seventh aṅgam uvâsagadasâu**, upâsakadaśâs, in ten *ajjhayaṇas*; legends about ten *upâsakas* or pious fathers of families (*gâhâvaï*), who, by means of asceticism, &c., attained the divine condition and thereby releasement.

Aṅgas 7—9 belong to the second group of *aṅgas* (see above p. 249, 307), from the general connection of the contents of each, from their common designation in *aṅga* 3, 10 as *dasâu*,[1] "decads," from the special denomination of their introduction (*ukkhêva, upakshêpa*), or conclusion (*nikkhêva*), and from their very limited extent.[2] [316] *Aṅgas* 7—9 thus stand in immediate connection with each other and bear the stamp of an undeniable unity.

This conclusion is drawn from the method of treatment which prevails in them, and which explains their inconsiderable extent. The first account contains (as is the case in part 2 of *aṅga* 6) the pattern on which all the others are modelled. We need therefore refer merely to the points of contact, and make mention of what is new in the presentation of the subject. An especial characteristic of *aṅga* 7 is this:—Though different localities are adduced for the single stories, which all belong to the period of Mahâvîra, the king is in every case (the name Sêṇia in the eighth story is the solitary exception) called[3] Jiyasattu, the origin of which name must be sought in the Ajâtaśatru of the Buddhistic legends. The titles of the ten stories are found in *aṅga* 3, 10 (S), and are in general the same as those given here; see above, p. 271:—

1. Ânanda in Vâṇiyagâma.
2. Kâmadêva in Champâ.
3. Chulaṇî(ṇ. SV)piyâ (°pitar) in Bâṇârasî.
4. Surâdêva, in Bâṇârasî.
5. Chullasaïga (saê S, sayaga V) in Âlabhiyâ.
6. [317] Kuṇḍakôḍila (kôlia S V) in Kampillapura; opposition between Mahâvîra and Gôsâla Mankhaliputta.
7. Saddâlaputta in Pôlâsapura; he was a potter and adherent of the *âjîvias* (âjîvikâḥ Gôśâlaśishyâḥ, Schol.).

---

[9] See the preceding note.

[1] Adhyayanarûpâḥ see Hêm. abhi. ch. v. 244. We saw, it is true, above (p. 270 seqq.) on *aṅga* 3, 10 that the designation *daśâs* suits only the texts cited there, but not our texts of *aṅgas* 7—9 with the exception of *aṅga* 7; these must consequently be regarded as secondary in comparison to the former.

[2] The smallness of these *aṅgas* is however to some extent only one of appearance, in so far as each of the numerous tales, which, from being identical with previous ones, are reduced to some phrases only, must be counted in full. At the end especial mention is made of the number of days necessary for the *uddêsaṇam*, *i.e.* recital or recitation of each of the *ajjhayaṇas* or *vargas*. The Vidhiprapâ characterizes the 10 *ajjh.* as êgasara because they are not divided into uddêsagas.

[3] In each account there is a name beginning with Aruṇa, in the first the name Aruṇa itself, in the others it forms the first member of a compound *e.g.* Aruṇâbhê, Aruṇappahê, Aruṇakaṁtê, Aruṇasitthê, &c.

8. Mahâsayaa (sayaga V) in Râyagiha.
9. Naṁdiṇîpiyâ (°pitar), in Sâvatthî.
10. Lêtiâpiâ (°pitar), in Sâvatthî.

Vardhamânadêśanâ is the title of a metrical treatment in Prâkṛit gâthâs of the contents of this *aṅga*, to which I have had access. The MS. is cut short at v. 865 in the history of Ânanda. An interlineal version in Sanskṛit accompanies the Prâkṛit; its first verse cites the title Vardh°. The sixth name is the same (v. 8) as in S V: kôliaê (kôlika), the eighth (v. 9) Mahâsayaṇa (but *śataka* in the *chhâyâ*), the tenth Têalipiô (Têtalipriya, see p. 310).

There is an anonymous **commentary**, which refers to a *vyâkhyâ* on *aṅga* 6 by the same author. The word *kaṁṭhya* (often erroneously *kaṁvya*), which is frequently used in the scholia when the meaning of a passage is plain and needs no further comment, implies that these passages are "in everybody's throat, intelligible by themselves." This I owe to the courtesy of a communication from Bühler.

The **table of contents** in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî* (N) is as follows:—sê kiṁ taṁ uvâsagadasâu? uvâ°sâsu ṇaṁ uvâsagâṇaṁ (samôvâ° N) nagarâiṁ ujjâ chêi vaṇa (N omits) râyâ[4] ammâ samô dhammâyariyâ dhammakahâ ihalôgaparalôga-iddhi[5]visêsâ, uvâsagâṇaṁ cha[6] sîlavvaya-vêramaṇa-guṇa-[7] pachcha [318] kkhâṇa-pôsahôvavâsa-paḍivajjaṇayâu,[8] suyapariggahâ tavô'vahâṇâiṁ paḍimâu[9] uvasaggâ saṁlêhaṇâu bhattapachchakkhâṇâu (°ṇâiṁ N) pâuvagama (pâôvagamaṇâiṁ N) dêva° sukula° puṇabôhi°[10] aṁtakiriyâu ya (N omits) âghavijjaṁti; uvâsagadasâsu[11] ṇaṁ uvâsagâṇaṁ riddhivisêsâ parisâ[12] vittharadhammasavaṇâṇi[13] bôhilâbha-abhigama-sammattavisuddhatâ-thirattaṁ[14] mûlaguṇôttaraguṇâ atichârâ ṭhitivisêsâ[15] ya bahuvisêsâ paḍimâ[16] bhiggahaṇa[17] pâlaṇâ uvasaggâhiyâsaṇâ[18] niruvasaggayâ ya[19] tavâ[20] ya charittâ sîlavvayaguṇavêramaṇapachchakkhâṇapôsahôvavâsâ apachchhimamâraṇaṁtiyâ[21] ya saṁlêhaṇâ ya,[22] appâṇaṁ jaha ya bhâvaïttâ, bahûṇi bhattâṇi aṇasaṇâê ya chhêittâ,[23] uvavannâ kappavaravimâṇuttamêsu[24] jaha aṇubhavaṁti suravaravimâṇavarapôṁḍarîêsu[25] sokkhâiṁ aṇôvamâiṁ, kamêṇa bhottûṇa uttamâiṁ,[26] taô âukkhaêṇaṁ chuyâ samâṇâ jaha jiṇamayaṁmi bôhiṁ laddhûṇa[27] ya saṁjamuttamaṁ tamarayaôghavippa[319]mukkâ[28] uvêṁti[29] jaha akkhayaṁ[30] savvadukkhavimokkhaṁ êtê annê ya êvam-âiṁ.

VIII. The **eighth aṅgam, aṁtagaḍadasâu**, *aṁtakṛitadaśâs*, or ***aṁtakṛiddaśâs***, see Hêm. *abh.* v. 244; in eight *vaggas*, embraces in all 93 *ajjhayaṇas*, viz. (10, 8, 13, 10, 10, 16, 13, 10):[31] it deals with legends concerning the pious, who have "put an end" to their worldly life.[32]

---

4 N has again an inverted order (and the complete words) sa. râ. am. dh°hâô dh°riyâ.

5 riddhi N.

6 uv. cha N omits.

7 Inverted in N: bhôgaparichchâyâ pariyâgâ suyapariggahâ tavô'vahâṇâiṁ sîla° paḍivajjaṇayâ paḍimâô.

8 guṇavêramaṇa N (inverted).

9 śîlavratâny aṇuvratâni, viramaṇâni râgâdi(vi)ra(ta)yaḥ(!), guṇâ guṇavartâni, pratyâkhyânâni namaskârasahitâni; pôshadhô 'shṭamyâdiparvâdini, tatrô 'pavaśanam âhâraśarîrasatkârâdityâgaḥ; pratipâdinatô . .

10 dêvalôgagamaṇâiṁ sukulapachchâô puṇabôhilâbhâ N.

11 What follows, omitted by N.

12 mâtâpitṛiputrâdikâbhyaṁtara (!) parishat, dâsîdâsamitrâdikâ vâ.

13 vistaradharmaśravaṇâni Mahâvîrâdînâṁ saṁnidhau.

14 samyaktva viśuddhatâ sthiratva.

15 ddhiti A; guṇattaraguṇâtiyârâ ṭhitâvisêsâ B, thitî C.

16 samyagdarśanâdipratimâḥ.

17 bhiggahagahaṇapâ° C.

18 hitâsaṇâ B C, upasargâdhisahanâni, see Leumann, *Aupap.* p. 100.

19 °saggâ ya B C.

20 tavâ ya to °ṇaṁtiyâ ya omitted in A.

21 paśchâtkâlabhâvinyaḥ, akâraś cha maṁgalaparihârârthaḥ (!), maraṇarûpê aṁtê bhavâ mâraṇâṁtikyaḥ.

22 Thus A, saṁlêhaṇâjjhôsaṇâhiṁ B C; âtmanaḥ śarîrasya jîvasya cha saṁlêkhanâ tapasâ râgâdijayanavaśîkaraṇâni tâsâṁ jjhôsaṇa tti jôshaṇâ sêvanâ.

23 chhêiyattâ A; chhêdayitvâ.

24 kalpavarêshu yâni vimânâny uttamâni têshu.

25 varattapuṁdarîêsu A.

26 k. bh. utt. omitted in A.

27 bôhi B, laddhêṇa A.

28 raja A. rayôgha B C: tamô-raja-ôghavipramuktâḥ ajnânakarmapravâhavipra°.

29 uvêṁti omitted in A; upayanti.

30 akshayam apunarâvṛittikam.

31 Likewise in the Vidhiprapâ.

32 aṁto vinâśaḥ, sa cha karmaṇas tatphalasya cha saṁsârasya kṛitô yais tê 'ṁtakṛitâs tê cha tîrthakarâdayaḥ.

The number of the *vaggas*, eight, is very remarkable, as it is not in harmony with the concluding part of the title.[33] Our surprise is however increased when we reflect that in *anga* 3 and *anga* 4 (see above 271, 286) ten *ajjhayaṇas* were allotted to our text; in *anga* 4, besides, seven *vaggas* and ten *uddêsaṇakâlas.* The *Nandî* agrees with our text in apportioning to it eight *vaggas* (and eight *udd.*), but makes no mention of *ajjhayaṇas* whatever. Furthermore the titles of the ten *ajjhayaṇas* cited in *anga* 3, 10, have scarcely anything in common with those of our text (see p. 271, 322); some appear in *anga* 9. There is therefore here a violent opposition between [320] the tradition and the actual constitution of the text. We have seen above, p. 272, 291, that even Abhayadêva on *angas* 3 and 4 confessed that he was unable to explain the differences between the statements made there and the text constituting the *anga.*

In harmony with this is the fact that the existing text is in an exceedingly fragmentary condition, and is filled with references to sections in *angas* 5 and 6, *upânga* 2, and, according to the scholia, to the *Daśâśrutaskandha*, the fourth *chhêdasûtraṁ.* In many instances, the later *ajjhayaṇas* of a *vagga*, just as was the case in part 2 of the sixth *anga* and in *anga* 7, present us with nothing more than a mere title. Each *vagga* is preceded by a statement in *kârikâ*-form of the contents of the *ajjhayaṇa,s* which are therein contained. The scholiast on the *Nandî* thinks that by the *vaggachûliyâ*[34] (mentioned among the *aṇangapaviṭṭha* texts) the 8 *vaggas* of the *Antakṛiddaśâs* are intended. The same statement is found in the scholium on *anga* 3, 10; though there appears to be no proper place for any *chûliyâ* whatever.

The scene of the first story is in Bâravatî at the court of king Aṁdhayavaṇhi (Aṁdhakavṛishṇi), or of Kaṇhê nâmaṁ Vâsudêvê râyâ; the names Vasudêva, Baladêva, Ariṭṭhanêmi, Pajjunna, Samba, Aṇiruddha, Jâmbavatî, Sachchabhâmâ, Ruppiṇî, &c., which belong to this story, and also that of Bâravati itself, are met with frequently as the recital proceeds. The ninth story of the first *vagga* treats of Pasêṇaî, [321] Prasênajit. The third *vagga* begins with the history of Aṇiyasa, son of Nâgê nâma gâhâvatî, Sulasâ nâma bhâriyâ,[35] under king Jiyasattu of Bhaddilapura. The sixth *vagga* begins with the history of Makâyî under king Sêṇia of Râyagiha. The other localities are essentially the same as those in *anga* 7, *viz.*—Vâṇiyagâmê, Sâvatthî, Pôlâsapura, Vâṇârasî, Chaṁpâ, and also Sâêê (Sâkêta). The last *vagga* treats especially of the ten wives of king Sêṇia, step-mothers (*chullamâuyâ*) of king Kôṇiya: Kâlî, Sukâlî, &c., who one and all zealously studied the sâmâiya-m-âiyâim êkkârasa aṁgâiṁ and are instructed therein by the Ajja Chaṁdaṇâ (about whom no further notice is given). This piety is probably connected with the death of the sons of each, cf. *upânga* 8 (Nirayâvalisutta); and their grandsons—sons of these sons—become ascetics if we may ascribe any probability to the legend, Cf. *upânga* 9.

The *kârikâs* with the titles of the ajjhayaṇas for the single *vargas* are:—

1. Gôtama[36] Samudda Sâgara Gambhîrê chêva hôi Thimêtê ya | Ayalê Kampillê khalu Akkhôbhe Pasêṇaî Viṇhu ||

2. Akkhôbhe Sâgarê khalu Samudde Himavaṁta Achala nâmê ya | Dharaṇê ya Pûraṇê ya Ajjhichaṁdê (Abhiṇaṁdê) chêva aṭṭhamaê ||

3. Aṇîyasê Aṇaṁtasêṇê Ajjiyasêṇê Aṇihayariû Dêvasêṇê Sattusêṇê | Sâraṇê Gaê Sumuhê Dumuhê Kûvaê Dâsaê Aṇâhiṭṭhî ||

[33] The scholiast seeks to reconcile the contradiction as follows:—prathamavargê daśâ 'dhyayanânî 'ti tatsaṁkhyayâ aṁtakṛitadaśâ. This is of course a mere make-shift. If Abh. appeals to the *Nandî* on this point (see p 291n), he can mean nothing else (since the Nandî contains nothing of the kind) than that the Nandî cites for our *anga* eight "*vaggas*" instead of ten "*ajjh.*" This so-called "explanation" substitutes, without a word of warning "*ajjh.* for *vagga.*"

[34] The text has *vaṁga,*° but Pâkshikasûtra and Vidhiprapâ and also *anga* 3, 10 (above p. 274) have likewise *vagga*°.

[35] Cf. Jacobi, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 28 (1880) and Abhay. on *anga* 3, 8, and 9. — Leumann, Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. Vol. III. p. 333.

[36] Also in the Vidhiprapâ: ittha ajjhayaṇâṇi Gôyama-m-âiṇi.

[322] 4. Jâli Mayâli Uvayâli Purisasêṇi ya Vârisêṇê ya | Pajjuṇṇa Saṁba Aṇiruddha Sachchaṇêmi ya Daḍhaṇ:mî || For the first 5 names see *aṅga* 9, 1.

5. Paümâvatî Gôrî Gaṁdhârî Lakkhaṇâ Susîmâ ya Jâṁbavatî | Sachchabhâmâ Ruppiṇi Mûlasiri Mûladattâ vi ||

6. Makâyî Kiṁkam(m)ê[37] chêva Môggarapâṇî ya Kâsavê | Khêmatê Dhitidharê chêva Kêlâsê Harichaṁdaṇê || Vârattê Sudaṁsaṇê Punnabhaddê taha Sumaṇabhaddê Supaïṭṭhê | Mêha'timuttê Alakkhê ajjhayaṇâṇaṁ tu sôlasayaṁ ||

7. Naṁdâ Naṁdavatî chêva Naṁduttarâ Naṁdisêṇiyâ chêva | Marutâ Sumarutâ Mahâmarutâ Marudêvâ ya aṭṭhamâ || Bhaddâ Subhaddâ ya Sujayâ Sumaṇâi ya | Bhûyadinnâ ya bôdhavvâ Sêṇiyabhajjâṇa nâmâti ||

8. Kâlî Sukâlî Mahâkâlî Kaṇhâ Sukaṇhâ Mahâkaṇhâ | Vîrakaṇhâ ya bôdhavvâ Râmakaṇhâ tahêva | Piusêṇakaṇhâ navamî dasamî Mahâsêṇakaṇhâ ya ||

It is impossible to reconstruct any correct metre in these *kârikâs*, since the lines are a confused mass of *ślôka* and *âryâ* hemistiches.

The **table of contents** in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî* (N) is as follows:—sê kiṁ taṁ aṁtagaḍadasâu? aṁta°sâsu ṇaṁ aṁtagaḍâṇaṁ nagarâiṁ ujjâṇâiṁ chêiyâiṁ vaṇa° râyâ° ammâpiyarô samôsaraṇaṁ dhammâyariyâ dhammakahâu[38] ihalôgaparalôga°[39] bhôgaparichchâga pavajjâu suya[40] tavô paḍimâu[41] [323] bahuvihâ tavô[42] khamâ ajjavaṁ maddavaṁ cha sôyaṁ cha sachchasahiyaṁ[43] sattarasavihô ya (B C, °hâ yâ ya A) saṁjamô (mê A, °mô ya B C) uttamaṁ cha baṁbhaṁ akiṁchaṇayâ tavôkiriyâu samitî guttîu chêva,[44] taha appamâyajôgô (°gê A) sajjhâyajjhâṇâṇa[45] ya uttamâṇaṁ doṇhaṁ pi lakkhaṇâiṁ, pattâṇa ya saṁjamuttamaṁ jiya(jîya A) parîsahâṇaṁ chaüvihakammakkhayaṁmi jaha kêvalassa[46] laṁbhô, pariyâu (°yâtô B C)[47] jattiô (°itô B C, jatiyâu A) ya jaha pâlitô (pâlayatô A) muṇîhi, pâuvagaü ya[48] jô jahiṁ[49] jattiyâṇi bhattâṇi chhêyaïttâ (chhêittâ A, chhêdaïttâ B C) aṁtakarô (°gaḍô B C) munivarô[50] tama-raô-'gha[51]mukkô mokkhasuham aṇuttaraṁ cha pattô (A, pattâ B C), êtê annê ya êvaṁ-âi 'tthâ parûviyâ (parûvê, B C) *jâva*.

IX. The **ninth aṅgam, aṇuttarôvavâiyadasâu,** *anuttaraupapâtikadaśâs*;[52] in 3 *vaggas* with 33 *ajjhayaṇas* (10, 13, 10); contains legends of saints each one of whom attained the highest (anuttara) heavenly world (*vimâna*).[53]

The name (*°dasâu*) is here too at variance with the constitution of our text, but is in agreement with the statements of *aṅgas* 3 and 4, where only 10 *ajjhayaṇas* are mentioned; while *aṅga* 4 recognizes but ten (the *Nandî* but three) *uddêsaṇakâlas*, see above p. 286.—[324] We have already seen that, of all the names given in *aṅga* 3, 10 as those of the 10 *ajjh.*, but three recur in *aṅga* 9. This proves that we have here to do with a text that has suffered a transformation. Our text has been handed down to us in an exceedingly fragmentary state, consisting chiefly

[37] Kiṁkammê is found in *aṅga* 8, 10, for *aṅga* 8; this should have been stated on page 271. In reference to the question whether Mayâlî is identical with Bhagâlî, see the same page. Is Jâli equal to Jamâli? The account here entitled Gaë treats of Sômila, as Leumann informs me. See *ibidem*.

[38] In N we find the same transposition as in the case of 6, 7: sa° râ° a° dh°hâô dh°riyâ.

[39] °pâralôgiyâ riddhivisêsâ N.

[40] N inserts pariyâgâ before sua.

[41] 14 paḍimâtô B C; N has instead of paḍimâu merely saṁlêharâô bhattapachchakkhâṇaṁ pâôvagamaṇâ sukulapachchâîô puṇavôhilâbhâ aṁtakiriyâô a âghavijjaṁti:—dvâdaśa bhikshupratimâ mâsikyâdayah (cf. Leumann on *Aup.* § 24).

[42] sic A, bahuvihâtô B C.

[43] śauchaṁ cha satyasahitaṁ.

[44] °yâtô samiî guttîtô chêva B C, samitayô guptayaś cha.

[45] svâdhyâyadhyânayôḥ.

[46] jnânâdêr lâbhaḥ.

[47] paryâyaḥ pravrajyâlakshaṇaḥ, yâvâṁś cha yâvadvarshâdipramâṇô yathâ yêna tapôviśêshâśrayaṇâdinâ prakârêṇa pâlitô munibhiḥ.

[48] muṇîhiṁ ppâtôvagatô ya B C.

[49] prâyôpagamâbhidhânam anaśanam pratipannô yô munir yatra.

[50] aṁtakṛitô munivarô, jâta iti śeshaḥ.

[51] raugha A, ratôgha B C.

[52] This should strictly be °pâdika; cf. my remarks on upâṅga 1.

[53] na 'smâd uttarô vidyatê ity anuttaraḥ, upapâtô (°pâdô!) janmârthaḥ, anuttaraḥ pradhânaḥ anyasya tathâvidhasyâ 'bhâvâd upapâtô (°pâdô) yêshâṁ tê, tadvaktavyatâpratibaddhâ daśâ daśâdhyayanôpalakshitâ.

of references to *Mêha* (6, 1, 1) and *Khandava* (5, 2, 1); the first story alone of each *varga* is passably complete, the others are cited merely by their catch words.

The events of these recitals transpire in Râyagiha, Sâgêta, Vâṇiyagâma, Hatthiṇapura. The names of the personages involved are to be extracted from the *kârikâs*, which cite the titles of the 33 *ajjhayaṇas*; viz.:—

I. Jâli[54] Mayâli Uvajâli Purisasêṇê ya Vârisêṇê ya ǀ Dîhadaṁtê ya Laddhadaṁtê Vêhallô Vêhâyasê Abhayê ti kumârê ǁ See page 521, for the first five names.

II. Dîhasêṇe Mahâsêṇê Laddhadaṁtê (again!) ya Gûḍhadaṁtê ya Suddhadaṁte ya ǀ Hallê Dummê Dumasêṇe Mahâdumasêṇe ya âhitê ǁ 1 ǁ Sîhê ya Sîhasêṇê ya Mahâsîhasêṇé ya âhite ǀ Pumasêṇê ya bodhavvê têrasamê hôi ajjhayaṇê ǁ 2 ǁ

III.[55] Dhannê ya Sunakkhattê Isidâsê ya âhitê ǀ Pêllaê Râmaputtê Pachaṁdimâ Puṭṭimâi ya ǁ 1 ǁ Pêḍhâlaputtê (cf. *aṅga* 2, 2, 7) aṇagârê Pôṭṭilêiya Vêhallê ǀ dasamê vuttê imê yê dasa âhiyâ ǁ 2 ǁ

Our information in reference to these persons is limited almost entirely to their names [325] alone. In the first history (of Jâli), which is a prototype of the rest, it is at least related that he *ekkârasa aṁgâiṁ ahijjati.*

It is surprising that the **table of contents** in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî* (N), is particularly explicit. This is probably to be explained by the fact that it had as its subject an entirely different text from that which we possess. It is as follows:—sê kiṁ taṁ aṇuttarôvavâiyadasâô? aṇu°sâsu ṇaṁ aṇuttarôvavâiyâṇaṁ ṇagarâi ujjâ° chêi° vaṇa°[56] râyâ° ammâ° samô° dhammâya° dhammakahâ[57] ihalôga°[58] pavvajjâ suya°[59] tavô° paḍimâô[60] saṁlêhaṇâ bhatta° pâu° anuttarôvavatti (A, vâtô B C, °rôvavâyatti N) sukulapachchâyâî (°yâtî B C, chchâîô N) puṇabôhi° aṁtakiriyâ âghavijjaṁti; aṇu°sâsu[61] ṇaṁ titthagarasamôsaraṇâiṁ parama-maṁgalajagahiyâni (hittâṇaṁ A) jiṇâtisêsâ ya bahuvisêsâ,[62] jiṇasîsâṇaṁ chêva samaṇagaṇa, (gaṇagaṇa A) pavaragaṁdhahatthîṇaṁ[63], thirajasâṇaṁ, parîsahasenna(sêṇa A)rivu(ripu A) bala-pamaddaṇṇâaṁ(balâpa°C)tavaditta[64]charittaṇâṇasammattasâra-vivihappagâra vittharapasattha guṇasaṁjuyâṇaṁ,[65] aṇagâramaharisîṇaṁ aṇagâraguṇâṇaṁ vannaô,[66] uttamavaratava visiṭṭhaṇâ-ṇajôgajuttâṇaṁ, jaha ya jagahiyaṁ bhagavaü,[67] jârisâ ya (omitted in B C) riddhi[326]visêsâ dêvâsuramâṇusâṇaṁ, parisâṇaṁ pâubbhâvâ ya, jiṇasamîvaṁ jaha ya uvâsaṁti jiṇavaraṁ,[68] jaha ya parikahêṁti (haṁti A)[69] dhammaṁ lôga(lôka A)guru[70] amara-narasuragaṇâṇaṁ, sôûṇa ya tassa bhaṇiyaṁ (bhâsiyaṁ A) avasêsakammavisayavirattâ narâ jahâ (jadhâ BC) abbhuvêṁti (abbhâvaṁti A) dhammaṁ urâlaṁ saṁjamatavaṁ châ 'vi bahuvihappagâraṁ, jaha bahûṇi vâsâṇi aṇucharittâ ârâhiyanâṇadamsaṇacharittajôgâ jiṇavayaṇa-m-aṇugayamahiyabhâsiyâ,[71] jiṇavarâṇa (jiṇa A) hiyaêṇa-m aṇuṇettâ,[72] jê ya jahiṁ jattiyâṇi bhattâṇi chhêyaïttâ (°tittâ BC, chhêiyattâ

[54] ittha ajjhayaṇâṇi Jâli-m-âiṇi, Vidhiprapâ.

[55] Five of these names recur in *aṅga* 3, 10 for *aṅgas* 8 and 9, cf. p. 271.

[56] N omits (an error of the scribe.)

[57] N inverts sa° râ° am° dh°hâô dh°riyâ.

[58] ihalôgapari° A, ihalôgapâralôga B C, ihalôiaparalôiâ riddhivisêsâ bhôgaparichchâgâ pavajjâô N.

[59] pariyâgâ° before sua in N.

[60] paḍimâtavê A, merely paḍi° B C, paḍimâô uvasaggâ N.

[61] N omits the foll., titthakara B C.

[62] jagaddhitâni . . ; bahuviśêshâ "dahaṁ vimalasuyaṁdham" ity-âdayaś chatustriṅśad adhikatarâḥ.

[63] gaṇadharâdînâṁ śramaṇôttamânâm.

[64] davavad davâgnir iva (v. e.) diptâny ujjvalâni; pâthâṁtareṇa (the foll. is the reading of the text, tapôdipâni yâni charitrajnânasamyaktvâni.

[65] praśastâś cha kshamâdayô guṇâś, taiḥ saṁyutânaṁ; kvachid: ruchirnguṇa dhuajânam iti pâthaḥ.

[66] vaṇaü A, vattatô B, vannatô C: vaṇakaḥ ślâghâ, âkhyâyata iti yôgaḥ.

[67] bhagavotô jinahitam (v. e.), bhagavata iti jinaśâsanam iti gamyatê.

[68] jinasamîpê yêna prakârêṇa paṁchavidhâbhigamâdinâ sêvaṁtê râjâdayô jinavaraṁ.

[69] parikathayati; *i.e.* plur. majest.

[70] lôkagurur iti jinavarô; perhaps gurû° plural.

[71] jinavachanam ârâvi (?) anugatam saṁbaddham, mahitam pûjitam, bhâshitaṁ yair adhyâpanâdinâ; pâṭhâṁtarê jinavachanam anugatyâ 'nukûlyêna sushthu bhâshitaṁ yais tê jinavachanânugatisubhâshitâḥ.

[72] hiyâtaṇa B, hiyatêṇa C; aṇuṇittâ A; iha shashṭhî dvitîyârthê, têna jinavarân hṛidayêna tamasâ (tapasâ?) anunîya prâpya dhyâtvâ.

A), laddhûṇa ya samihim uttamaṁ, jjhâṇajôgajuttâ uvavannâ (°vattâ B) muṇivaruttamâ, jaha aṇuttarêsu pâvaṁti (pâvêti A) jaha aṇuttaraṁ tattha visayasokkhaṁ, tatô[73] ya chuyâ kamêṇa kâhiṁti saṁjayâ, jaha ya aṁtakiriyaṁ, êê (êtê BC) annê ya êvamâdi 'ttha *jâva*.

X. The **tenth aṅgam, paṇhâvâgaraṇâiṁ**, *praśnavyâkaraṇâni*, in ten *dâras*, treats in a dogmatic and not in a legendary form, of the ten ethical duties, viz.; first of the 5 *adhammas* or *aṇhayas*, *âśrava*,[74] which must be avoided. These are, — injury to life, [327] lying, robbery, unchastity, (love of) possessions, and then of the 5 *dhammas*, or *saṁvaras*, (*i.e.* the opposites of each of the above sins.[75]

The difference between the title and the actual text or contents, between the actual text and the statements of tradition on this point, is especially great. There is nothing said in reference to questions (*praśna*) which find their solution (*vyâkaraṇam.*) The whole *aṅga* appears to be a didactic dogmatic explanation addressed to Jambu, but not asked for by particular questions. The *Nandî* and *aṅga* 4 state that it contains 45 *ajjhayaṇas*, 45 *uddêśaṇas*, etc.; but no such conclusion is warranted from the facts of the case, cf. p. 286. One *suyakkhaṁdha*, which these authorities and the existing constituent parts ascribe to the text, is branded by the scholiast Abhayadêva. He asserts that the text "*pustakâṁtarê*"[76] consisted[77] rather of two *suyakkhaṁdhas* (each containing 5 *ajjhayaṇas*). To prove this the scholiast adduces *verbatim et litteratim* a special introduction confirmatory of his assertion[78]; but this cannot be found in the MSS. of our text. This introduction has the same usual form as the introductions to *aṅgas* 6—9 and 11; and Abh. refers directly to *aṅga* 6 for the correctness of his explanation, whereupon he adds : *yâ cê ha* dvi[328]śrutaskaṁdhatô 'ktâ 'sya sâ na rûḍhâ, êkaśrutaskaṁdhatâyâ êva rûḍhatvât. In all probability the enumeration of this text in *aṅga* 3, $_{10}$, in the sixth place among the ten *dasâu*, shows that it stands in close connection with the present text or its 10 *dâras*. But we have seen, p. 272, that the names of the ten *ajjhayaṇas* there have no connection whatever with our text, and that the author had before him quite a different text under this name. It is an important feature, that, as stated above, his statements or names are in essential harmony with those statements of contents in reference to our *aṅga*, which occur in *aṅga* 4, or in the Nandi, see page 334. It is of interest in this connection to notice the character of the remarks of the commentator at the beginning of the passage, in reference to the name *praśnavyâkaraṇadaśâḥ*. This name, he states, is found, *krachit*—it is found in *aṅga* 3, $_{10}$ and in *aṅga* 4, (see p. 334)—and consequently points to 10 *adhyayanas* of *praśnânâṁ vyâkaraṇâni*. His words are :—ayaṁ cha vyutpattyarthô 'sya pûrvakâlê 'bhûd, idânîṁ tu âśravapaṁchaka-saṁvarapaṁchakavyâkritir êvê 'hô 'palabhyatê, atiśayânâm (cf. p. 334) pûrvâchâryair aidaṁyugînapushtâ (°napri° ?) laṁbanapratishêvipurushâpêkshayô 'ttâritatvâd iti. However the corrupt conclusion is to be understood —cf. Ed. p. 499—one fact at least is patent; that we have here traces of the manifest consciousness that the *pûrvâchâryas* were acquainted with a different text of this *aṅga* than the *aidaṁyugîna*. Everything shows that we are completely justified in asserting that we no longer possess *aṅga* 10 in its original, [329] or in its ancient form. The introductory words in the commentary of Abh. are a proof of this :—śrîVardhamânam ânamya vyâkhyâ kâchid vidhîyatê ; praśnavyâkaraṇâṁgasya vriddhanyâyânusâratah || ajñâ vayaṁ, śâstram idaṁ gaṁbhîraṁ, prâyô 'sya kûṭâni cha pustakâni | sûtraṁ vyavasthâpya tatô vimriśya vyâkhyânakalpâd ita êva nai 'va || 2 ||

It is perfectly plain from this that there is here a violent polemic against other text-forms.

[73] anuttaravimânêbhyaḥ.

[74] *i.e.* *âsrava*. for which we should expect *âsnava*. In the explanation : "â abhividhinâ śrauti śravati karma yêbhyas tê âśravâḥ", *snavati sravati* should probably be read for *śrauti śravati*. In up. 1, aṇhâti is actually explained by *âsnauti* but also by *âśravati badhnâti* ; it corresponds in fact to Sanskrit *âśnâti*, L.].

[75] têsiṁ nâmâṇi, jahâ : hiṁsâdâraṁ 1, musâvâyad. 2, têṇiyad. 3, mêhuṇad. 4, pariggahad. 5, ahiṁsâd 6, sachchad 7, atêṇiyad 8, baṁbhacherad. 9, apariggahadâraṁ 10 (Vidhiprapâ).

[76] Likewise in the Vidhiprapâ : ittha kêi paṁchahim ajjhayaṇêhiṁ do suyakkhaṁdhê ichhaṁti.

[77] This is self-evident, since the contents are actually divided into two parts.

[78] pustakâṁtarê punar êvam upôdghâtagrantha upalabhyatê.

That *aṅga* 10 originally, like *aṅgas* 7—9 and 11, was of a legendary character (cf. *aṅga* 3, 10), is rendered probable by a comparison with *upâṅgas* 8—12, which are of the same character. Their position at the end of the *upâṅga* series allows us to draw conclusions in reference to the *aṅga* corresponding to them. If this be so, the transformation of our *aṅga* must be placed at a still later period than that to which we have to refer the harmonizing of the 12 *aṅgas* and the 12 *upâṅgas*.

There are various criteria contained in the *aṅga* itself which determine the late date of its composition. I premise that the introduction which we possess, consists, if the vocative Jambû be omitted, of three *gâthâs*, which state in brief the contents of the work :—

iṇam-ô aṇhayasaṁvara-viṇichchhayaṁ pavayaṇassa nîsaṁdaṁ | vôchchhâmi nichchhayatthaṁ subhâsitatthaṁ mahêsîhiṁ || 1 ||

[330] paṁchavidhô pannattô Jiṇêhiṁ iha aṇhayê aṇîtîyê (aṇâdiu B) | hiṁsâ môsam[79] adattaṁ abaṁbha (*v* is wanting; perhaps ya) pariggahaṁ chêva || 2 ||

jârisaô jaṁ nâmâ jaha ya katô jârisaphalam deṁti | jê vi ya karêṁti pâvâ pâṇavahaṁ taṁ ṇisâmêha || 3 ||

Then follows in prose, first an explanation of the *pâṇivaha;* then 30 of its synonyms (nâmâṇi imâṇi goṇṇâṇi); then the subject itself is treated of, at the conclusion of which the entire doctrine is referred immediately to Nâyakulanaṁdana (Jnâta°):[80] êvam âhaṁsu Nâyakulanaṁdanô mahappâ Jiṇô u Vîravaranâmadhejjo, kahêsi ya pâṇivahassa phalavivâgaṁ : êsô sô pâṇivadhô chaṁḍô . . (as in the introduction) vêmaṇasô.

The next four sections are similarly arranged, except that after the vocative Jambû the treatment of the aliyavayaṇaṁ, adinnâdâṇaṁ, abambhaṁ, pariggaha, begins without the interposition of *gâthâ* strophies. The synonyms are invariably 30 in number and the conclusion is the same.

In the case of the five *saṁvaradârâiṁ*, two *gâthâs* are found in the introduction of the first (ahiṁsâ) after Jaṁbû !:[81] —

ittô saṁvaradârâ-i paṁcha vuchchhâmi âṇupuvvîê | jaha bhaṇiyâṇi Bhagavayâ savvadukkhavimukkhaṇatṭhâê || 1 ||

paḍhamaṁ hôi ahiṁsâ, biiyaṁ sachchavayaṇaṁ ti pannattam | dattam aṇuṇṇâya saṁvarô ya baṁbhacheraṁ pariggahattaṁ || 2 ||

[331]The further details in *dâras* 6—10 are similar to those in *dâras* 1—5. The enumeration of the synonyms, which are here called *pajjavanâmâni*,—60 in the case of *ahiṁsâ*—is carried on in a style somewhat different, and the concluding formula is not the same :—êvaṁ Nâyamuṇiṇâ bhagavayâ pannaviyaṁ parûviyaṁ pasiddhaṁ siddhaṁ siddhavarasâsaṇam iṇam âghaviyaṁ suvêsiyaṁ pasaṭṭhaṁ (paḍhamaṁ) saṁvaradâraṁ samattaṁ ti bêmi. The last two concluding words form a bond of connection between the existing redaction of *aṅga* 10 and *aṅgas* 1—4, to which these words belong. Furthermore, the appeal to the *Nâya* recalls *aṅga* 2. Perhaps we have to deal here with traces of ancient date; but, on the other hand, if we consider how many considerations make for the opposite conclusion, a conservative point of view will not permit too great weight to be laid upon these particulars, which are rather the result of an effort to impart an ancient flavour to the *aṅga*.

The following arguments, drawn from *aṅga* 10 itself, reinforce our conclusion that this *aṅga* is of late origin. The character of the language is late. The nominative in *ô* has assumed in almost every instance the place of the nomin. in *ê*, except in quoted passages. In the frequent compounds there is no deference paid to the laws of *saṁdhi* between the members of the

[79] i.e. mṛishâvâda.

[80] See above, p. 261, on *aṅga* 2, 1, 27.

[81] There are five *gâthâs* more inserted between *dâras* 5 and 6.

compounds; also these are often not inflected at the end, (êtâni prâyô luptaprathamâbahuvachanâni padâni, are the words of the scholiast), but retain their pure thematic form. [332] In the other *aṅgas* (*e. g.* in the tables of contents in *aṅga* 4) and especially inserted in them, we find phenomena not dissimilar in character, but not in such numbers. Their presence however invariably characterizes the passages in which they occur as being of secondary origin. Furthermore—and this is conclusive evidence—the enumeration of the names of the non-Âryan peoples is three times as great as that in *aṅgas* 5, 6, (p. 302, 313). Here there are 53, there but 18 names. The list is as follows[92]:—imê yê bahavê Milukkha (milê° BC)jâtî, kiṁ tê, Saga-Javaṇa-Sabara-Vavvara-Kâya-Muruṁdô-'ḍḍa-Bhaḍaga-Tiṇṇiya(Bhittiya)-Pakkaṇiya-Kulakkha-Gôḍa(Gôṁḍa)-Sîhala-Pârasa-Kôṁchâ-Aṁdha-Daviḍa-Villala(Chill°)-Puliṁda-Ârôsa[93]-Ḍôṁva-(Ḍôva)-Pôkkâṇa-Gaṁ-dha*h*âraga (!)-Vahalîa-Jallâra-Mamâsa-Vaüsa[94]-Malayâ ya Cuṁchuâ ya Chûliyâ Kâṁkaṇiga (Kôṁkaṇagâ B)-Mêya[95]-Palhava-Mâlava-Maggara-Âbhâsiyâ Aṇakkha. Chîṇa-Ṇhâsiya (Lâsiya BC)-Khasa-Khâsiya-Nidura (Nêṭṭara)-Marahaṭṭha[96]-Muṭṭhiya (Maushṭikâḥ)-Ârava-Ḍôṁvilaga-Kuhuṇa-Kêkaya-Hûṇa-Rômaga-Bharu-Maruga-Chilâtavisayavâsî ya, Some of these names are of evidently late occurrence. The peoples are all characterized as pàvamatiṇô and kûrakammâ.

[333] Especially interesting is the bitter polemic against erroneous teachers (natthikavàiṇô vâmalôgavâî)[97] in *dâra* 2; under these are comprised the "Bauddhâḥ" (Schol.), and the adherents of Issara ('Siva) and Viṇhu. Chîṇapaṭṭa appears in *dâra* 4, in the signification of "silk dress."[98] In *dâra* 5 are found the names of the planets; but not in the Greek order; thus Jupiter, Moon, Sun, Venus, Saturn, Râhu, Dhûmakêtu, Mercury, Mars. The first of the series of the 28 *nakkhattas* is unfortunately not stated; only the first and the last of the 72 *kalâs* are given: *lêhâiyâu saüṇaruyâvasâṇâu*;—in the same passage and in the ninth *dâra*, 64 *mahilâguṇas* are likewise mentioned:—raïjaṇaṇê sippasêvam etc.—The ahiṁsâ is characterized in *dâra* 6 as *bhagavaî*, truth sachcham, in *dâra* 7, as bhagavaṁtaṁ titthagarasubhâsiyaṁ dasavihaṁ[99] chaüddasapuvvîhiṁ pâhuḍattbavidiyam,[90] which is a reference to the prâbhṛita division in the 14 *pûrvas*. Abhayadêva **comments** on this *aṅga*.

The **table of contents** in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî* (N), is;—sê kiṁ taṁ paṇhâvâgaraṇâṇi? pa°ṇêsu aṭṭhuttaram pasiṇasayaṁ, a. apasiṇasayaṁ, a. pasiṇâpasiṇasayaṁ,[91] vijjâti[334]sayâ[92] nâgasuvannêhiṁ saddhiṁ[93] divvâ saṁvâyâ[94] âghavijjaṁti; paṇhâvâgaraṇadasâsu ṇaṁ sasamayaparasamayapannavaya (paṇavayâ A) pattêyabuddhâvivihatthabhâsâ(*bh.* omitted in A)bhâsiyâṇaṁ,[95]

[92] Of the very frequent variants in the MSS., I have chosen those which appear to have the best authority; *cf.* the similar enumeration in *upâṅga* 4.

[93] Ârôshâh, Arôshâh.

[94] Jallârâḥ Mâmâshâḥ Bakuśâḥ Schol.

[95] Mêta BC, Mêdâḥ; see Elliot, Hist. of India, 1, 519 fg. Indische Streifen, Vol. II. p. 403.

[96] pâṭhâṁtarê Maḍhâḥ (Muḍhâḥ E) Schol. The Marahaṭṭhas have nothing to do with the Mlêchchhas. Ramaṭha in *upâṅga* 4.

[97] lôkâyatikâḥ, vâmaṁ pratîpaṁ lôkaṁ vadaṁti yê.

[98] cf. chiṇapiṭṭharâsi in *up.* 2 and 3.

[99] janapadasaṁmatasatyâdibhêdêna daśavaikâlikâdi prasiddhaṁ.

[90] chaturdaśapûrvibhih prâbhṛitârthaviditaṁ pûrvagatâṅśaviśêshâbhidhêyatayâ jnâtaṁ.

[91] tatrâ 'ṁgulabâhupraśnâdikâ maṁtravidyâḥ praśnâh; yâ[h, vidyâh or praśnavidyâh; later on praśna is treated outright as a fem.] punar vidhinâ japyamânâ aprishṭâ êva (śubhâ)śubhaṁ kathayaṁti tâ apraśnâh; tathâ aṁgushthâdipraśnabhâvaṁ pratîtya yâ vidyâh śubhâśubhaṁ kathayaṁti tâh praśnâpraśnâḥ;—Schol. in N yê prishṭâ aprishṭâś cha kathayaṁti tê praśnâpraśnâh.

[92] Instead of vijjâ° N has merely aṁguṭṭhapasiṇâiṁ vâhupasiṇâiṁ addâgapasiṇâiṁ annê vi vichittâ divvâ vijjâtisayâ nâgasuvaṇṇêhiṁ siddhiṁ divvâ saṁvâyâ âghavijjaiṁti. Compare the names of the *panhâ°dasâu* found in *aṅga* 3, 10. This title we find above in the text. The old text appears therefore to have dealt with chiromantic and other prophetic arts. The explanation in the commentary: anyê vidyâtiśayâ staṁbhâ-staṁbhavaśîkaraṇavidvêshikaraṇôchchâṭanâdayaḥ refers to magic in general, which was cultivated by the Jains especially; cf. the statements in reference to the contents of the mahâparinnâ, p. 251, the books of magic of Nâgârjuna, &c. The orthodox belief could take umbrage at this part of the contents of *aṅga* 10.

[93] savviṁ A; upalakshaṇatvâd yakshâdibhiś cha saha.

[94] saṁvâdâḥ śubhâśubhagatâh saṁlâpâh.

[95] prajnâpakâ yê pratyêkabuddhâs tê (taih!) karakaṇḍy-âdisadriśair vividhârthabhâshâbhâshitâs tâsâm âdarśâṁgushthâdisaṁbaṁdhinînâṁ praśnânâm vividhaguṇamahârthâh praśna'daśâsv âkhyâyaṁta iti yôgah. The expression pratyêkabuddha, which recurs in the Nandi, is of interest; cf. p. 265 and Bhag 25, 6,8, according to Leumann.

atisayaguṇa-uvasama-nâṇappagâra(râ A)âyariyabhâsiyâṇaṁ vittharêṇaṁ thira(*vîra A*)mahêsîhiṁ[96] vivihavittharabhâsiyâṇaṁ cha, jagahiyâṇaṁ,[97] addâga[98]-'ṁguṭṭha-bâhu-asi-maṇi-khômâa-"tichcha-m-âiyâṇaṁ, vivihamahâpasiṇavijjâ-maṇapasiṇavijjâ(omitted in A)daivayapaügappahâṇaguṇa-pagâsiyâṇaṁ,[99] saṁbhûyaviguṇappabhâva(ppa om. A)ṇaragaṇa-m-ativimhayakarîṇaṁ,[100] [335] atisayam-aiyakâlasamaê[1] damasama(sama is omitted in A)titthakaruttamassa[2] ṭṭhii (ṭṭhita A)karaṇa-kâraṇâṇaṁ,[3] durabhigama duravagâhassa savvasavvannûsammayassa[4] buddha(abuha A)jaṇavi-bôhakarassa pachchakkhayapachchayakarîṇaṁ[5] paṇhâṇaṁ vivihaguṇamahatthâ jiṇavarappaṇiyâ âghavijjaṁti (aṭṭhâvijj° A).

XI. The **eleventh aṅgam, vivâgasuyaṁ,** vipâkaśrutam: in two śrutaskandhas, of 10 *ajjhayaṇas* each, contains legends on the reward of good and evil deeds.

Its division is in harmony with our information on this point in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî*, with this exception, that in *aṅga* 4 nothing is said of the two *śrutaskandhas*. See above, p. 270, 280, in reference to the *kammavivâga* texts, which are connected in name and contents, and which have 10, 43 and 55 *ajjh.*, and are mentioned in *aṅgas* 3, 10, 4, 43 and in the *Kalpasûtra*.

Iṁdabhûti beholds some horrible deed, and is told by Mahâvîra, whom he questions concerning it, the previous history, *e.g.* previous births of the individuals in question. The event itself is then explained[6] and the fate of the persons in future births is made known to the inquirer. Mahâvîra's answer thus treats the question in a three-fold manner. There is here no mention of a chêiê chaitya, as is the case in other legends; [336] but a *jakkhâyataṇa* of this and that *jakkha* is continually referred to. The part played by the *yaksha* here is at least as important as that in the Palisutta of the Buddhists, if not more so; — see *Ind. Streifen*, 3. 507a,—they being in fact exact representatives of the *dêvas*[7] of the Brâhmaṇs.

Here, as in *aṅgas* 7, &c., the first history only is related in detail, all the others being briefly told. **The titles of the tales** in the first *suyakkhaṁdha* are:—

1. Miyâputta in Miyagâma, son of king Vijaya and Miyâ, born blind and deaf and dumb, lame, and a cripple, without hands, feet, ears, eyes, nose, and with mere indications (âgii, âkṛiti) of the existence of these parts of the body. The account is similar in *aṅga* 3, 10.

2. Ujjhiya (°yaê V), son of the merchant Vijayamitta and of Subhaddâ in Vâṇiyagâma. A prostitute is here referred to, who was bâvattarikalâpaṁḍitâ chaüsaṭṭhigaṇiâ-guṇôvavêtâ. aṭṭhârasadêsibhâsâvisâradâ. The latter are unfortunately not enumerated. (In *aṅga* 3, 10 *Guttâsa*, instead of *Ujjhitaka*).

3. Abhagga (°ggasêṇê V), son of a robber[8] Vijaya and of Khaṁdasirî in the robber-village (chôrapallî) Sâlaḍavî. (In *aṅga* 3, 10 *aṇḍê* instead of *Abhaggasêṇê*.)

---

[96] sthiramaharshibhiḥ; pâṭhâṁtarêṇa vîrama°. [97] jagaddhitânâm.

[98] adâgamduṭṭha bâhu asa maṇi revâma âtichcha mâyâṇami A; on addâga, âdarśa (magician's mirror) cf. Hâla v. 204 p. 75).

[99] vividhapraśna(°śnân pra)ty uttaradâyinyaḥ, manaḥpramitârthôttaradâyinya(ś cha), tâsâṁ dêvatâni tadadhishṭhâtṛidêvatâs, têshâṁ prayôgaprâdhânyêna pradhânatayâ guṇaṁ vividhârthasaṁvâdakalakshaṇaṁ prakâśayaṁti lôkê vyaṁjayaṁti yais tê vividha° prakâśikâs tâsâm (the masc. and fem. of praśna together!).

[100] dviguṇêna upalakshaṇatvât laukikapraśnavidyâprabhâvâpêkshayâ bahuguṇêna pâṭhâṁtarê: vividhaguṇêna. prabhâvêṇa mâhâtmyêna manujasamudayabuddhêr vismayakâryaś chamatkârahêtavô yâḥ praśnâḥ.

[1] aïta A; atiśayam atîta.°

[2] dama(ḥ) śamas tatpradhânatîrthaṁkarâṇâṁ darśanâṁtaraśâstrîṇâṁ uttamô bhagavân jinas tasya.

[3] sthitikaraṇaṁ sthâpanaṁ, tasya kâraṇâni hêtavo yâs tâḥ.

[4] sarvêshâṁ sarvajnânâṁ sammatam ishtam.

[5] pratyakshakêṇa jnânêna pratyayaḥ "sarvâtiśayanidhânam . . jinavachanam" ity êvaṁrûpâ pratipattiḥ, atkaraṇaśîlânâṁ.

[6] This recalls the legend of the Śatap. Br. about Bhrigu Vâruṇi (*Ind. Streifen* 1, 24), with the exception that there is no reference here to the tortures of hell. but merely to a retribution on earth.

[7] A trace of this in the Siṁhâsanadv. *Ind. Stud* 15, 357, in Hâla, v. 372 Bh. (*Ind. Stud.* 16, p. 115). In the commentary on the Sûryaprajn. and elsewhere, chêiê is explained by vyaṁtarâyatanam.

[8] asilaṭṭhipathamamallê, . . . baṁdiggahaṇêhiṁ ya; cf. Hâla, preface, p. XVII.

4. Sagaḍa, son of the merchant Subhadda and of Bhaddâ in Sâhamjaṇî. (Also in *aṅga* 3, 10).

5. Vahassatidatta son of the purôhita Sômadatta and of Vasudattâ in Kôsambî. (In *aṅga* 3, 10 [illegible]).

6. [337] Namdivaddhana, son of king Siridâma and of Bandhusirî in Mahurâ. (In *aṅga* 3, 10 Namdisêṇa.)

7. Umbaradatta, son of the merchant Sâgaradatta and of Gamgadatta in Pâḍaliputta. (In *aṅga* 3, 10 Udumbara.)

8. Sôriyadatta, daughter of the machchhamdha (matsyabandha Abh., fisherman) Samuddadatta and of Samuddadattâ in Sôriyapura. (In *aṅga* 3, 10 Sôria.)

9. Dêvadattâ, daughter of the house-owner Datta and of Kaṇhasirî in Rôhiṇaa (or Rôhiḍaa). (A different name in *aṅga* 3, 10.)

10. Amjû, daughter of the merchant Dhanadêva and of Piamgu in Vaddhamâṇapura. (A different name in *aṅga* 3 10.)

The ten *ajjhayaṇas* of the second suyakkhamdha are:

1. Subâhu, son of king Addîṇasatta and of Dhâriṇî in Hatthisîsa.
2. Bhaddanamdi, son of king Dhaṇâvaha and of Sarassatî in Usabhapura.
3. Sujâta, son of king Mitta and of Sirî in Vîrapura.
4. Suvâsava, son of king Vâsavadatta and of Kaṇhâ in Vijayapura.
5. Jiṇadâsa, son of prince (kumâra) Mahâchamḍa and of Arahadattâ in Sôgamdhitâ.
6.[9] Dhaṇavati, son of the yuvarâja Vêsamaṇa and of Sirî in Kaṇakapura.
7. Bhaddanamdi, son of the prince Mahabbala and of Rattavatî in Mahâpura.
8. [338] Mahambala, son of the prince Bhaddanamdi, and of Sirî in Sughôsa.
9. Chamda, son of the prince Mahâchamda and of Juvasirîkamtâ in Champâ.
10. Varadatta, son of king Mittanamdi and of Sirikamtâ in Sâgêya.

All these fine-sounding names, and those brought into connection with them, are in all probability pure fabrications; the names of the localities alone, *e.g.* Pâḍaliputta, have some chronological value.

The **table of contents** in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî* (N), is as follows:—sê kim tam vivâgasuê ô vivâgasuê ṇam sukaḍadukkaḍâṇam kammâṇam phalavivâgê[10] âghavijjamti, sê[11] samâsaü duvihê pam, tam: duhavivâgê chêva suhavivâgê chêva, tattha ṇam dasa duhavivâgâim,[10] dasa suhavivâgâṇi;[10]—sê kim tam duhavivâgê (°gâṇi B C)? duhavivâgêsu ṇam duhavivâgâṇam (N-omitted in ABC) nagarâi chêi ujjâ vaṇa râyâ ammâpiyarô samôsaraṇa dhammâyariyâ dham, makahâ[12] nagaragamaṇâim[13] samsârapavamchaduhaparamparâu ya âghavijjamti, sê tam duhavivâgâṇi;—sê kim tam suhavivâgâṇi? suhavivâgêsu ṇam suhavivâgâṇam nagarâim[12] *jâva* dhammakahâ ihalôgaparalôga°[14] bhôgapari° pavva°[15] suyapariggahâ tavô pariyâ[16] samlêhaṇa bhattapachcha pâuva[17] [339] dêvalôga° sukula° puṇabôhi° amtakiriyâu ya âghavijjamti;—duhavivâgêsu[18] ṇam pâṇâtivâya aliyavayaṇa (°yavâṇaya A) chôrikka(°rakka A)karaṇa paradâramêhuṇa sasamgatâê maha(°hâ A) tivvakasâya imdiyappamâda pâvappaôga-asubhajjhavasâṇa-samchiyâṇam[19] kamê mâṇam pâvagâṇam pâva-aṇubhâgaphalavivâgâ ṇiraya(°gâṇi naraga A)gati tirikkhajôṇi bahuviha

[9] In Vidhiprapâ are the following inversions:—Dhaṇavai 6, Mahavvala 7, Bhaddanamdî 8, Mahâchamda 9.

[10] °gâ N.

[11] sê up to suhavivâgê chêva omitted in N; samâsatô B C.

[12] In N again transposed na u. va cê. sa. râ. am. dh°hâô dh°riyâ.

[13] nagara° to *jâva* dhammakahâ omitted in N; nagaragamaṇâim ti, bhagavatô Gautamasya bhikshâdyartham.

[14] ihalôiyâpârâlôiyâ riddhivisêsâ N.

[15] pavvaî A.

[16] tavô padi B C.

[17] bhôgaparichchâgâ pavvajjâô pariyâgâ° suapariggahâ tavô-'vahâṇâim samlêhaṇâô bhattapachchakkhâṇâim pâôvagamaṇâim suhaparamparâô sukulapachchâiô punavôhilâbhâ amtakiriyâo a âgh° N.

[18] N omits all the following.

[19] pâpaprayôgâśubhâdhyavasânasamchitânâm.

(°hâ A) vasaṇasaya-paraṁparâbaddhâṇaṁ(°râpava° A), maṇuyattê (°tattê A) vi âgayâṇaṁ jahâ[20] pâvakammasêsêṇa pâvagâ hôṁti phalavivâgâ bahuvasaṇaviṇâsa[21] nâsakannôṭṭhaṁguṭṭhakara-charaṇaṇahachhêyaṇa jibbhachhêyaṇa (jibbhavêchhê° A) aṁjaṇa[22] kaḍaggidahaṇa[23](dâh° B C, dahâṇa A) gayachalaṇa malaṇa phâlaṇa[24] ullaṁbaṇa[25] sûla-layâ(sûlatâ A)-laüḍa-laṭṭhibhaṁjaṇa[26] taü-sîsaga-tattatêlla-kalakala-abhisiṁchaṇa kuṁbhipâga[27] kampaṇa[28] thirabaṁdhaṇa[29] (baṁdha A) vêha (vêhava A) vajjha(vabbha A)kattaṇa[30] patibhayakara[31] karapalîvaṇâiṁ[32] dâruṇâṇi dukkhâṇi aṇôvamâṇi bahuvihaparaṁparâṇubaddhâ[33] ṇa muchchaṁti, pâvakammavalliê (velîê A) [340] avêyaïttâ[34] hu[35] na tthi mokkhô,[36] tavêṇa[37] dhitidhaṇiyabaddhakachhêṇa[38] sôhaṇaṁ[39] tassa vâ 'vi hotthâ,[40]—ettô ya[41] suhavivâgêsu ṇaṁ (omitted in A) sîlasaṁjama niyama guṇatavô-vahâṇêsu sâhusu suvihiêsu[42] aṇukaṁpâsayapayôga(paüga A)[43]-tikâlamati[44]-visuddhabhattapâṇâi payayamaṇasâ[45]hiyasuhanîsêsativvapariṇâmanichchhiyamatî[46] payachhiûṇa[47] payôgasuddhâiṁ[48] jahâ (jahi A) ya nivvattê(ṁ)ti[49] u[50] bôhilâbhaṁ, jaha ya (jahâ A) parittîkarê(ṁ)ti (karôti A)[51] naranirayatiriya suragatigamaṇavipula[52] pariyaṭṭa[53] aratibhayavisâyasôkamichhattasê-lasaṁkaḍaṁ[54]annâṇa(aṇâṇa A)tamaṁdhakârachikkhallasuduttâraṁ jaramaraṇa-[341] jôṇi-saṁ-kkhubhiyachakkavâlaṁ[55](vâla A)sôlasakasâyasâvayapayaṁḍaṁ (C, payaṁḍachaḍaṁ A)[56] (aṇâtiyaṁ aṇavayaggaṁ[57])saṁsârasâgaram iṇaṁ, jaha ya nibaṁdhaṁti âugaṁ suragaṇêsu, jaha ya aṇubhavaṁti suragaṇavimâṇasôkkhâṇi aṇôvamâṇi (omitted in A)taü ya kâlaṁtarachuyâṇaṁ ihê 'va naialôgam âgayâṇaṁ, âû-vaü(vapu BC)-vanna-rûva-jati-kula-jamma-ârôgga-buddhi-mêhâ (omitted in A)-visêsâ[58]) mittajaṇa (jiṇa A) sayaṇa[59]) dhanna (dhamma A)-dhaṇa (omitted in A) vibhava[60]) samid-dh(°ddha A) sârasamudayavisêsâ bahuvihakâmabhôgubbhavâṇa (°gabbhavâ BC) sôkkhâṇa,

[20] jahâ to ṇahachêyaṇa omitted in A.

[21] vinâśashêty(')âdi yâvat pratibhayakara karapradîpanaṁ chê 'ti dvaṁdvaṁ.

[22] mrakshaṇam vâ dêhasya kshâratailâdinâ. [23] katânâṁ vidalavaṁśâdimayânâṁ agnih kaṭâgnis têna dahanaṁ.

[24] vidâraṇam. [25] vrikshaśâkhâdâv udbaṁdhanam, cf. lambiyaga Aup. § 70.

[26] laütha B; śûlêna latayâ lakuṭêna yashṭyâ bhaṁjanaṁ gâtrâṇâṁ.

[27] °ṇaṁ kuṁbhipâga A, °pâgaṁ B C; kuṁ(bhyâṁ) bhâjanaviśêshê pâkah.

[28] kampanam śitalajalachhôṭanâdinâ śîtakâlêna gâtrôtkampanaṁ. [29] niviḍaniyaṁtraṇâbaṁdhaḥ.

[30] kuṁtâdinâ śastrêṇa bhêdanaṁ varddha(naṁ) kartanam.

[31] pattibhayakaraṁ A, patibhayaṁ karaṁ BC, patibhayakaraṁ C; bhayajananaṁ.

[32] palli° B C (without kara), karapallî° A; karapradîpanaṁ vasanavêshṭitasya tailâbhishaṣya (?) karayôr aṁ-(agni ?)prâvâdhanam (?); tâni âdir yêshâṁ duhkhânâṁ tâni, tâni tathâ cha dâruṇâni chê 'ti karmadhârayaḥ. This appears to me quite unnecessary; there is no âdi in *palîvaṇâi*, which is merely a neutr. pl.

[33] badhâ A; jîvâ iti gamyatê.

[34] pâpakarmavallyâ phalasaṁpâdikayâ . . yatô 'vêdayitvâ (an)anubhûya karmaphalam iti gamyatê.

[35] hur yasmâd-arthê.

[36] viyôgaḥ karmaṇah sakâśât, jîvânâm iti gamyatê; av. hu na 'tthi m. is a species of formula solemnis.

[37] kiṁ sarvathâ? nê 'ty âha: tapasâ anaśanâdikavratêna.

[38] ddhiti A; dhṛitiś chôttasamâdhânaṁ, dhaniyam atyarthaṁ, baddhâ nipîḍitâ, kachhaṁ baṁdhaviśêshô yatra tat tathâ têna, dhritiyuktênê 'ty a.

[39] śôdhanam apanayanam.

[40] hoyyâ BC; tasya karmaviśêshasya vâ 'vi 'tti saṁbhâvanâyâm, hotthâ sampadyatê; nâ 'nyamôkshôpâyô 'sti 'ti bhâvih. [41] itaś châ 'naṁtaraṁ.

[42] sushthu vihitam anushthitaṁ yêshâṁ tê suvihitâs, têshu bhaktâdi dattvâ yathâ bôdhilâbhâdi ni(r)vartayaṁti tathê 'hâ 'khyâyata iti sambaṁdhab, iha cha saṁpradânê 'pi saptamî. [43] anukampâśayaprayôgas têna.

[44] trishu kâlêshu yâ matir buddhiḥ, yad uta dâsyâmî 'ti paritôshô, dîyamânê p°shô, dattê cha p°sha iti sâ trikâlamatis, taya. [45] pattaya A; prayatamanasâ âdarapûtachêtasâ.

[46] hiyaṁ suhanîsêsaṁ A; . . . tîvraḥ prakishṭaḥ, pariṇamô 'dhyavasânam, niśchitâ 'saṁśayâ matir buddhir yêshâṁ tê hitasukhanihśrêyasatîvrapariṇâmaniśchitamatayaḥ. [47] pradâya.

[48] paüga A; samsârâdidôsharahitâni.

[49] jîvâ iti gamyatê. [50] tuśabdô bhâsa(?)mâtrârthah.

[51] parittî kurvaṁti, hrasvatâṁ nayaṁti, saṁsârasâgaram iti yôgaḥ; on the foll. see Aupapât. § 32 (Leumann, p. 44).

[52] gamaṇa B C, gatigamaṇa A; °gatishu vipulô vistîrṇah. [53] parivartô (vṛittô ?).

[54] visâkha, sila, B; °mithyâtvâni êva śailâh parvatâh taiḥ saṁkaṭaḥ saṁkîrṇô yah.

[55] mahâmatsyamakarâdyanêkajalajaṁtujâtisammâdêna praviloḍitaṁ chakravâlaṁ jalapârimâṁḍalyaṁ yatra.

[56] payaṁdachaṁḍaṁ B; shôdaśa kashâyâ êva śvâpadâni makarâdîni prakâṁḍâni atyartharaudrâṇi yatra.

[57] BC, aṇaiyaṁ aṇavadayaṁ A; anâdikam, anavavargam anaṁtam.

[58] mêdhâviśêshâ âkhyâyaṁta iti yôgah. [59] svajanaḥ pitripitṛivyâdiḥ.

[60] dhannadhaṇa C; °vibhavaṁ B; dhanadhânyarûpô yô vibhavah lakshmîh.

subhavivâguttamêsu[61]) aṇuvaraya(ana° A)paraṁparâṇubaddhâ asubhâṇaṁ subhâṇu (BC,A omits) cheva kammâṇa bhâsiyâ bahuvihâ(v. omitted in A)vivâgâ vivâgasuyammi bhagavayâ jiṇavarêṇa saṁvêgakâraṇatthâ[62]), annê (annâ A) vi ya êvamâîyâ (°âdiyâ BC) bahuvihâ vittharêṇaṁ atthâ (attha A) parûvaṇayâ âghavijjaṁti (°jjaï BC).

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 5. — The Poor Boy and the Fox.

There once lived together an old woman and her son, who dragged along a very wretched existence, often contenting themselves with one meal a day. They continued in this state for a very long time, till one day a cultivator, **a neighbour** of theirs, taking pity on them, called **the old woman's son**, who was then getting a big lad, and **gave him a few melon seeds.** He then shewed him a plot of ground belonging to him, and told him to sow them there, and to take care of the plants, till they produced melons which, when sold, would help him to live in a little better style.

The boy took the seeds with gratitude, and lost no time in digging up the ground allotted to him, and in sowing the seeds. A few days afterwards, little plants began to shoot up, and he watered them, manured them, and took every possible care of them. **In due time they grew big,** and flowered, and yielded an abundance of melons; but to the great disappointment of the poor boy, **when he went in the morning to gather them for sale not one could be found.** He was at a loss to understand what had become of them, so he went to his neighbour, who had given him the seeds, and told him all about it, and **asked for his advice.** The neighbour, who was a cultivator of great experience, at once came to the conclusion either that some one was in the habit of stealing the melons, or that some animals were eating them. But the difficulty was to find the delinquent! **So he gave the boy some wax, and told him to mould it into the figure of a man,** and set it up in the middle of his field as a scare-crow. The boy took the wax, and made a nice little figure of it, and took it the same evening and set it up in his fields.

That night **a fox,** who had come every night and eaten the melons, came there as usual. But when he saw the wax figure, he thought somebody was watching, and to make himself sure that it was really a human being, **went up to the figure and said to it: — "Who are you?"** But did ever a figure speak? The fox asked him over and over again, but, of course with no success. At last he got annoyed at the supposed person not answering him and said: — "How often shall I ask you? Are you deaf that you can't hear, or are you dumb that you don't speak?"

But for all this no reply came forth. Again the fox said: — "Take care now; if you don't speak, I will give you a blow that will make you cry."

Still no reply, and so **the fox gave one strong blow, but his paw stuck in the wax** and he could not extricate it. Upon this the fox said: — "Let go my paw."

Still he could get no reply, nor was his paw set free. Upon this the fox said: — "What! You won't let go my paw? Do you want another blow? This time I will give you a blow that will knock you down! So you had better let go my paw."

---

61 °gô u° BC; śubhavipâka uttamô yêshâṁ tê śubhavipâkôttamâs têshu, jîyêshu iti gamyatê, iha che 'yaṁ shashṭhyarthê saptamî; tê śubhavipâkâdhyayanavâchyânâṁ sâdhûnâṁ âyushkâdiviśeshâḥ śubhavipâkâdhyayanêshu âkhyâyaṁta iti prakṛitaṁ, atha pratyêkaṁ śrutaskaṁdhayôr abhidhêyê puṇô(guṇa?)pâpavipâkarûpê pratipâdya tayôr êva yaugapadyêna tê âha: anuparatâ achinnâ yê paramparânuba(ṁ)dhâḥ kê? vipâkâ iti yôgaḥ.

62 saṁvêgahêtavô bhâvâḥ, cf. Leumann, Aup. Glossary under *saṁvêyaṇa.*

But for all his entreaties and threats, the supposed human being would not answer him nor would he let go his paw. And then the fox, enraged beyond measure, gave another blow with his other paw, with the result that this paw also adhered to the wax, and all his attempts to extricate either paw were useless; and so in his rage he said: — "Look here now, just you let go my paws, or I shall get wild and give you such a kick on your stomach that it will burst and all your entrails will come out."

But what is the use of threatening a wax figure? The fox gave one strong kick, only to find his leg also stuck fast in the figure. He was now mad with rage, and sometimes with entreaties and sometimes with threats he asked to be let go, but all to no avail. At last he said: — "I ask you for the last time to let me go away quietly, for if I am provoked further, I will give you another kick and that will be certain to kill you."

In this way he begged and threatened, and threatened and begged, but it was all useless. He wriggled and struggled too, but all for nothing, and at last, losing his temper, gave a second kick with the same result as before, and got stuck to the figure with all four paws like a man tied up. Still he did not despair of setting himself free, and said: — "Well, well, you have caught all my paws; but won't you let them go? If you don't, I shall know what to do: I will give you a bite and eat you up."

The figure gave him no answer, nor would he set him free. The fox therefore said: — "Look here, I will not go on asking you for ever, and if you don't let me go at once, I will bite you without fail. Now do let me go!"

But seeing that all his entreaties were of no avail, he opened his mouth as wide as he possibly could, and gave a huge bite at the figure, so that his teeth dug deep into the wax and stuck fast in it. He struggled for a very long time, but all his attempts proved futile, and in this position he remained all night, thinking upon his fate the next day.

The following day when the poor boy came as usual to see to his melons, he saw the fox stuck in the figure, and said: — "Oh, ho! you thief, so it's you that have been taking my melons every day, and stealing my daily bread! You are nicely caught. How will you get away now? I'll teach you to rob my melons!"

Thus saying, he prepared to kill the fox, who sobbed and cried, and begged hard to let him free, but all in vain. The boy seemed determined to kill him, and at last the fox said: — "Only set me free, and I will pay you back a hundred-fold. I will even get you married to the king's daughter, and then you can enjoy yourself all your life." In the end, after much entreaty, the boy let the fox free, on condition that he would not steal nor eat any more of his melons, and that he would get him married to the king's daughter. The fox agreed, and never afterwards touched the melons.

He had now a very difficult task to perform, in getting his benefactor married to the king's daughter, and he at once set about it. But one day as he was taking the road leading to the king's palace, he saw a goldsmith making a small bench[1] of gold, which only required a finishing touch. So he went to the other side of the goldsmith's house, where his child was playing alone, the mother having gone to fetch water, and took it up and threw it down on the ground, which made it cry, and then he ran up to the goldsmith and said: — "Is your gold worth more than your child, that you should not go and see after it when it is half dead with the fall it has had? Shame upon you!"

The goldsmith, who was very busy at the time, did not see the fox till he spoke to him, nor had he heard his child cry till he was told about it. So he ran off, to take up the child and to soothe it. In the meanwhile our hero, the fox, quietly took up the bench, and made for the king's palace. As soon as he reached it, he told the guards to inform the king at once

[1] Among Hindûs, or rather in Marâṭhî, this bench is known as *pîṭ*; the Salsette Christians call it *pîram*.

that he had come on a very important business. The king came out and offered him a chair, upon which he brought out his golden bench and said with a disdainful air: — "I never sit on chairs, I always carry about my own seat."

The king was, of course, astonished at this, and thought that the fox must be a great personage if he always sat on a golden bench. Preliminaries thus successfully over, the fox began: — "Your Majesty, it is our desire to enter into a bond of relationship between Your Majesty and ourselves, by asking Your Majesty's daughter in marriage with our son."

The king, who was bewitched at the sight of the golden bench, and took him for a really great personage, agreed to the proposal, and appointed a day for the celebration of the auspicious festivities. He began at once to make perparations on a very grand scale, which extended over several days. For he had money and gold and corn, and everything else in abundance.

The fox then went home, told the boy of his success at the palace, and said that he must be ready on a certain day. The poor boy was overjoyed, for who would not be, at the news that he was to be married to a king's daughter? He too had to make grand preparations, but here was a difficulty; where were the means? So he had recourse to his friend the fox, who promised to do everything for him.

Now there was a small rivulet running through the town, past the boy's hut, and further on past the king's palace, and the fox went about from house to house and collected all the rice husks of the village and threw them into the rivulet for several days. When the king saw all these husks, he was astonished and thought within himself: — "My son-in-law must be a really great personage, as he is evidently going to invite thousands of guests, or why would he grind so much rice?"

There were now only a few days left before the wedding, and the fox went about collecting all the *patrâvêlis*[2] he could from the village, and these too he threw in the rivulet. The king was still more astonished to see such a number of *patrâvêlis* being already thrown away from his son-in-law's house; for what could it mean, but that his son-in-law's guests had already come and were being feasted even days before the wedding?

These tricks were all very well for duping the king, but the bridegroom had to have a befitting dress, and he must also have a large house, if not a palace, wherein to receive his royal bride, and it was far beyond the comprehension of our hero as to where to get these from. So he again had recourse to the fox. Even these the fox did not despair of providing, and one day climbed a high mountain and there began to cry so long and so loud that Îsvara and Pârbatî heard him, and coming up to him asked him what he was crying like that for. The fox said: —

"O Îsvara and Pârbatî, all honour be to you! How shall I tell you of my sorrows? I was once caught stealing melons, but on promising the owner to get him married to the king's daughter, I was released by him. I have succeeded in persuading the king to give his daughter to my benefactor, but the difficulty is to get suitable dress for him, also a befitting house and food and other necessaries requisite for the occasion. I beg of you, therefore, to help me. We want a large house and a *paṇḍâl*[3] for a day or two, after which I know what to do."

Îsvara and Pârbatî were much moved, and said: — "Go home, and you will find a large palace most handsomely furnished, and a *paṇḍâl* richly decorated, with tables and bread and all sorts of dishes laid out ready for you, and a handsome dress for the bridegroom!"

The fox went home, and saw to his great pleasure a large palace most handsomely furnished, and a *paṇḍâl* richly decorated, with tables laid out with bread and every requisite necessary for the occasion. The dishes and plates were of solid gold and silver, and there also was the bridegroom, most beautifully dressed, and quite a match for the king's daughter!

---

[2] Plates made of leaves.

[3] The *shamiâna* of North India; it corresponds somewhat to the marquee-tent of Europe.

The king in the meanwhile had sent some of his men to see what preparations his son-in-law had made, and when they saw the large palace, and the *paṇḍál*, and the tables laid out with gold and silver dishes, their eyes were dazzled, and they went and reported what they had seen to the king, who was now more than convinced that his son-in-law was a man of great importance.

The wedding-day at last dawned, and our hero had no friends or relatives to accompany him to church, so the fox went into the jungles and began howling, when lo! thousands upon thousands of other foxes came running in from all sides to the spot where our fox was. He explained to them why he had called them together, and they were all willing to follow him. He next cut a lot of palm leaves and tied them to the tails of the foxes.

The bridegroom now set out for the church, to get married, followed by a retinue of foxes with the palm-leaves tied to their tails, which, as they marched along, raised up such a cloud of dust, that the whole village was enveloped in it. The king saw it from afar and was at a loss to understand what could be the cause of it, and feared that it was a foreign king coming with a large army to conquer his kingdom. So he sent some men to see what it was or who was coming, and they reported that his son-in-law was coming, with thousands upon thousands of guests. The king, who was not prepared to entertain so many people, sent word to his son-in-law not to bring them all, but to come with only a few.

This just suited the fox, who sent back all the other foxes and went alone with the bridegroom. They went to the church, where the marriage ceremony was performed, and then all the guests returned to the king's palace, and regaled themselves on a sumptuous dinner which awaited them. Dinner over, the bridegroom, taking his royal bride, returned to his own house, where a very sumptuous supper was eaten, after which dancing and singing were kept up till very late in the night, and then everybody went to sleep.

Now it will be remembered that the large handsome palace and the *paṇḍál* and everything else was only to remain for a short time, and so everything suddenly disappeared, and the following morning the bridegroom found to their dismay, that not even the old woman's hut remained, and he and his wife were sunk in poverty. On that very day the king was to come with all his guests to dinner, and as soon as the fox saw the party coming he cried out at the top of his voice :—

"The bride's feet have brought ill-luck! The bride's feet have brought ill-luck! See in what affluent circumstances we were till yesterday, and the bride has been scarcely a day here when everything has disppeared! The bride's feet have brought ill-luck! The bride's feet have brought ill-luck!"

The king arrived with his retinue, and was surprised to see his daughter and son-in-law in such a position, and he enquired what was the matter. Quick as lightning, the fox replied :— "What is the matter? Why, do *you* ask what is the matter? The matter is this, your daughter's feet have brought ill-luck to us! your daughter's feet have brought ill-luck to us."

The poor king, whose men had told him of the splendour of his son-in-law's palace and everything else they saw, thought that what the fox said must be true, and that his daughter's feet had brought ill-luck to her husband! So he consoled him by a promise of half his kingdom in compensation for the loss he had sustained!

Our friend, the poor boy, took it contentedly, and when many years afterwards the fox died, the boy gave him a grand funeral, with music. And after that he lived happily with his royal bride to a very old age.[4]

[4] [This is an exceedingly interesting instance of the grateful animal class of tale, in which, contrary to custom, a fox is the hero. It also exhibits in a remarkable degree the mixture of Hinduism and Christianity that clearly prevails among the poorer Christians of Salsette. — R. C. T.]

TEXT.

Êk hôtî ḍôkrî; tichâ hôtâ êk sôkrâ. Mhôṭṭâ garibchâr tiañchâ gêlâ, aurêtûk gê kôn vakhat êk vakhat khât ani kôn vakhat dôn vakhat khât. Aisañ karûn mûrâd varsaṁ kârliṁ. Êk dis êkê śêzôlialâ kâklût aili tianchi, ani tiâ ḍôkrîchê sôkriala vârûnśiṁ jibrâchiâ biâ diliâ ani sâṅgatlaṁ pairâvâ ani tianchi kamâi karûnśiṁ khâvâlâ. Tiâ pôrâzûn tiâ biâ ghêûnśiṁ pairiliâ ani mûrâd mênat kêlî. Kaiñ ṭêp gêlaṁ ani jibrichâ mâriâ âilâ. Ô pôria âplâ śiṁpî, khânaṁ ghâtlaṁ ani hôtâ. Kaiñ ṭêp tiâvar gêlaṁ ani tiâ jibrichâ mâriâ mhoṭṭiâ zhâiliâ, tiâñvar fûlañ ailiṁ, ani thaurê ṭêpâśiṁ jibraṁ zhâiliṁ. Athaṁ ô pôria sakâlchâ, ûṭṭûnśiṁ zâi âplês kâśivar jibraṁ kârâvâ, pûn taiaṁ pôñchliavar bagi tê kâ, êk pûn jibûr milê naśô tialâ. Athaṁ nâhin khabar gê kôn chôrûn nêt ou nâhin sâṅgvê gê kaiñ zanâvraṁ êûn khât. Tavaṁ tô pôria gêlâ tiâ śêzôliapar ani sâṅgatlaṁ gê aśi aśi vârtâ hâi, ani vichârilaṁ gê tiachâ ûpâi kâ karâvâ. Tavaṁ tô śêzôlî tâbôrtôb samazlâ gê kaiñ ṭari zanâvraṁ êûnśiṁ khâtastin khariṁ. Tiâ porâlâ sâṅgatlaṁ: "Mên jhê ani tiachaṁ êk bâulaṁ kar, ani râtchê pârâ tûjê kâśichêmadaṁ ûbaṁ kar; sakâl kâ hâi tê tûlâ samjêl, gê kôniṁ chôrûn nêtân ou kôniṁ zanâvraṁ êûn khâtân aiśaṁ." Pôria gêlâ gharâ, mên jhêtlaṁ, ani kêlaṁ êk bâulaṁ. Sânchaṁ têñ bâulaṁ nêlaṁ ani jibrichê madaṁ ûbaṁ kêlaṁ.

Athaṁ kâ zhâilaṁ, êk kôlhâ pêṭlatâ, zô râtchâ êi ani sâriṁ jibraṁ khâi. Athaṁ ô kôlhâ dar dis êi taisâ tiâ râtchâ tari âilâ, ani tiâchî nadhar lâgli tiâ mênâchê bâuliavar. Kôlhiachê manân jêlaṁ gê kôniñ mânûs baislâi râkhâvâ. Tavaṁ tiâ bâuliachê mêrê zâûn bôlûñ lâglâ: "Kôn hâis tûṁ?" Pûn bâuliazûn kadûn zabâb diltâ gô âz dêl aisâ. Kôlhâ magâri vichârâvâ lâglâ; mûrâd sâd ghâtlê, ani mûrâd vakhat vichârilaṁ pûn tialâ kaiñ zabâb milê nâhin. Kôlhialâ âilâ râg ani kâ bôltê: "Kôn hâis tûṁ? Zabâb nâhin karvê, kaṁ tûlâ kaiñ pâijê? Zabâb nâhin dilâs tê samâl; êk chafrâk mârin ani hêṭṭô pârin." Auraṁ bôtlaṁ kôlhiazûn pûn tiâ bâuliachê ṭôṇḍânśiṁ zabâb kaiñ niṅgê nâhin. Tavaṁ kôlhâ bagilâ bagilâ ani zô chafrâk mârli tê tiachâ hât lapaṭlâ tiâ mênâlâ. Athaṁ kôlhâ hât kârtêi pûn kaiñ niṅgê nâhin. Tavaṁ kâ bôltê magâri: "Kâ rê, hât sôritês kaṁ nâhin, kaṁ dêuñ biji êk chafrâk. Athaṁ chafrâk dên tê hêṭṭô parśil ani ûṭśil nâhin bhûiñvarśiṁ, nâhin tê barêpaniṁ hât sôr." Aisaṁ bôtlaṁ, kôlhiazûn, pûn tiachâ hât kaiñ sûṭṭê nâhin ani tialâ zabâb kaiñ milê nâhin. Tavam tâulâ ani zô biji chafrâk dilî tê tô pûn hât arkalâ. Athaṁ kôlhâ hiñskitê hiñskitê tari hât kaiñ sûṭat nâhin, tavaṁ kâ bôltê: "Kâ rê, tûlâ kaiñ masti âilêi kâ? Dôñviñ hât dhêlês kâ? Bagai tûṁ mâñjê hât sôr, nâhin tê jâsti tâu zâr âilâ tê lât mârin ani ântriṁ kârin, nâhin tê mâñjê hât sôr ani mâlâ zâundê." Tari kaiñ tiachê hât nâhin sûṭat kaṁ zabâb pûn nâhin milê; ani kôlhialâ râg zô ailâ tê tiâ râgâśiṁ mârli lât tê hôtâ tê pâiñ pûn arkalâ. Tari pûn kâ bôltê: "Kâ rê, mâñzâ pâiñ pûn dhêlâs kâ? Bagai tûlâ miṁ sâṅgtaiñ gê mâñjê hât pâiñ sôr, nâhin tê biji lât zô mârin tê jiû kârin, nâhin tê mâlâ sôr." Tari pûn tialâ zabâb milê nâhin, ani tâvâ bharli mârli biji lât, pûn tô pûn paiñ lapaṭlâ, ani kôlhâ rêlâ ṭâṅglâ; lâglâ hât pâiñ hiñskâvâ. Hiñskitê, ôritê, tânitê, pûn kaiñ ûpêgi parê nâhin. Tari pûn kôlhâ dhîr sôrî nâhin, ani kâ bôltê: Bagai mâñjê hât pâiñ sôr. Tûṁ nakô samzûñ gê mâñjê hât pâiñ gûtlê ani mâñśiṁ kaiñ nâhin karvêl aisaṁ. Śêvaṭ châvâ zô mârin tê ragat niṅgêl ani tûṁ marśil, nâhin tê mânâṁ sôr." Kôlhâ auraṁ bôltêi tari tialâ kaiñ zabâb milê nâhin ani tiachê hât pâiñ kaiñ sûṭat nâhin. Tavam hôtaṁ tê kôlhiazûn jê châvâ mârlâ tê tiachaṁ ṭôṇḍ pûn lapaṭlaṁ. Athaṁ kôlhâ bagitêi gê kaiñs ûpâi rêlâ nâhin, âni sâri rât taisâs ṭâṅglâ rêlâ.

Bijê dis pôria âilâ tê bagitêi gê chôr sâmplian parlâi; tavaṁ tialâ bôtlâ: "Arha, tûñs nâhin rê tô, mâñjiṁ jibraṁ dar dis khâvâlâ? Âthaṁ tûlâ barâbôr dâkhritaiñ." Ainsaṁ bôlûnśiṁ zâtei tiachâ prân kârâvâ, tavaṁ kôlhâ lâgla hâtâñ pâiâñ parâvâ ani dâdâ bâvâ karâvâ. Hô nâhin, hô nâhin kartaṁ śêvaṭ bôtlâ: "Bagai, mânâñ sôr, tûlâ râjiachî sôkrî dên varâḍâvâ." Pôria tari hô nâhin, hô nâhin kartaṁ kabûl zhâilâ sôrâvâ aśê kabûlâdivar gê râjiachê sôkrîśiṁ tiachaṁ varâḍ karâvaṁ, ani tiêlâ sôrilaṁ. Tiâ disâśiṁ jibraṁ sâriṁ akôpit milûṁ lâgliṁ.

Athaṁ êk dis pôrâzûn sâṅgatlaṁ kôlhialâ tiachî sôirik bândâvâ râjâchê sôkrîśiṁ. Kôlhâ bôtlâ: "Hô, têñ âplaṁ kâm." Aisaṁ bôtlaṁ ani niṅgâlâ zâvâlâ râjâchê gharâ. Vâṭê êk sônâr gharvit

hôtâ êk sôṅiacham piram. Maglê dârâ sônârâcham pôr khêlat hôtam; tialâ kôlhiazûn tûkilam ani âpṭilam, ani dhâṅvat âilâ ani sônârâlâ kâ bôltê : "Arê, sônam tûlâ jâsti zhâilain tûjê pôrâ khiris, gè fartêi tê bagis nâhin, ani piram gharvâlâ baislâis." Tavam sônar dhâṅvat gêlâ pôrâlâ tûkâvâ taurian kôlhiazûn piram tûkilam ani palâlâ. Piram ghêûnśim gêlâ râjâchê gharâ, ani śimpâialâ sâṅgatlam râjâlâ vârâvâ bôlûnśim gê agticham kâm hâi karûnśim. Simpâi zâûnśim sâṅgatlam râjâlâ. Tavam râzâ âilâ ani kadêr dilam kôlhialâ baisâvâ. Tavam kôlhiazûn sôniacham piram kârlam ani baislâ bôlûnśim: "Shâv! aśê kadêravar kôn baiśêl; mim mîñji baisan sadaṅ saṅgâti jhêtam." Râjâzûn bagilam tê ajêbân bharlâ ani êuzûṅ lâglâ gê kôlhâ kônim mhôṭṭâ mânûs asâvâ kâm gê tê sôniachê piriavar baistê. Tavam khabar mât karûnśim râjâzûn vichârilam kâ kâm hâi karûnśim. Kôlhiazûn zabâb kêlâ: "Râjâ sâhib, tûmśim âmśim sôirik; tûmchi sôkrî âmchê sôkriala diavî." Râzâ piram bagûnśim aurêtûk bhûllâ gê tâbôrtôb kabûl âilâ, ani êk dis nêmilâ vârâḍ lâvâlâ. Kaiṅ dis gêlê ani râzâ lâglâ karâvâ taiâri varâḍâchî.

Atham râjâchê sôkrîśim sôirik tê zhâili, pûn varâḍ karâvâ ghar dâr pâijê, pôrâlâ nêsûṅ pâijê; bizam tê khâvâ pivâlâ pâijê. Kôlhiazûn dhîr dilâ pôrâlâ, ani sâṅgatlam gê tô sâram taiâr karil. Kaiṅ ṭêp hôtam varâḍâlâ tavam kôlhiazûn sârê gâṅvâṅchâ tûs kaunṭâlilâ ani êk nadi vât asê pôrâchê dârâparśim tê râjâchê dârâparaśim tiâ nadimani sôrilâ. Râjâzûn aurâ tûs bagûnśim êuzûṅ lâglâ gê zâṅvaiṅ kharaṅs mhôṭṭâ mânûs aśêl ani tiacham gôt mhôṭṭam aśêl tavams auram bhât daltêi. Thaurê dis rêlê varâḍâlâ tavam kôlhâ gharôghar firûnśim patrâvêli kaunṭâlilia ani tiâs nadimani sôrilia, tavam râzâ tiâ patrâvêli bagûnśim jâsti ajêbân bharlâ gê zâvaiṅ mûrâd tâlivant aśêl tavam tiachim sôirim dhâirim athams êûnśim khâtân pitân.

Aśê ravêśin kôlhiazûn râjâlâ faśvilaṅ. Atham pôrâlâ kâpraṅ kûpraṅ pâizat, ghar dâr pâijê, êm kanśiṅ êtê. Tavam kôlhiazûn kâ kêlam, gêlâ êkê ḍôṅgrân ani lâglâ jîvânśim rarâvâ. Tavam kâ zhâilâm, Îśvara ani Pârbatîzûn aikûn tiachî bôm âilim ani vichârilam tiapar: "kâṅh aśi bôm mârtês?" Tavam kôlhiazûn zabâb kêlâ: "Namâskâr kartûm tûmâlâ. Kâ sâṅgûm mim tûmâlâ. Êkê vakthâ mim jêlûm jibram khâvâlâ ani sâmplian parlûm. Tiâ jibrichâ dhanî êûn mâlâ sôrvilaṅ aśê kabûlâḍivar gê miṅzûn tiacham varâḍ karâvam râjâchê sôkrîśim. Râjâlâ samzâvûn sôirîk kêlêi pûn naurialâ kâpram kûpram pâizat, ghar dâr pâijê, ani râjâchim mânsam êtin tiañchê sârkam khânam pinam pâijê. Hia kartam ailâuṅ tûmchî pâśim, mâṅgâvâ tûmchî madat êk dôn disâṅ kartam."

Îśvaralâ ani Pârbatîlâ kâklût âili ani bôtlim: "Zâ, sâram taiâr hâi; kâpram, kûpram, ghar dâr, mâṇḍap, ani khânam pinam, ani sâram bizam jêm kâ lâgêl tauram taiâr hôil." Aisam Îśvara ani Pârbatî bôtlim ani nâipêt zhâilim.

Kôlhâ gharâ eûnśim ajêbân ani hauśên bharlâ sâram bagûnśim: mhôṭṭî mârî zaśi kâ êkê râjâchî, mâṇḍap ani tiâ mâṇḍpân mêz mâṇḍlêlam sônia ani rûpiachê sâmanâśim bharlêlam, taripûn naurâ bagilâ nêslêlâ kharâ êkê râjâchê zâvaiṅhâ zôgâ. Êk dis râjâzûn âpliṅs mânsam dhârlim bagâvâ kâ taiâri kêlêi pôrâzûn, ani tim mânsam pûn ajêbân bharlim sâram bâgûnśim. Atham sâram zhâilam pûn pôrâlâ varâḍi nâhin, tavam kôlhâ gêlâ êkê rânâmani ani jê hûkî mârli tê hazârô hijê kôlhê zamâ zhâilê. Âplê kôlhiazûn sâṅgatlam tianâ gê aśi aśi vârtâ hâi ani tê kabûl zhâilê êvâlâ nauriachê saṅgâtî. Âplê kôlhiazûn tari kâ kêlam, khâṇḍilia mûrâd sâulia ani bâṇḍilia dar kôlhiachê śêpṭilâ, ani zavaṅ nauriachê saṅgâtî jêlê tavam jê jê dhûl ûrlî tê sârâ gâu bharlâ dhûliśim. Râzâ bagûnśim ghâbarlâ; êuzûṅ lâglâ gê bizâ kôniṅ râzâ êtêi kâ. Aisam êuzan karûn mânsam dhârlim bagâvâ kâ hâi aisam. Tim mânsam êûnśim sâṅgûṅ lâgliṅ gê zâvaiṅ êtêi tiachê sârê gôtâśim. Râjâlâ khabar nôtî gê auram gôt êl aisam, ani taśi tiachî taiâri nôtî, hia kartam tiazûn nirap dhârlâ pôrâlâ gê aurîm mânsam nâhin hârâvim karûnśim. Tavam kôlhâ khûśî zhâilâ ani sârê kôlhianâ parat pâṭvilam, ani tô pôtia ani naurâ gêlê dêulâ varâḍ lâvâlâ Varâḍ lâgûnśim jêlim râjâchê gharâ. Râjâchê gharâ mhôṭṭam jântâr kêltaṅ. Taiaṅ khâlam pilam ani râtcham naurîlâ jhêtlam ani âplês gharâ jêlim. Taiaṅ tarî êk mhôṭṭam siâr mâṇḍlam, khâlam pilam, hâṅslim khêllim ani niñzlim. Bijê disâ ûṭṭlim ani bagitân tê sâram nâipêt zhâilam, ghar dâr, mâṇḍap ani sâram. Râjâchâ ani tiachê mânsâṅchâ evâchâ vakhat zhâila, tavam kôlhâ êk sârkâ lâglâ bôm mârâvâ: "Naurîchâ pâiṅgûn khôṭâ, naurîchâ pâiṅgûn khôṭâ." Râjâ ani

tiachiṁ mânsaṁ ailiṁ tiṁ tari ajêbân bharliṁ ani vichârilaṁ kôlhiapar kâ zhailaṁ aisaṁ." Kôlhiazûn bôtlaṁ : " Kâ zhâilaṁ ! Naurîchâ pâiṅgûn khôṭâ, naurîchâ pâiṅgûn khôṭâ. Kâl pâvat kâ âmchâṁ châllaṁ, ani tûmchî sôkrî âilialâ êk rât nâhin jêlî tavaṁ sâraṁ nâipêt zhâilaṁ. Naurîchâ pâiṅgûn khôṭâ, naurîchâ pâiṅgûn khôṭâ."

Râzâ tari êuzûṅ lâglâ gê hî vârtâ kharî asêl, kâṁ gê tiachê mânsâṅzûn sâraṁ tialâ sâṅgatlaṁ hôtaṁ zauraṁ bagiltaṁ tauraṁ, ani âz bagitêi tê kaiṅs nâhin.

Râjâzûn dhîr dilâ pôrâlâ, ani ardaṁ râz tialâ dilaṁ hia kartaṁ gê tiachê sôkrîchê pâiansiṁ tiachâ garibchâr zhâilâ. Pôriâzûn khûśiśiṁ ardaṁ râz jhêtlaṁ ani nivât rêlâ.

Mûrâd varsam bharliṁ ani kôlhâ mêlâ; pôrâzûn tialâ gârilaṁ. Ardaṁ râz jhêâṅsiṁ to pôria ani tiachî bâikô rôliṁ khûśâlin, ani ḍôkriṅ mhâtârîṅ zhâiliṁ.

MISCELLANEA.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 47.

Until recently, the latest known name in the dynasty of the **Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ** was that of Kakkala or Kakka III., who was overthrown by the Western Châlukya king Tailapa II. about A. D. 973-74. An inscription from Maisûr, however, No. 57 in Mr. Rice's *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*, has now brought to notice a later name, that of **Indrarâja,** with the date of A. D. 982 In addition to being mentioned by his own proper name, this Indrarâja is also spoken of by several *birudas*, among which is that of **Raṭṭa-Kandarpa**; and this shews the family to which he belonged. Further, he is described as a son's son of Kṛishṇarâjêndra, who, there can be little doubt, is Kṛishṇa IV., the father of Kakka III.; but, whether this Indrarâja was a son of Kakka III., or of another son of Kṛishṇa IV. is not made clear by the record.

The inscription is an eulogy of the virtues and prowess of Indrarâja: and it concludes by giving **the date of his death.** He died, apparently, by the performance of the Jain vow of *sallêkhana* or self-starvation. The passage containing the date, as given by Mr. Rice (*loc. cit.*, Texts, pp. 55, 71), runs —

Vanadhi-nabhô-nidhi-pramita-saṁkhyê Śak-[1] âvanipâḷa-kâḷamaṁ
neneyise Chitrabhânu parivarttise Chaitra-sitêtar-âshṭamî- I
dinayuta-Sômavâradoḷu nâkuḷa[2]-chittade nôntu tâḷdidar
jana-nutan=Indrarâjan=akhiḷ-âmara-râja-mahâ-vibhûtiyaṁ II, —

" taking (*lit.* recollecting, or thinking of), the time of the Śaka king, the number of which is measured by the oceans (four), the sky (nought), and the treasures (nine); (the year) Chitrabhânu being current; on Monday, connected with the day of the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Chaitra; having performed the vow with an undisturbed mind, Indrarâja, praised by mankind, attained the high dignity of (Indra), the lord of all the gods."

Here, the given unspecified year is an expired year; **the Chitrabhânu saṁvatsara** coinciding, by the southern luni-solar system, with Śaka-Saṁvat 905 current.[3] And in this year, **the given tithi Chaitra kṛishṇa 8 ended** at about 57 *ghaṭis*, 50 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay), **on Monday, 20th March, A. D. 982**; which, accordingly, is the English equivalent of the given date.

J. F. FLEET.

[1] Read *saṁkhya-śak°*, as required by the metre. — J. F. F.

[2] Read *sômavâradol=anâkuḷa*.—J. F. F.

[3] It may be noted, in connection with the question as to the period when the mean-sign system was supplanted by the southern luni-solar system in Southern India, that by the mean-sign system, the same *saṁvatsara*, Chitrabhânu, was current at the commencement of Śaka-Saṁvat 904 current. But Chaitra śukla 10 then ended at about 43 *ghaṭis* on Thursday, 31st March, A. D. 981; and so cannot be connected with a Monday in any way. — It may also be noted, in connection with the published Tables of intercalary months, that the next inscription, No. 58, in Mr. Rice's book, gives a date in the *adhika* or intercalated Âshâḍha of a Chitrabhânu *saṁvatsara* which appears to be the same one as that dealt with above. The date does not include the week-day, or any other item by which the details can be actually tested. But the record is in accordance with Mr. Cowasjee Patell's and General Sir A. Cunningham's Tables, which give Âshâḍha as the intercalary month for Śaka-Saṁvat 905 current.

EXAMINATION OF SOME ERRORS IN WARREN'S KALASANKALITA.

Warren's Kalasankalita, published in 1825, has been so long before the public, that any formal and detailed criticism of it cannot now be called for. Still, as it is quoted even to the pre-

sent day as an authority, and in many respects deservedly so, it will probably not be thought out of place if I point out some of the more important errors in it. Not only is the rectification of them really needed from a general point of view; but also it will render it still possible, for any one who wishes to do so, to use Warren's Tables, and yet to obtain correct results from them.

The chief object of the Kalasankalita was (Preface, p. ii) "to abridge the tedious process of converting dates proposed according to European style into the corresponding Tamil, Têlinga and Muhammadan time, and *vice versâ*;" for which respectively the first, second, and fourth Memoirs in the *Kalasankalita* were written, while a separate Memoir, the third, treats solely of the Cycles of Jupiter. I do not propose saying anything, of the fourth Memoir, which relates entirely to the Muhammadan reckoning. I confine myself to the information given in this work in connection with the Hindu astronomy.

The Tamil and Telugu reckonings are chiefly solar (*saura*) and lunar (*chândra*) respectively. The chief object of the book, *i. e.* the conversion of Hindu into European dates and *vice versâ*, is accomplished through the medium of the Tamil solar reckoning; and therefore the method used is not of particular interest to those who, like me, are not in the habit of using that reckoning. But for Europeans, for whom the book is chiefly written, it is as useful as any other method, if not more so.

The calculation of a tithi is given in the second Memoir; and the method of finding the apparent places of the sun and moon being fully explained and illustrated with examples there, the *nakshatra, yôga* and *karaṇa* of a given day can be easily calculated, though Warren has not distinctly given methods for them. The method, however, of calculating the *tithi*, given there, is a little cumbrous, notwithstanding the fact that the process is shortened by the use of the Tables. It can be calculated far more easily by the method in the Appendix to the second Memoir. This Appendix, which was written by Andrew Scott in A. D. 1797, with the aid, it seems, of the information communicated to him by a native astronomer, an inhabitant of a village near Chicacole, is "a commentary on Vavilala Cuchinna's Rules and Tables[1] for computing the Telugu Calendar," and though Warren inserts it "rather as a Tract extremely remarkable, both for the singularity of the topics which it investigates, and for the ingenuity displayed in expounding them, than as an instrument which is likely to prove serviceable to the main object of these Memoirs," it is, practically viewed, of more importance than the Memoir itself of which it forms an Appendix; because it contains short and easy methods of calculating *nakshatras, yôgas*, and *karaṇas*, and the apparent places of planets with regard to their longitude and latitude. Warren has calculated a lunar eclipse in Fragment IV. Of the other astronomical articles treated of in a Karaṇa-work or contained in a Hindu *Pañchâṅg*, the conjunctions of planets, and the *mahâpâta* (the time of equal declination of the sun and moon), can be calculated from Warren's book, if the computator knows their definitions. Some other matters, such as heliacal risings and settings of the planets, the conjunctions of the planets with the stars, and the times when the planets become retrogade or stationary, can also be computed with the help of some additional information from other sources. But even with such additional information, it would be found difficult to calculate a solar eclipse from Warren's book Nevertheless, it may be said generally that it is a good practical work on Hindu astronomy. The most praiseworthy feature of it, is the successful attempt to analyse and demonstrate almost every rule and problem in the subjects treated of. In this direction it goes beyond the scope of a Karaṇa or a practical work, and resembles a Siddhânta-work, on the Hindu astronomy; though it does not boast of treating of all the subjects of a Siddhânta. It is far superior to the scanty information on "Indian Measures of Time" in the "Indian Metrology" by Jervis, who, though his knowledge of the Hindu astronomy scarcely went beyond the *Laghu-* and *Bṛihat- Tithichintâmaṇi*, — works by which only the week-day, *nakshatra*, and *yôga* of a given *tithi* not earlier than Śaka-Samvat 1447 expired (A. D. 1525) can be calculated, did not fear to give wrong information and to draw erroneous conclusions on the general subject of Hindu astronomy. A similar tendency to assume a knowledge of the whole area of Hindu astronomy betrays itself once or twice even in Warren's writings. When he wrote (Preface, p. iii.) "the author (Warren) had also in view to familiarize the learned Natives with the use of Tables constructed and disposed in the manner of those of the European Mathematicians; and also to reconcile them to the idea of brevity and expedition in computations, to which they are singularly averse," he seems to

[1] The epoch of Vavilala Cuchinna's work, is Śaka-Saṁvat 1220 expired, and it is based on the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*.

have overlooked the fact that no less than twenty out of the forty-nine Tables given by him in connection with the Hindu astronomy were directly borrowed from Hindu works; and that most of the other Tables were necessary only to convert the Hindu dates into their European equivalents. And he was not aware that Tables similar to those which he gave, might be in use in other parts of India, or perhaps even in the very province in which he lived. His assertion (Pref. p. i.) that "the results of the present research . . . . . . were derived from systems which we see nowhere supported by recorded observations, or modified (for several centuries past) by improved theories," is subtle and liable to dispute. But such instances are rare, and it may be said that Warren was a good appreciator of the merits of the Hindu astronomy, and was not merely a fault-finder. His book gives a good insight into the Hindu astronomy; and those foreign writers who wish to be judges on the subject of the Hindu astronomy, may do well to give it a thorough perusal.

There is ample proof to shew that Warren was a good mathematician and a careful computator. But notwithstanding this, some mistakes have crept into his book; and without a knowledge of them, the utility of it is liable to be affected. The book seems to be still one of constant reference; and it, therefore, will be useful to note the more important mistakes in it, which is the chief object of my present remarks.

As might be expected, partly from the fact that no regular system had then been established, and partly from the author's admission that he himself was totally ignorant of the Sanskṛit language (page 351), most of the **Sanskṛit technical terms,** used by Warren, are very corruptly spelt in the text, and in reading the book it is necessary to read first the Glossary (pp. 353-396), where they are corrected and defined; and in some instances it has to be searched rather carefully, before the required words can be found. Even in the Glossary, however, some words are not correctly disposed of. For instance, **sṛishtyâdidyugaṇa** (सृष्ट्यादिद्युगण), which is spelt **strostidi digona** in the text, is given as *sristyadi diugona* in the Glossary (p. 384). Also some words are wrongly defined, though this is not often the case; for instance, the word spelt as **sootadina** in the text, is given as **suddha dina,** and is defined as 'the day on which a particular phenomenon is to occur' (p. 385). But I think it is really meant for **suddhi-dina** (शुद्धिदिन), used for the **tithi-suddhi,** and so should be defined as 'the day on which the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti occurs,' though Warren has used it for the day on which any *saṁkrânti* occurs, or the luni-solar year begins.

On pages 376, 384, definitions are given of the words **prâkchakra** and **spṛik,** the latter of which is said to be wrongly written in the Text as **sprohu** or **sprohoo.** They are explained as meaning respectively 'the epicycle on which ancient astronomers corrected the precessional variation,' and 'a lunar intercalary day, repeated during two successive solar days in the calendar.' But there are in reality no such terms. The second of them seems to be meant for **tridinaspṛik,** '(a *tithi*) which touches three (civil) days.'[2] And the former seems to owe its existence only to Davis' incorrect translation (see page 84, note) of the 9th, 10th, and 11th verses, and the first half of the 12th, of the Tripraśna-Adhikâra of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta.* On page 389, **avanatâṁsa** (under the word **vanatâṁsa**) is said to mean 'degrees of altitude.' But it really means 'zenith-distance.' The correct term for 'altitude' is **unnatâṁsa.**

The terms **solar ahargaṇa and luni-solar ahargaṇa,** used throughout, are rather misleading; and it would have been better to use "*ahargaṇa* at the beginning of solar years (or months)," and "*ahargaṇa* at the beginning of luni-solar years (or months)." These are the senses in which the terms in question were used. And it would have been at any rate advisable to give the definition of them.

A misunderstanding in connection with the **Second Chronological Table,** into which Warren himself seems to have fallen, is likely to be impressed on the reader's mind, and it might easily render its fourth, fifth, sixth, and tenth columns quite useless. One is likely to suppose that the entries in these columns are for the end of the apparent last *amâvâsyâ* of the year; but this is not the case. The luni-solar *ahargaṇa* in the tenth column is calculated from Table XLIX. (p. 64); the very nature of which shews that it is for the end of the last mean *amâvâsyâ,* and not of the apparent one. The heading of the fifth column,—"date of the last mean conjunction in the luni-solar year,"—also shews the same fact; and I myself have ascertained it from several calculations. The difference between the ending-times of a mean and an apparent *tithi,* amounts

[2] This word, by the bye, is wrongly defined in Monier-Williams Sanskṛit Dictionary, as meaning 'the conjunction or concurrence of three lunations with one solar day.'

sometimes to as much as about 25 *ghaṭîs*. Sometimes it may be the case that both the mean and the apparent *tithi* end on the same day; but in most cases, the apparent *tithi* would end one day before or after the day on which it ends as a mean *tithi*. Warren writes (Chro. Tables, p. xiii.) "since the Solar *Civil* date of the last conjunction in the year 4923 of the Cali yug fell on the 12th Chitra"[3] [the Bengal solar Chaitra], "it follows that the *Prathama* Tidhi, or first Lunar day of the Luni-solar year 4924" [current] "fell on the 13th Chitra, ... as was exemplified in the Kalendar exhibited at page 67." As only the apparent *tithis* are entered in the calendar, the *prathamâ tithi* referred to here is apparent. Again he says (Chro. Tables, p. xiv.) "it is almost needless to add, that when the *true* time of Sun rising is referred to, as it occurs in any Latitude or Longitude arbitrarily proposed, the precise Solar date of the *Amavasya*, and *Prathama Tidhis* . . . . . . may vary from what it is computed for *Lanca* in the Chronological Table. But as this difference can only occur when the last conjunction falls very near the time of Sun rising, the case is a rare one." From these two quotations Warren's intention seems to have been, to give the day of the apparent conjunction; but the contrary has been the case. It is rather surprising that Warren, while noticing in the latter quotation the trifling difference of some *palas* or of a *ghaṭikâ* or two, arising from the actual time of sunrise in a place away from the first meridian and equator, forgot the difference, which sometimes amounts to 25 *ghaṭikâs*. If it be kept in mind that the entries in the said columns of the Second Chronological Table are for the last *mean* conjunction of the year, they will be useful for calculating the apparent conjunction and any other apparent *tithi* in the ensuing year; subject, however, to another error, which I will now point out.

In calculations strictly according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the *ahargaṇa* from the beginning of the Kaliyuga is to be calculated from midnight on (the Hindu) Thursday; and in those according to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, it is to be calculated from the next following morning, *i. e.* from sunrise on the Friday. This distinction, though sometimes observed (p. 90), is lost sight of, often in the text, and wholly in preparing the Second Chronological Table. For instance, the luni-solar *ahargaṇa*, *i. e.* the *ahargaṇa* for the end of the luni-solar year 4923 of the Kaliyuga (*i. e.* again for the beginning of Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4924 current, or Śaka-Saṁvat 1745 current) is computed as 1798147 *days*, 1 *ghaṭî*, 49 *vighaṭîs* (*palas*), 55 *paras* (*vipalas*), 7 *suras* (*prativipalas*) according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and as 1798146-39-24-28-53 according to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*; and the difference of the two reckonings is given as 22 *gh.* 25 *vi.* 26 *p.* 14 *s.* (pages 243, 244 of the text, and p. 66 of the Tables).[4] But, counting from the Thursday midnight, the former, *viz.* the *Sûrya-Siddhânta ahargaṇa*, brings us to 46 *gh.* 49 *vi.* 55 *p.* after sunrise on a Friday, and shews that the mean end of that luni-solar year occurred at that time on that day, and that its last feria was Friday; and counting from the Friday sunrise, the latter, *viz.* the *Ârya-Siddhânta ahargana*, brings us to 39 *gh.* 24 *vi.* on the same day; the real difference between the two being only 7 *gh.* 25 *vi.* My assertion that the mean end of the luni-solar year 4923 of the Kaliyuga, *i. e.* the end of its last mean *amâvâsyâ*, occurred at 46 *gh.* 49 *vi.* 55 *p.* (= nearly 46 *gh.* 50 *vi.*) after sunrise on the Friday according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, can be shewn to be correct from Warren's calculations themselves. He has calculated the same *tithi* on pages 82 to 90. The mean places of the sun and moon calculated for that purpose are $11^s\ 9^\circ\ 26'\ 36''\ 37'''$ and $11^s\ 21^\circ\ 15'\ 34''\ 24'''$ respectively (see p. 83 or 86). They are, as is evident from the number of *sâvana* days used in the first proportions in article 6, page 83, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and from the remarks in lines 6 to 3 from the bottom of page 82, and from the first two lines of the 13th operation on page 90, it will be seen that they are for the midnight on Saturday, 12th Poongoni (the Bengal Solar Chaitra).[5] And from these places it is seen at once that the mean conjunction had already happened, and that the moon was, at that midnight, $11^\circ\ 48'\ 57''\ 47'''$ in advance of the sun. Calculating from this distance and from the mean daily motions of the sun and moon, we find that the mean *amâvâsyâ* occurred 58 *gh.* 10 *vi.* before the Saturday midnight, *i. e.* at 46 *gh.* 50 *vi.* *after* mean sunrise on the Friday, *i. e.* again exactly at the time which I have given above.

It must be stated here, first, that Warren, in finding the week-day from the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* as calculated from the Tables, neglects

[3] The apparent conjunction took place on that day; but the mean conjunction on the previous day, as will be shewn further on.

[4] This difference is given as 22-24-51 on page 120, which seems to be a slight mistake.

[5] This date is taken for calculation, in consequence of thinking, erroneously, that the mean conjunction happened on that day. The 11th Poongoni ought to have been taken. But it is immaterial for the ultimate result, in calculating a *tithi* as worked out here by Warren.

the fraction (*ghaṭîs, palas*), and adds one to the complete number, and counts from Thursday as zero (and Friday as one; see the above example of the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* worked out on page 243 of the text and p. 66 of the Tables); while, in finding the week-day from the solar *ahargaṇa*, he neglects the fraction, does *not* add one to it, and counts from Friday as zero (see the example on p. 240 of the text and p. 65 of the Tables). To add one in the former case, amounts to the same thing as not to add one and to count from the Friday as zero.[6] To the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* of both the *Sûrya* and *Ârya-Siddhântas*, he applied one and the same method, and evidently forgot that the former *ahargaṇa* is to be counted from Thursday midnight. In the above example (worked on page 243) the complete number of the *ahargaṇa* according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* is 1,798,147; adding one to it, he obtained 1,798,148, which, being divided by seven, gives 2 as the remainder; and counting from Thursday as zero, he gave Saturday as the 'sootadina' or last day of that mean luni-solar year, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; while, adding one to 1,798,146, which is the complete number of the *ahargaṇa* according to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, and counting from the Thursday as zero, he gave Friday as the 'sootadina' according to the *Ârya-Siddhânta*. In the Second Chronological Table, against the Kaliyuga year 4923, he gave 1,798,148 as the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* in column X., and Saturday as the last feria in column IV. In this, he evidently followed the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. But I have just shewn that, even according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the last feria is Friday, and not Saturday. The luni-solar *ahargaṇa* according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* is to be counted from the Thursday midnight; but in order to count it as Warren did, from the Thursday as zero (Friday as one), 15 *ghaṭîs* should first be subtracted from it, and then one (day) added,[7] to the complete number of it. In the above example, the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* is 1798147-1-49, &c.; subtracting 15 *ghaṭîs* from it, and then adding one (day) to the complete number, we get 1,798,147, which ought to have been given in column X. of the Second Chronological Table against Kaliyuga year 4923; but Warren gave one more, *viz.* 1,798,148, which is wrong. In his explanation of the Second Chronological Table, Warren omitted to specify the Siddhânta to which the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* in its tenth column belongs. But from the above example it is clear that it is the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and from several other examples I have fully satisfied myself that it is according to the *Sûrya*, and not the *Ârya-Siddhânta*. Whenever the fraction in the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* is less than 15 *ghaṭîs*, the entries in the columns X. and IV. must be wrong; and from several actual calculations, I have ascertained that they are wrong. The English dates in column V. are, as Warren himself stated (p. xii. of the Chronological Tables), derived from the *ahargaṇa* inserted in column X.; and consequently they also are wrong. For instance, against the Kaliyuga year 4923 current, the English date of the last mean conjunction is given as the 23rd March (A. D. 1822). But it should be the 22nd March. And from any English Tables, we can see that the 22nd March, A. D. 1822, was a Friday, which is the correct last feria of that luni-solar year. In column VI. of the same Table, the sidereal date, in the solar Chaitra (the Tamil Poongoni) for the last conjunction, is given; and to get it, the same wrong luni-solar *ahargaṇa* was again used, as will be seen from a note on page xii. f. of the Chronological Tables. Consequently, the entries in column VI. must be wrong. In the above example, the sidereal date is not the 13th but the 12th, and the civil date is the 11th of the solar Chaitra (the Tamul Poogoni).[8] Thus, columns IV., V., VI., and X. of the Second Chronological Table are wrong. It is true that the fraction in the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* does not every year amount to less than 15 *ghaṭîs*; but, as the fraction is not given in the Table, there are no means of determining in what years the results are right, and in what years they are wrong; and to provide these means now, would amount to preparing a fresh Table. The mistake, however, is not more than one day, one way or the other.

To use, as Warren did, **the solar ahargaṇa from one authority and the luni-solar from another** in the same Table, is unsystematic, and the more so, because the luni-solar *ahargaṇas* from the *Sûrya* and the *Ârya-Siddhântas* differ from each other, and have different starting-points. Warren said that "the Tamil astronomers, though computing in solar time, use in preference the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and for the solar the *Ârya-Siddhânta*" (see pages 64 and 66 of the Tables, and p. 244, para. 2, of the text). But this cannot be a fact.

[6] I do not know why Warren made such a nominal distinction between the solar and luni-solar *ahargaṇas*. It would have been more convenient to follow one and the same course in both the cases.

[7] If counted from Friday as zero, the one day need not be added.

[8] This is for the end of the mean *amâvâsyâ*. The apparent *amâvâsyâ* ended on the 12th Poongoni, civil account (see p. 90); but the correct result is only accidental.

As far as my knowledge goes, the Hindu astronomers never use the luni-solar *ahargana* in the sense and manner in which Warren used it. He seems to have been led into this misunderstanding by the fact that the number of the moon's revolutions in a Mahâyuga is the same in both the *Sûrya* and the *Ârya-Siddhântas*. Probably he found Tamil astronomers, — the followers of the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, — using that number of the moon's revolutions, counting their *ahargaṇa* from sunrise, according to the rule of their authority; and thus he seems to have fallen into the error of giving, in the Second Chronological Table, the luni-solar *ahargaṇa* from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and making it count from sunrise.

There seems also another reason of this. The *ahargaṇa* (index) for about the end of the luni-solar Kaliyuga-Samvat 4923 current, according to Vavilala Cuchinna's work, is computed on pages 153-154; it is 191389, which, after division by 7, gives 2; and, in that work, as it is counted from Thursday, noon, the result is Saturday, noon; and this must have co-operated in inducing Warren to give Saturday as the last feria of the year 4923, and must have helped to lead him to the general mistake in the Second Chronological Table. Now, the *ahargaṇa* according to Vavilala Cuchinna's work, is not exactly for the time of the last conjunction; the mere fact that it is always for noon proves this; and the further calculations required to find the mean new-moon, stated in article 3, page 172, leave no doubt about this Saturday, in fact, as shewn above by me, was not the last feria of the year in question.

I find that **the real difference between the luni-solar ahargaṇa of the Sûrya-Siddhânta and that of the first Ârya-Siddhântas** was nil in Saka-Saṁvat 421 expired (A. D. 499). It was 6 *ghaṭis*, 24 *vighaṭis*, 56 *paras*, in A. D. 1600. And it will be 7 *gh.* 46 *vi.* 56 *pa.* in A. D. 1900. And when the mean *amâvâsyâ*, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, ends within this time after sunrise, it will end on the previous week-day according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*.

The difference between the solar *ahargaṇas* of the two authorities is also the same. In finding the week-day and other elements also from the solar *ahargaṇa* calculated from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, the same mistake may occur. For instance, see page 65 of the Tables, line 7 from the bottom, where the feria of the first civil day in the Kaliyuga year 7924 current is said to be Friday by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; this is a mistake; it ought to be Thursday. Also see p. 82, line 7 from the bottom, where the civil month is wrongly said to be of 31 days, instead of 30. But fortunately, in the two Chronological Tables Warren gave the solar *ahargaṇa* from the *Ârya-Siddhânta*, and thus avoided a repetition of the mistake.

The time of **the apparent or the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti** is the time when the sun's apparent or mean longitude amounts to nil. According to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, the apparent (*spashṭa*) Mêsha-Saṁkrânti takes place about 2 *days*, 8 *gh.* 51 *palas*, 15 *vipalas*, before the mean (*madhyama*) Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, and this difference is called *śôdhyam* in Warren's work.[9] This quantity varies according to different authorities. According to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, it is about 2 *days*, 10 *ghaṭîs*, 12 *palas*. But Warren used the *Śôdhyam* according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, even in calculations according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. Such a process, of course, is not right, and may frequently lead to mistakes.

In the third Memoir Warren gives, according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and the *Jyôtishatattva*,[10] the method of computing **the time of the commencement of a saṁvatsara of the Sixty-Year Cycle of Jupiter** which is in use at present in Northern India. But the time arrived at by his process is always earlier than what is derived actually according to those two authorities, by about 2 *days*, 8 *ghaṭîs*, 51 *palas*, 15 *vipalas*, in the case of the latter authority, and by that amount plus the difference between the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of the *Sûrya* and *Ârya-Siddhântas* in the case of the former. A little misunderstanding, noticed in note 9 above, causes this mistake. A *saṁvatsara* of the Sixty-Year Cycle as described by Warren, — which I have named the Sixty-Year Cycle of the mean-sign-system, — commences when Jupiter's mean longitude amounts to a complete sign. This is clear from Warren's description of it, as well as from verse 55 of the first chapter of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, a translation of which is given by him on page 200. The *Jyôtishatattva* rule is based on the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*; and according to that Siddhânta and the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, Jupiter's mean longitude was nil, or, in other words, he was at the beginning of Mêsha, at the commence-

[9] It is not properly defined in the Glossary (p. 383). Warren does not seem to have clearly understood, much less to have always kept in view, this distinction; and this seems to be at the root of most of his mistakes.

[10] Warren writes this name as *Jyôtishtava* throughout. I myself have not seen the work, nor have I heard of its existence, though I have found the rule quoted as belonging to it by Warren and others, in several other authorities. My conjecture is that the proper name is *Jyôtishatattva*.

ment of the Kaliyuga, *i. e.* at the time of the mean, not apparent, Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of Kaliyuga Saṁvat 1 current (0 expired), *i. e.*, again, at Thursday midnight on the 17-18th February, B. C. 3102, according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, and at sunrise on Friday, 18th February, B. C. 3102, according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta* (see my paper on the Original *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; also Burgess and Whitney's Translation of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, Chapter I). And consequently, the longitude for the commencement of a solar year, computed either by actual proportion as worked out by Warren on page 200 or from his Tables X. and XI., is not for the apparent, but for the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti; and evidently the time-equivalent of the expired portion of the current sign of Jupiter at the commencement of the solar year, should be substracted from the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti. But Warren subtracted it from the time of the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, either as derived from Table XLVIII. Part II (p. 63), after deducting the *śôdhyam* (2 *days*, 8 *gh.* 51 *palas*, 15 *vipalas*), or as given in his First Chronological Table; and this is the time of the *apparent* Mêsha-Saṁkrânti. To shew the correctness of this assertion of mine, I cannot well refer the reader to Warren's description of Table XLVIII (p. 239 ff.) and to his remarks elsewhere about the epoch of the Kaliyuga; for the reason that an ordinary reader is only likely to be confused by them. But even from them, any one who has a practical direct knowledge of the Hindu or European astronomy, will see at once the truth of what I say. Suffice it to say that the time computed from Warren's Table XLVIII. is the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti; and the subtraction of the *śôdhyam* from it gives the time of the apparent Mêsha-Saṁkrânti.[11]

I will prove, however, in another way, that the longitude of Jupiter computed by Warren for the commencement of a solar year, is not for the apparent, but for the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti. Take the first example, given by Warren on page 200. There he computed the longitude of Jupiter for the commencement of A. C. *i. e.* Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4871 current (4870 expired), according to the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, from which it is found, without *bîja*, to be 7 signs, 2 degrees, 37 minutes. It is seen from the Appendix to the Second Memoir (and I have also fully satisfied myself) that the mean places and motions of the planets according to Vavilala Cuchinna's Karaṇa-work, exactly correspond with those of the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*. Let us now compute the same longitude from that Karaṇa-work. The index, *i. e.* the *ahargana* according to that Karana, at about the beginning of the luni-solar year Kaliyuga 4871 current (Śaka-Saṁvat 1691 expired), calculated by the rule on page 153 f., is 172046, which divided by 7 leaves no remainder; and as the *ahargaṇa* in that Karana is to be counted from Thursday, noon, this *ahargana* brings us to a Thursday, noon. Calculating from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* and also from Warren's Table XLVIII. Part I., and Table XLIX. Part I, I find that the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of that year occurred on a Tuesday, at 53 *gh.* 38 *pa.* 38 *vipa* after mean sunrise (38 *gh.* 38 *p* 38 *vi.* after mean noon); and that it took place some *ghaṭikâs* more than 5 days after its previous *amâvâsyâ*. Therefore, adding 5 *days*, 38 *gh.* 38 *pa.* 38 *vipa.* to 172046, the above-found index, we find that the index (the *ahargana*) for the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, according to Vavilala Cuchinna's work, is 172051 *days*, 38 *gh.* 38 *pa.* 38 *vipa.* Counted from Thursday noon, this gives Tuesday, and shews that it is correct. Then, calculating, with this index, Jupiter's mean longitude from Table XLIII. (p. 56), we get 7 signs, 2 degrees, 37 minutes, 0 seconds, which is exactly the same as given by Warren.

It is clear, therefore, that **the time of the commencement of a saṁvatsara found by Warren's method is wrong.** In the case of the *Jyôtishatattva*-rule, it is earlier by 2 *days*, 8 *gh.* 51 *pa* 15 *vipa.*, which is the *śôdhya* according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta* on which the rule is based. If we use the First Chronological Table for the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, the amount of the *śôdhya* must be added; and if we compute the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti from Table XLVIII. Part II., that amount should not be subtracted; and thus the mistake can be avoided. In the case of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* rule, Warren takes the mean motion of Jupiter from that Siddhânta, but uses the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of the *Ârya-Siddhânta*. But the times of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrântis of these two authorities differ from each other, as I have stated above. Therefore, the mistake amounts to this difference, in addition to 2 *days*, 8 *gh.* 51 *pa.* 15 *vipa.*, which is the amount of the *śôdhya*. And to avoid the mistake, we must use the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti from Table XLVIII. Part I.

Jupiter's year, *i. e.* the time in which his mean motion amounts to one sign (*râśi*), according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, corrected by *bîja*, as given on pages 191, 201 note, 213, and as used as the basis in constructing Table XIII. (p. 16) and Table XVII. (p. 19), is slightly inaccurate. So also is the year according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta* as

[11] My above remarks, as to the time from which the *ahargaṇa* is to be counted, should not be forgotten.

given in pages 208, 213. The real quantities, with extreme accuracy, are: —

	days	gh.	pa.	vipalas.
By the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, with *bîja*...	361	2	4	44·6298
By the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*	361	1	21	39·1170

If the object of Warren's Table XVIII. (p. 20) is to find only by inspection **the year of an expunged saṁvatsara of the sixty-year cycle,** — and I do not find any other practical use of it, — it is quite useless. Warren supposed the years entered in it to be expunged years (see column 3 of Table XIX. p. 23), but he was wrong. None of those years except the last four, are expunged years. He said (p. 207) that "85 *years*, 363 *days*, 1 *daṇḍa* (*ghaṭî*), 13 *p.*, 13·3982 *c.*, &c., of solar time,[13] answer precisely to 87 years of Jupiter's, and the former quantity marks in solar time the period when one of Jupiter's years is to be expunged." The latter part of this assertion is wrong, because by that quantity the expunction may be due, as will also be seen from Table XVIII., at any time of the year; but, only when two *saṁvatsaras* begin in the same year, is one of them expunged. And, as the length of the solar and Jupiter years is respectively 365 *days*, 15 *gh.* 31 *pa.* 31·4 *vip.* and 361 *days*, 2 *gh.* 4 *pa.* 44·6 *vip.* according to the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* with the *bîja*, the omission takes place when one *saṁvatsara* begins within about 4 *days*, 13 *gh.*, 27 *pa*, after the commencement of a solar year. Suppose, for instance, that a *saṁvatsara* was current at the beginning of a solar year, and another began within 4 *days*, 13 *gh.*, after the beginning of that year, then a third must commence before the end of it, and the second *saṁvatsara* will be regarded as omitted.[15] The interval of omission is generally 85, and sometimes 86 years. It cannot be always 86 years But, as the quantity of 85 years, 363 *days*, 1 *gh*, 13 *pa*, 13 *vi.*, — which is very near to 86, — "governs Table XVIII.," the Table is quite wrong. This is clear on the face of it; but I will give an example. Jupiter's longitude, corrected with *bîja*, for the commencement of three years, calculated by Tables XI. and XII., is given below:—

Śaka-Saṁvat expired.	Kaliyuga-Saṁvat expired.	Signs.	Deg	Min.	Sec.
1606	4785	4	29	32	6·0
1607	4786	5	29	53	9 6
1608	4787	7	0	14	13 2

It will be seen from this that in Kaliyuga-Samvat 4786 expired, Jupiter's longitude amounted twice to a complete sign (6 and 7); and therefore two *saṁvatsaras*, which were Yuvan and Dhâtṛi (the 9th and 10th), must have commenced in that year; and consequently the former, *i. e.* Yuvan was expunged in that same year. But in Table XVIII. the year 4785 expired of the Kaliyuga is given as the year for the expunction; and in the first chronological Table, Bhâva (the 8th) is given as expunged, which is wrong. Here the mistake is only of one year; but in the first period in that Table, it is of 30 years.

In expounding the periods of **the expunged years according to the Jyôtishatattva Rule,** Warren first (p. 209) arrived at the equation 86 solar years $= 87\frac{17}{1875}$ years of Jupiter, which is correct. But afterwards he substracted $\frac{17}{1875}$, the odd fraction of Jupiter's year, from both sides, and thus established the equation, $85\frac{1858}{1875}$ solar years = 87 years of Jupiter, which is erroneous.[14] He thus arrived at:—

Years of Jupiter.	Saura time. Years.	Days.	Ghatis.	Palas.	Solar time. Years.	Days.	Ghatis.	Palas.
86	85	0	57	36	85	0	58	26·48331
87	85	356	44	9·6	85	361	56	49·20659

And the last equivalents, in solar time, in these two equations, were used in preparing Table XIX. (especially col. 6). Accordingly, the numbers of days &c. in this col. 6 are wrong throughout, except for the year Śaka-Saṁvat 571 (expired). I give below the really accurate equations:—

Years of Jupiter.	Saura time. Years.	Days.	Ghatis.	Palas.	Solar time. Years.	Days.	Ghatis.	Palas.	Vipalas.
86	85	0	56	55·9198 &c.	85	0	57	45	49 06431 &c.
87	85	356	46	25·8724 &c	85	361	59	7	28·18134 &c.

[13] The figures are slightly inaccurate; the last quantity should be about 13·7953.

[15] There are other circumstances in connection with an omission, which I intend to consider on a future occasion.

[14] Warren's remark, "we have $85\frac{1858}{1875}$ and 87 years, which, however, must not be taken to be exactly 87 years of the Planet, as shall be shewn presently" (p. 209, lines 5, 6 from the bottom), applies, it appears, to the note on p. 210. The equations in that note also are wrong.

The *years*, however, of the expunged *saṁvatsaras* in the Table are correct, and the error has no material effect on that point.

The short rule for finding the saṁvatsaras of the Sixty-Year Cycle given on pages 147, 214, of the text and page 22 of the Tables, requires assistance from Table XVIII. (p. 20); but this itself being wrong, the rule also must be incorrect. It will, however, give correct results with the Table as it stands, with some rare exceptions. It should be remembered, though, that the rule only gives the *saṁvatsara* which stands current at the commencement of a solar year.

Much might be said on Appendix II. (pp. 245-289), which describes **"a method for expounding dates found in old inscriptions;"** but to no particular purpose. Suffice it to say that there are inconsistencies throughout, in the comparisons made, and in the Hindu errors established there. The times of the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti are taken from the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, while the *ayanâṁśas* are taken from the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*; and the European longitudes are taken as mean, while those from the Hindu works are apparent. For an instance, see pages 277-79, where, in establishing the Hindu error as 3° 54′ 38″ 4‴, Warren has made gross errors; first, in subtracting from the sun's apparent longitude at the time of the apparent Mêsha-Saṁkrânti of the Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 2382 current (2381 expired) according to the first *Ârya-Siddhânta*, the *ayanâṁśas* from the *Surya-Siddhânta*; then in adding to it the sun's *mean* motion for nearly 12 days; and lastly, in comparing the sun's longitude, 11ˢ 23° 30′ 37″, thus found (whether tropical or sidereal, and whether apparent or mean, I do not know how to qualify it), with the same amount of European *mean* longitude.

Warren has mistaken (pages 19, 20, 74) **the 27 yôgas**, which are to be calculated from the addition of the apparent longitudes of the sun and moon, and of which he gives a list in page 74, for **the yôga-târâs or principal stars of the 27 nakshatras.** Vishkambha and other *yôgas* have no connection with γ or β Arietis, and other stars.

Tables I. and II **for finding the initial feria and sidereal beginning of any solar year according to the Tamil calendar, and the same of the solar years of the Ninety-Year Cycle called Grahaparivṛitti,** are said by Warren (p 21) to be "the invention of Father Beschi" But I have seen a Table in accordance with the *Brahma-Siddhânta*, corrected by a *bîja*, exactly similar to Table I. in the Karana *Kamala-mârtaṇḍa*, a work of as early a date as Śaka-Saṁvat 980 expired (A. D. 1058).[15]

The epoch of Vavilala Cuchinna's work is said to be Friday, 14th March, A D. 1298 (p. 172) But I find from actual calculations of the *dhruvas* or constants in it (p. 182), that they are for the mean noon at Ujjain of the *amânta* Phâlguna kṛishṇa amâvâsyâ,[16] Thursday, Śaka-Saṁvat 1219 expired, = 13th March, A. D. 1298

It is said on page 201 that **Jupiter's motion for one solar year according to Vavilala Cuchinna's Table XLIII.** (p. 56) amounts to 1ˢ 0° 21′ 3″ 36‴. But this is a mistake. Vavilala's Table for Jupiter, like his other Tables, exactly corresponds with the present *Sûrya-Siddhânta* without the *bîja*. And by actual calculation of Jupiter's motion from that Table for as many as 471 years, I find that his yearly motion is 1ˢ 0° 21′ 6″.

The sun's dhruva entered below Table XX. (p. 24) is wrong; it should be 11ˢ 15° 26′ 34″ 23‴ (see p. 182). Also, the remark below it is misleading. Tables XX., XXI., XLI., XLII., XLIII., XLIV., and XLV. are from Vavilala Cuchinna's work; and, if the *dhruvas* in them, which are for about the end of the luni-solar year Kaliyuga 4399 current (beginning of 4399 expired), are to be used, the *ahargaṇa* should be calculated according to his rule on pages 153 or 171; and the mean places, calculated with the *dhruvas* and the *ahargaṇa*, will be for the mean noon, and not for the mean midnight. The word "midnight" in line 2 from the bottom, page 24 of the Tables, is so far wrong The Tables, however, exactly correspond with the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* (without *bîja*), and are useful in making calculations according to that Siddhânta; in which case the places will be for midnight.

The Dhruva in Table I. is for the apparent, while those in Tables XI. and XII. are for the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti.

Tables XXIV. and XXV., **for the solar and**

[15] The author of this work was a king, named Daśabala, son of Virôchana, of the Valabha family. There is a MS. of it, No. 20 of 1870-71 in the Dekkan College collection. The tenth verse of the last chapter of this work runs thus:—Valabh-ânvaya-samjâtô Virôchana-sutaḥ sudhîḥ | idaṁ Daśabalaḥ śrîmân chakrê karaṇam uttamam.

[16] I find that this *amâvâsyâ* ended, as a mean *tithi*, on the Friday, at 2 *gh.*, 24 *palas*, 31·5 *vipa.*, after mean sunrise for Ujjain; and thus it will be seen that the epoch of the work is not the time of the mean last conjunction in the year.

lunar equations, belong to Makaranda, which name is wrongly written as Maracanda.

In constructing the Table **XXIX.**, for finding **the epochs of mean intercalations of luni-solar months from Kaliyuga-Saṁvat** 0, $\frac{8185}{66389}$ of a *pala* (= 7·397 *paras*) are neglected for every period of an intercalation. The result, in calculating the intercalation for Kaliyuga-Saṁvat 4923 expired, actually by the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* rule, as worked out on page 150, is later by 3 *gh.* 50 *palas* than that obtained from the Table, *viz.* 8 *months*, 14 *days*, 32 *gh.* 40 *vighatis*, and this very difference seems to have led to the invention of an additive equation (*kshêpa*) of the same amount, viz. 3 *gh.* 50 *palas*, which is entered below the Table. In working the example, there is a slight mistake, the remainder (page 150, line 19 from the bottom) should be 38,317,536, with the result of 8 *months*, 14 *days*, 36 *gh.* $23\frac{59213}{66389}$ *palas*, which is greater by 3 *gh.* $43\frac{59213}{66389}$ *pa.* than the result from the Table. This difference is exactly equal to the neglected quantity ($\frac{8185}{66389}$ of a *pala*), multiplied by 1816, the number of intercalations in the example. The error amounted to this quantity in about 4923 years, and it would be absurd to add the *kshêpa* in every example. It is rather surprising that Warren, knowing of the omission of 7·39 *paras* in the construction of the Table, had to adopt the expedient of an additive equation, which, moreover, he could not explain (see p. 151). The Table could have been constructed most accurately, without increasing its bulk, and without having recourse to a *bîja*.

In the **tithi table XXXVII.** (p. 48), the equation against the index 61 should be 24-7. In the **yôga table XXXIX.** (p. 49), that for the indexes 35 and 37 should be 11-4 and 8-29, respectively. And in the **solar table XL.** (p. 50), it should be 6-47 for the index 368.

In Table **XLIX.**, for the **luni-solar ahargaṇa from the beginning of the Kaliyuga**, in the first part, the time of one year is slightly mistaken; the last figures, the decimals ·14, have been taken by an oversight from those opposite 13 lunations, instead of from those opposite 12, which are ·36, but should be ·37. The error amounts to about 39 *paras* (*vipalas*) in 10,000 years of the Table, in the last figures for which we should have 12 *vighatis*, 42 *p.* 10·7 *s.* Similarly, in the second part of the Table, the last quantity for one year is properly 2·715 *suras* (*prativipalas*), and that for 10,000 years is properly 0 *vighati*, 52 *p.* 31 *s.* The error, however, is immaterial.

Some **individual mistakes**, which attract attention, are as follows: — In example II., p. 202, the first fraction is not $\frac{873}{1875}$ but $\frac{242}{1875}$, which reduced into time is equal to 46 *days*, 27 *gh.*, 50·4 *palas*, of the *saura*, and to 47 *days*, 8 *gh.*, 33·9 *pa.*, of the solar time. Subtracting the last quantity from the time of the mean Mêsha-Saṁkrânti according to the first *Ârya-Siddânta*, viz. 46 *gh.* 27·5 *p.* after sunrise on Thursday, 11th April, A. D. 1769, the Sârvarin *saṁvatsara* commenced on the 23rd February, A. D. 1769, at 37 *gh.* 53 *p.*, and not on the 21st October A. D. 1768.

On page 208 (line 12) the number 4370688 is given as the revolutions of Jupiter; but it is that of the *râsis*, or revolutions, multiplied by 12. On page 241, line 11, we should read "solar revolutions" for "solar days."

In a marginal note in Appendix II. p. 276, Warren supposed the eclipse of the 19th March, B. C. 720, recorded by the Babylonians, to be one of the sun. In saying (p. 280) that "the time occurring during the night, the eclipse could not have occurred (in India)," he overlooked the fact that, if the eclipse had been one of the sun, it could not have been visible in Babylonia itself, because even there the time of its occurrence would be during the night. It was in fact a lunar eclipse (see Chamber's Descriptive Astronomy, 1877, page 227, and von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p. 332.) In computing this same eclipse, what is said to be the sun's longitude (on the lower part of p. 279) is in fact the longitude of the earth's shadow.

In writing the note to Table XLVIII. p. 63, and on the word *Ârya-Siddhânta* in the Glossary (p. 355), Warren plainly did not know that there are two different Ârya-Siddhântas (see my note, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 312).

The mistakes noted above, particularly those in the Tables and the individual mistakes, can by no means be exhaustive, as I have not examined every figure in the book under notice. I can, however, say about the Tables that they are creditably correct.

Were there not proofs of the ability and originality of Warren, one would be inclined to question them, from the errors in Tables XVIII., XIX., XXIX., in Appendix II., and in the Second Chronological Table. There is no doubt of the competency of the author for the work taken in hand by him; and I attribute the material mistakes noticed above to the fact, which he admits, that he was "totally ignorant of the

Sanskṛit language" (p 351) Being so, he cannot have had a direct knowledge of the Hindu astronomy, and must have been obliged to depend on second-hand and oral information; the results may be taken as an example by those who may wish to work in the same direction. Considering all the difficulties under which Warren must have laboured, the work is creditable to him, though to those who are ignorant of practical astronomy, it is not in itself a safe guide for Hindu astronomy.

SHANKAR BALKRISHNA DIKSHIT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A NOTE ON A CERTAIN PERSIAN MILITARY EXPRESSION.

The word **sertîp**, now used in Persia, with three different classes, for 'Colonel' and 'General,' has by some writers been wrongly derived from the Greek word **satrapês**, which means 'governor of a province.' The word **satrap** is either the old Pers. *kshathra-pati* (Zend. *shoithra-paiti*) 'master, or lord, of the country, or province,' or, less probably, the old Pers. *kshathra-pâvan*, 'protector or lord of the country.' The word *pati* is preserved in later Persian, *shahr-bâd* (same as *kshathra-pati*) and *ispeh-bed*, 'lord of the army, commander-in-chief,' and in the modern Persian *pâdishâh* (Zend. *paiti-kshathrya*) 'lord of the kingdom.' The word *pâvan* is the later Persian *bân*, as in *shahribân*, *marzbân*, 'lord of the province, lord of the march.'

But **sertîp** is *sar* + *tîp*, *tîp* meaning 'an assembly of men, a body of men, troops.' I do not know whether it is Turkish or Persian; my Persian dictionaries do not give it. I heard it used once for a body of armed men in the phrase *tîp-i-mu'tabar bâ ham bastand*, — "(the authorities) got together a considerable body of men," — and another time for a crowd come to the scene of an explosion at Tehrân, *tîp-i-'azîmî jam' shud* — "a great crowd collected." *Sar* meaning 'head,' *sartîp*, generally pronounced *sertîp*, is thus 'a commander of a body of men.' In the same way we have **sarjûg, sarjûgî** (now 'a corporal') 'a commander of a *jûg*,' a small body of men; **sarhang,** generally pronounced **serhang,** correctly **sar-âhang,** 'head (leader) of (an army in) battle array, leader of a line or series (of soldiers);' and **sarkâr,** 'head of the work, a lord, a Government' (as in India). **Sardâr** is 'the man who has the head or lead' and is 'a leader.' **Sertîp** for 'general or leader of troops' seems to be quite a modern word; I do not recollect having met with it in Persian histories written before the end of the last century; **sarhang** was in use several centuries before that.

Tehrân. A. HOUTUM-SCHINDLER.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH, a Study in Comparative Religion, by J. G. FRAZER. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

FIRST NOTICE.

These goodly volumes are a **notable addition to the knowledge of folklore** and the meaning of its phenomena. Mr. Frazer has been for some time engaged in preparing a general work on primitive superstition and religion, and the present book is an excursus on a particular point of great interest.

The object of the book is to explain the "**rule of the Arician priesthood,**" and in order to propound a theory regarding it, Mr. Frazer has found it necessary to minutely examine the popular festivals observed by European and other peasants in spring, at midsummer and at harvest. Hence the absorbing interest of this work to students of folklore.

Near the village of Nemi, in Italy, stood in ancient times **the grove and sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis or Diana of the Wood.** It was more widely known as **the Arician Grove,** and its priests as the Arician priests, though the town of Aricia, the modern La Riccia, is three miles distant. The rule of succession to the priesthood was that **each priest was by craft or force to murder his predecessor and to hold the succession till he himself was in the same way murdered.** It is to explain this unparalleled custom in classical antiquity, that Mr. Frazer has compiled these two laborious and intensely interesting volumes.

Mr. Frazer's method is best explained in his own words: — "if we can shew that a barbarous custom, like that of the priesthood of Nemi, has existed elsewhere; if we can detect the motives which led to its institution; if we can prove that these motives have operated widely, perhaps universally in human society, producing in varied circumstances a variety of institutions specifically different but generically alike; if we can shew lastly that these very motives, with some of their derivative institutions were actually at work in

classical antiquity: then we may fairly infer that at a remoter age the same motives gave birth to the priesthood of Nemi. Such an inference, in default of direct evidence as to how the priesthood did actually arise, can never amount to demonstration. But it will be more or less probable according to the degree of completeness with which it fulfils the conditions indicated above."

In order to follow Mr. Frazer through his two volumes, it is necessary to explain the **story of the Arician priests** in some detail. The legend he works upon is that the worship of Diana at Nemi was instituted by Orestes, who, after killing Thoas, king of the Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), fled with his sister to Italy, bringing with him the image of the Tauric Diana. As to the ritual in her honour it is said that every stranger who landed on the shore was sacrificed on her altar. In its new home this was modified by making the rule that if a run-away slave could manage to break off a bough — called **the Golden Bough** — of a certain tree from the grove at Nemi, he was entitled to fight, and, if he could, to slay, the priest, and in the latter case to reign in his stead as **Rex Nemorensis, the King of the Wood.** The rule was observed at any rate down to the days of Caligula.

The object of the worship of Diana at Nemi was to procure the birth of children or an easy delivery, and fire was the main substance used in the ritual. At the annual festival the whole grove was lighted with torches, the day was kept by rites at every domestic hearth, and holy fire was perpetually kept up at her shrine.

The offerings were representations of women carrying children and of actual delivery, and lighted torches.

At the annual festival young people were purified, dogs were crowned, and the feast "consisted of a young kid, wine and cakes served up piping hot on platters of leaves."

The **lesser divinities of the grove were Egeria and Virbius.** Egeria was the nymph of a neighbouring cascade. Virbius was identified with Hippolytus, who was killed by his horses on the sea-shore of the Saronic Gulf and brought to life again by Æsculapius to please Diana, who carried him off to Nemi. Hence horses were excluded from the grove and sanctuary. Virbius was also identified with the sun, and it was unlawful to touch his image. He had a special priest, the *flamen virbialis*.

Such are the points of this curious cult, and the questions Mr. Frazer has specially set himself to answer are — "**first, why had the priest to slay his predecessor?, and second, why before he slew him had he to pluck the Golden Bough?**"

Going into details Mr. Frazer begins by asking the questions: — "**why was the priest called King of the Wood? why was his office spoken of as a kingdom?**" In answer he first shews that a royal title with priestly duties was common in Italy and Greece, and then that all over the primitive world **king and priest** are functionaries combined in the same personage, often as the **man-god,** whose duties lie chiefly in the performance of **sympathetic magic.** The underlying principle of this class of magic is what in medicine is called homœopathy, *i. e.* that like cures or, more strictly, produces like, leading to the world-wide practice of sticking injurious articles into an effigy in order to injure the person in whose likeness it is made, and to a thousand allied customs. This arose from the belief of primitive man that he could rule the elements, which, however ludicrous it may be to us, is to all savages a self-evident truth.

The nature-compelling king-priest, then, is merely a man-god endowed with more than usual supernatural power, because to the savage anyone can perform certain of the nature-compelling charms; but there is, and always has been, another kind of man-god, — **he in whom a divinity is permanently or temporarily lodged.** The two are, however, much mixed up in the ideas of primitive man in his various stages of development, before the conception of the gods as beings controlling the forces of nature outside mankind has become developed, and it is always difficult in practice to dissociate the worker of magic from the divine man. For practical purposes both are gods in human form. The medicine-man is the type of the former, and the inspired or possessed individual and the miracle-worker, of the latter: **possession indicating temporary incarnation, and miracle-working permanent incarnation, of the divinity.**

Manifestations of possession are familiar to all students of folklore in the forms of devil-dancing, divination, oracle-speaking, ecstasy, second-sight, and so on. Those of permanent incarnation are much more interesting. The supreme *lâmas* of Tibet and the female rulers of Tibetan monasteries will occur to most of our readers in this connection; but the idea is widespread throughout savage life, and men, who are gods, exist all over the world. Some are merely priests, and some kings as well. The Emperor of China is the great living example of the latter class.

So far we have been dealing with the rule over nature as a whole, but there are numerous instances among savage tribes where **man-gods are kings merely of departments in nature,** as of rain, fire, water, and so on. The best examples of this are the Fire and Water Kings of Cambodia, respected not only by the people, but by the *de facto* king of the country himself.

To come nearer to the Priest-king of the Wood at Nemi we must look into the question of **tree-worship.** It is hardly necessary here to establish its prevalence in Asia and Europe. It will be sufficient to remark on its basis. The main idea is that, as all the world is animate, **trees like other growths of nature have souls and must be treated accordingly.** This notion is universal and leads to innumerable most interesting customs and practices: tree-marriage, tree-pregnancy, wailing and bleeding of trees when cut, shutting up in trees and tree-incarnation, **leading up to the world-wide beliefs in tree-spirits and tree-worship.** Hence the common belief in **spirit-haunted and sacred groves,** which it is advisable and proper to worship and dangerous to injure.

The belief underlying such customs as tree-marriage, tree-pregnancy and the wailing and bleeding of trees, is based on animism pure and simple, but the belief in tree-spirits is an advance in thought. The tree is no longer an animated being, but a mere haunt for spirits and gods. Hence the nymphs, dryads and the host of other **sylvan deities** all the world over.

Now, the powers of the sylvan deities can be shewn to be **identical with those of the man-gods** already mentioned, and what is more, **the sylvan deities themselves have been man-gods** without change of powers. They have made the rain to fall, the sun to shine, the flocks and herds to multiply, and women to bring forth easily, and these beliefs are spread all over the world. **The Harvest-May of Europe is a survival of the belief in the tree-spirit that made the crops to grow, and there is more than reason to suppose that the May-pole and the observances of May-day have reference to the easy parturition of women and cattle.** Observances among the peasants of all parts of Europe at Midsummer, Whitsuntide, St. John's Eve, Lent and so on, point emphatically in the same direction. The sweet Queen of the May herself, despite all the innocence of her young heart, is nothing but the representation of the spirit of female fecundity. All over Europe innumerable pretty and quaint customs have had origin in the same idea: May-king, Father-May, Lady of the May varied as the Whitsuntide-Queen, Whitsuntide-Flower, Little May Rose, and so on; the leaf-clad child varied as the Walber, Green George, Little Leaf-man, Jack-in-the-Green, Lazy-man, Grass-king, &c. It is emphasized when a boy and a girl are May-Lord and Lady in England, when they play more seriously *le fiancé du mois de Mai* in France, and when the peasants deck out the Whitsuntide-Bride and La Mariée in other parts of Europe. In Orissa again there is a custom closely corresponding to those of Europe: so the idea is not at all confined to Europe alone.

In ancient Rome and Greece were representatives of the modern May-day and its congeners, shewing that neither the ceremonies nor the ideas underlying them are modern developments. The ceremonies of the Great and Little Dædala, the story of the nymph Platœa, the custom of the marriage of "the Queen" to Dionysus at Athens, and the story of Dionysius and Ariadne, attest this.

Diana of Nemi, it will be seen from what has been already said, **was emphatically a sylvan deity, her function was to help women in travail,** and to protect cattle, and presumably to make the rain to fall and the sun to shine, and **her priest was her living representative, the King of the Wood. He dwelt in her sacred grove, safe from assault, so long as** the special manifestation of its divine life, **the Golden Bough on the sacred tree, remained intact.** His life was in fact bound up with that of the tree, an idea familiar to the Indian and European peasant alike to the present day.

We now see how the idea of the King of the Wood arose, and in that expressed at the close of the preceding sentence we get a clue as to the answer to the second question: — **why should the would-be successor of the King of the Wood have to pluck the Golden Bough before he could venture to slay him?** The answer to this requires a much more intricate enquiry than in the previous case.

Over most of what may be called the savage and semi-barbarous worlds, and in many an interesting relic in the civilized world, is to be found in one shape or another the doctrine of **tabu.** This is nothing more nor less in origin than a means of **protecting the man-god, whether king or priest or both,** from the terrible calamities which would happen to the people who looked up to him, through the elements or the natural forces he controlled, in case any mischance befell him or caused his death or removal from them. **The elaborate precautions to protect** the Mikado of Japan, the Chitomê of the

Congo, and the high pontiff of the Zapotecs in South Mexico, **all divine kings with supernatural powers, are samples of this kind of tabu.** These precautions go so far as to regulate every detail in the life of such unfortunate rulers, for fear of the trouble that might be caused to the world if any irregularity were to occur. In this way the lives of the kings of Loango and of ancient Egypt were rendered a trouble to them. The *tabus* imposed on the priest-king were, of course, extended to the man-god-priest: witness the rules of life observed by the Flamen Dialis at Rome, whose life must have been a continuous misery.

The effect of these customs in many instances has been notable. No one has wanted to be a high priest or supernatural king, or the holders have been religious recluses leaving the real power to men of action. In Savage Island the kingship ceased to exist because no one would take it. In Cambodia the Kings of Fire and Water had to be forced into office. In parts of Africa they are chosen in secret council. On the other hand, the rise of the Tycoons of Japan, of the Chovas of Tongking, and of the Ministers of Nêpâl and Bhûtân, are instances of the separation of royal and political functions.

The object of the *tabu* being to preserve the life of the man-god, the question is: — **what does the savage understand by this life**; — what by the soul; — what by death?; — **what is the danger he wishes to guard against by tabu?**

Now, the savage understands the living and moving of an animal to be the result of the action of a smaller animal within it, just as he understands a force of nature to be the result of the action of a living being behind it. This man inside the man is the soul, and **it is to protect the soul, to prevent its absence, i. e. death, and to secure its return if temporarily absent,** that he sets up the machinery of *tabu*.

Many, indeed very many, savage customs illustrate the belief above stated. Any number of death, birth, and sleep customs turn on the liability of the soul to fly from the body, — some to try and prevent the flight, and others, as in Christian lands, — *e. g.*, the opening of the windows when a person has died in Cornwall to this day, — to aid it in its flight. The "passing bell" is an instance of the survival of the belief in custom.

The theory of **witches, sorcerers, ghosts, demons,** and so on, is partly based on the supposition that man-gods in various degenerated forms **can force or induce the soul to quit its tenement,** and hence innumerable practices to protect it from this danger. So, sickness is frequently attributed by savages to a temporary absence or snatching away of the soul, and many and curious are the customs connected with its recapture and restoration to its owner, and equally curious are the "things" into which it is supposed to have escaped, — butterflies, dolls, effigies, head-dresses, corpses, devils, cloths, and so on.

The above may be called the **spiritual dangers** to which the soul is liable, but the **physical dangers** are equally numerous and terrible. For instance, it is a common belief that **the shadow or the reflection of the human being is his soul,** and accidents to either are a danger to the life of the owner. This has led to all kinds of superstitions in every part of the world, from stabbing an enemy's shadow in order to kill him, to covering up the mirrors in a house after a death for fear that the soul of the dead man reflected therein should be carried off by his ghost. The most curious of all of which customs is perhaps the objection to being photographed, which still exists in the west of Scotland for fear of sickness resulting therefrom!

Such being the nature of the soul to the savage and semi-civilized imagination, and the dangers to which it is exposed, the special objects of *tabu* become clear, and an examination of **the methods used in tabu** will shew that it has been instituted with a view to protecting the souls of mankind, generally of kings and priests in particular.

The king must be isolated from danger, hence it is common among many savages to safeguard him and his kingdom from the presence of strangers, because **strangers are specially credited with powers of magic and witchcraft.** An instance of this was experienced by the Afghân Boundary Commission, which was frequently met with fire and incense when passing villages. Sometimes the superstitious dread is so great as to prevent all intercourse, as when Speke was once refused entrance to a village for fear that his tin boxes contained enemies transformed into demons!

The stranger is as often afraid of the village he enters as the village is of him, hence **purificatory ceremonies before and after a journey** observed even in ancient Greece and in modern Hindustân. The dread of the *kálá pání* and the ceremonies connected with "receiving back into caste" and excommunication from *huqá pání*, or outcasting, are nothing but instances of a creed held in common with the veriest savages.

At the times of eating and drinking, the soul is especially liable to escape, hence the customs prevalent among many savages of shutting up the house while feeding, of feeding in

private, of feeding and cooking alone. This last custom is in common use among Hindus of the present day. The veiling of *men*, when royal or undergoing ceremonies, is also due to a fear of substances entering the body and injuring the soul within. The confinement of the king to his palace or abode is another instance of the fear of the baneful influence of strangers and strange substances, and was to be seen in Burma until a few years ago in the custom of sticking up *zalìthàts*, or lattices, along the streets, behind which the people hid until the king had passed. In the more thoroughly Burman portions of Mandalay the streets were deserted and the people almost entirely hidden behind *zalìthàts* of voluntary construction when the Duke of Clarence and Avondale passed along them in 1889, because it was known that he was heir to the English throne.

It will be seen, therefore, that **food may easily injure the soul**, and that care must be exercised as to what is eaten and from whose hand. It is hardly necessary to give instances of this to Indian readers, but it may be as well to point out that *tabu* as applied to the food and even the belongings of royalty in New Zealand among the Maoris is infinitely stronger than among the most exclusive Brâhmaṇs.

The remains of food after eating may injure because an enemy may get hold of them and make them, by magic, grow inside the eater and kill him. Hence the burying of the remains of food after a meal in many places, and the terror inspired by the accidental devouring of the food left by the magic-working man-god, giving rise to such customs as the daily breaking of the dishes of the Mikado.

Thus also arises **the tabued person**: the living divinity **whose every belonging is dangerous** to the common herd, or he **whose condition**, *i. e.* uncleanness, **is a danger**. Hence the dread of the *tabu* of a Maori chief in New Zealand, and the avoidance of persons who are ceremonially unclean, as menstruating women, persons who handle the dead, and so on.

From dangerous persons and their belongings we come to **especially dangerous things**. As regards kings and priests and at times of ceremonies, **iron** is all over the world a tabued object. This may be a survival of the superstitious dread of all things new, as in the case of Speke and his tin boxes, for when bad harvests followed on the introduction of iron ploughshares into Poland they were attributed to the iron in the ploughshares, which were thereupon discarded. But it also clearly arises from the notion that iron is **obnoxious to the gods as furnishing weapons that may be turned against them by man**. Hence the common use of iron charms to ward off evil spirits, and the numerous and universal charms used at deaths under the impression that **spirits are wounded by sharp instruments**, many of which are specially aimed at preventing the wounding of the soul after departure.

Blood, and its concomitant raw flesh, are also almost universally tabued, being both dangerous to consume and in the case of royalties and priests dangerous to shed. The Siamese, the Mongols, the Tâtârs, and the Malagasis will not shed the blood of royal or noble personages. The late King of Burma's relatives in 1878 were slaughtered by being beaten across the throat with a bamboo for the same reason **The objection to shedding blood is frequently extended to spilling it**, even in the case of animals slaughtered for food. The reason of the superstition is explained by the belief. shared alike by the Romans, Arabs, Esthonians, North American Indians and Papuans, that **blood contains the soul**. The belief has been widely extended to the **red juice of plants**, especially seen in the notion that **wine is the blood of the vine** and must be therefore eschewed. The Aztecs punished any one who insulted a drunken man, and inspiration is frequently sought by drinking blood. In both cases the idea is that a foreign soul has entered the drinker by means of blood.

The blood of tabued persons is especially dangerous, notably of women, hence the danger of seeing blood, believed in very widely throughout the world, and also the curious custom of **fearing to dwell or pass under another person, in case his, or worse her, blood should fall and injure.** The Flamen Dialis could not pass under a trellised vine, as it was a bleeding plant. In Burma and all over Further India no man will dwell under another if he can help it. **Keeping the head high, and, conversely, lowering the head below that of a high personage**, so puzzling to newly arrived Europeans in Burma and kindred countries, is explainable partly in this way, and partly by the belief expressed by the Karens and Siamese that **the head contains the soul.** In Polynesia the head is so sacred that it may not be touched, and elsewhere also even the owner of the head cannot touch it under certain circumstances!

The sanctity of the head has passed into the hair and even into the nails, which all the world over it has been either **dangerous to cut,** as amongst the Sikhs, or which may be cut with ceremonies and precautions only. Hence also the many customs connected with **depositing**

shorn hair or nails in a place of safety to prevent them from rotting and destroying the soul of the owner, and burning or burying them to prevent sorcerers getting possession of them. Shaving children as tabued persons arises from the same cause. The child being in a tabued or dangerous state, all the separate parts of its body are specially dangerous to others and must be removed.

The idea then at the bottom of the breaking of the Golden Bough was that it represented the soul of the Rex Nemorensis and was tabued to him; so not only would it be dangerous to try to kill him until it was in his enemy's possession, but it would be an actual danger before and after his death to the slayer, if left intact on the tree and able to do mischief.

We thus see why it was necessary to go through certain forms before the god could be killed. But why should the god be killed? Can gods die?

To primitive man all the world over, immortality is inconceivable: all his gods die. This can be proved by the beliefs of the Greenlanders, the North American Indians, the Philippine Islanders, the Hottentots, and notably of the ancient and cultivated Greeks in many instances. Zeus, Dionysus, Apollo, Cronus, Hermes, Aphrodite, Ares, all died and were buried. The great invisible gods being thus mortal, it is clear that the man-gods are mortal too, and the notion of the importance of killing the latter arose out of the idea that by so doing his soul could be transferred to a successor, and thus the calamities inevitable on his natural death were averted. We have already seen that natural death involved the departure of the soul and its refusal to return, and that the welfare of the world was immensely interested in the welfare of the man-god. Now, if the god were killed while still vigorous, and before his soul left his body, it would be easy to make sure of catching and transferring it to another and more vigorous body. A feeble body means a feeble soul, hence the importance of preventing decay from overtaking the man-god. This last notion has led to a general custom of suicide among the old in Fiji, and to religious murder in the New Hebrides and in Abyssinia.

Killing the divine king or man-god, is both universal and old! On the Congo the pontiff is killed by his successor whenever he gets very ill and likely to die. The god-kings of many peoples have been killed on the approach of old age or for any manifest disease or bodily deformity, a custom which has been attenuated in some instances into the absurd farce of the whole Court doing whatever the king did. If his hair was cut every one's hair was cut; if he had a cold every one pretended to have a cold; if his body was injured all bodies were injured in the same place. A more serious and unpleasant variant of the custom has been to fix the term of the reign to make things quite safe, — whether or not signs of failing health were apparent. According to old historians this was largely prevalent in South India, and in the case of the Zamorins of Calicut was modified into a ceremonial attempt to kill the king after he had reigned twelve years. Indeed it is clear that so outrageous a custom would become modified everywhere sooner or later, and in ancient Babylon the king was annually represented by a condemned criminal allowed to reign for five days and then slain. In Cambodia and Siam the king abdicates for a few days annually. In Upper Egypt the Governor is superseded for three days annually, and in the Himâlayas a Brâhman nominally supersedes a new Râjâ upon succession, for a year. All these are, of course, great modifications of the original cruel custom.

In all the above cases we have substitutes for the king when it came to his turn to die as a god. These substitutes were temporary man-gods, and the nearer they were related to the king the better, and this has led to the sacrifice of the king's son in time of national danger, and among some savages to a general custom of sacrificing the first-born.

From killing the man-god to killing the King of the Wood is but a small transition, the reason being in both cases that violent death was the only means of preserving him from that decay, which was so dangerous to the community at large. The custom, as we now have it in the case of the Rex Nemorensis, is probably not the original custom, such as we have seen in the instances of the divine king, and there are many survivals of old customs still existing to shew that the King of the Wood was originally killed on the expiry of a set term. All over Northern Europe, closely allied to the May-day and Whitsuntide customs already alluded to, are another set held at Whitsuntide and Shrovetide, in which the chief actor, under such names as the May-bearer, Wild-man, the Pfingstl, the Whit-Monday King, clearly represents the tree-spirit, who is beheaded in mimicry or effigy before the play is over, and in one instructive instance in Bohemia is allowed to be king for another year if he can escape from the crowd after his substitute, a frog, has been decapitated. This killing in effigy as a custom in memory of real human sacrifice has

counterparts all over the world, the strongest instance of which is in the case of the Indians of Arizona, who, when prevented by the Mexicans from continuing human sacrifices at their Feast of Fire, continued in secret a sham sacrifice in which they did not go further than drawing blood.

The killing of the god was not confined in primitive times **to the human representatives of the gods of those who worshipped the vegetable kingdom**; it can be shewn, by a consideration of modern folk-customs, to have **existed amongst those whose gods were animals.**

In German and Slavonic villages, closely connected and indeed mixed up with the customs of May-day and killing the King of the Wood, is the custom of **Burying the Carnival** in Lent. Straw effigies representing a man, known as the Carnival Bear or the Carnival Fool, are slain and buried or drowned in various ways, and in Swábia the custom has dwindled into ducking a live person in a stream. As in the case of the effigies or representatives of the King of the Wood, Doctor Ironbeard's services are called in to resuscitate the slain Carnival, **and the reviving of slain death** is a conspicuous part of all these ceremonies. In the Harz mountains, the Carnival is finally represented by a bottle of brandy, which is buried and dug up the following year and drunk "because it has come to life again."

Closely connected with Burying the Carnival is the custom of **Carrying out Death,** that is, throwing him away. He is generally drowned on a Sunday in Lent, known as Dead Sunday. In the Latin Countries generally and in Spain, Italy, and Sicily, this was varied as **Sawing the Old Woman,** and still survives in the paper saws of Naples and the sawing and burning of wooden billets at Barcelona in Mid Lent. It remains in the most interesting manner in North Slavonia, in the expression "Sawing the Old Wife" for Mid Lent. In India, a reference to *Pañjáb Notes and Queries* will give several instances of the practice of carrying out death and disease from the boundaries of one village to another.

Carrying out death is always more or less directly **connected with Bringing in Summer, Spring or Life,** often as not in the form of death resuscitated. That the **modern ceremonies connected with abstractions** such as Death, Summer, Spring **and Life are survivals of others relating to more concrete conceptions,** we have a most interesting proof from Russia, where the images buried and revived represent Kostrubonko, Kostroma, Kupalo, Lada and Yarilo, unquestionable representatives of pre-Christian gods. In Silesia, too, they bury the Deathstone, and in Albania the effigy of a malignant sprite named Kore. The drowning of Ralîs or images of Śiva and Pârbatî in the Kâṅgṛâ district of the Himâlayas is an instructive parallel to these burials of the gods of fertilization. In ancient Europe the marriage of Adonis and Aphrodite (= the Semitic Adon and Istar) and the death and resuscitation of Adonis plainly point out the prevalence then of the modern customs just alluded to. As also do the customs connected with his Syrian prototype Thammuz or Tâuz,[1] while those of the closely connected Attis and Cybele of Phrygia seem in certain points to have given rise to the existing customs in connection with the Maypole, Wildman, the King of the May, and so on. Again assuming that Osiris and Isis, or at least one or some of the gods and goddesses of which these great Egyptian deities were originally compounded, were god and goddess of the corn, the death, burial, and resuscitation of Osiris point to a very ancient existence of the same class of ideas in old Egypt. Our jovial old friend **Dionysus** or Bacchus, in his more legitimate form of **god of vegetation,** by his violent death and revivification proves that similar notions were prevalent in ancient Greece. But **Dionysus was also a god of the animal kingdom, and in this form was slain periodically as a bull, a goat, and even as a human being.**

The myth of **Proserpine and Demeter** belongs to the same category, except that this pair are daughter and mother, instead of husband and wife or goddess and lover. **And if we take Demeter to mean Barley-mother** (and not Earth-mother as usual) there are any number of harvest customs all over Europe referring to her, chiefly connected with **the reaping of the last, but sometimes of the first, sheaf,** which appear in the **Corn-mother,** Rye-mother, Peamother, Wheat-mother, Oats-mother, Barleymother, varied as the Córn-woman, Rye-woman, and so on of Germany, connected with which are the Ceres (a return to classicism this) and the Mother-sheaf of France, the Harvest-mother, Great-mother and Grand-mother of Germany, and curiously the Granny of Belfast. In Germany, too, she appears as the Old-woman, and in effigy as the Carline of Scotland and the Carley of Antrim, which are precisely the same thing as the Baba of Poland and the Boba of Lithuania. The frequent wrapping up of a woman as the Cornmother, under her various names, in the last sheaf

[1] As some have taken Adonis for the sun, Mr. Frazer shews in the most interesting manner that he was a "corn-spirit," using the universal custom, in one form or another, of "the Gardens of Adonis" for his purpose.



shews the reference of the custom to the goddess of fertility: a custom still performed in effigy in the ceremony of the Corn-queen of Bulgaria and formerly of the Harvest-queen of Northumberland. These are all harvest customs, but they are with little alterations to be found connected with the threshing floor in several parts of Europe.

In all the above cases, ripe corn is regarded as matured and old, but it is also conceived of as young or as a child separated from its mother by the sickle. Hence the custom of turning the last sheaf into the Bastard in West Prussia, and the customs of the Harvest Child in North Germany, the Kern Baby, the Ivy Girl and the Maiden in England and Scotland Hence also the names of the Bride, Oats-bride and Wheat-bride for the last sheaf and the woman who binds it, and, more suggestively, of the Oats-bride and Oats-bridegroom, and Oats-wife and Oats-man.

These ideas and habits are not confined to Europe, for we have the Maize-mother, the Quinoa-mother, the Cocoa-mother and the Potato-mother of Peru. The harvest customs of the Zapotecs of Mexico, and of parts of the Pañjâb, of preserving the "soul of the rice" by the Dyaks of North Borneo and the Karens of Burma, and of the Rice-bride and Rice-bridegroom of Java, all turn on the same notions.

All over the world then we have the spirit of the vegetable kingdom conceived as mother or maiden, from which idea the conception of Demeter and Proserpine as Corn-mother and Corn-child probably sprang.

There is yet another set of universal customs connected with these and explanatory of their general tenor. In ancient Egypt, the reapers lamented when the first sheaf was cut, by a song to which the Greeks gave the name of Maneros, alleging that Maneros was a youth who invented agriculture and died an untimely death, but it seems that Maneros was a misunderstanding of the opening words of the dirge *mââ-ne-hra*, "come thou back." In Phœnicia a similar ancient dirge was sung at the vintage, called by the Greeks Linus or Ailinus, and explained much as above, but which really was a misunderstanding of *ai lanu*, "woe to us." Again, in Bithynia a similar reaping dirge was called Bormus or Borimus, and explained as above. In Phrygia was a corresponding song, sung at reaping and threshing, called **Lityerses,** and connected with it is a legend of great interest. **Briefly, Lityerses was a bastard son of Midas who used to make any strange passer-by reap against him; if he beat him, he wrapped him in a sheaf, cut off his head and threw him into the Meander, but one day he met Hercules who slew him.** Now the reaping match is still preserved all over North Europe and it is exceedingly unlucky to be the binder of the last sheaf, leading to the many **Old Man customs,** the swathing of the woman unfortunate enough to bind the last sheaf in the Old Man and her subsequent rough treatment. The killing of the corn-spirit shewn in the second part of the Lityerses legend is also still largely alive in the many customs attached to the threshing-floor known variously as the **Killing of the Old Hay-man,** Corn-man, Oats-man, Wheat-man, of the Boba, the Old-woman, and the Old Rye-woman, which mean chiefly threshing the last sheaf and frequently wind up with ducking the "killer" in a stream or with a jug of water. Treating the strangers of the Lityerses tale as the embodiments of the spirit of the corn, we find his ill-treatment of them surviving in the existing customs of **making chance passers-by at the harvest pay forfeit** both in Norway and France; and in Germany the reapers first pretend to make ready to kill him! Strangers at the threshing-floor in Denmark and Sweden are treated in a similar fashion.

In Europe, of course, the corn-spirit in his multiform shapes is killed only in mimicry in the harvest field and on the threshing floor, but in ruder societies **the killing of the corn-spirit has been represented by human sacrifice,** as witnessed by the cruel proceedings of the Indians of Ecuador and Mexico, the Pawnees of North America, and of course all over wild Africa. The well-known Meria sacrifices of India were made to the same end, and it is interesting to note that on the suppression of these sacrifices the human victim has been supplanted by a goat

Lastly, to shew that the dirges out of which the Lityerses, Maneros, Ailinus and other legends arose had an origin in ancient custom, may be quoted the existing customs of **Crying the Neck** in Devonshire and Cornwall, described by a native as **"only the people making their games, as they always did, to the spirit of the harvest,"** and of the Waul-rye of Germany, *waul* being the cry of the reapers at the cutting of the last corn. The names, for a special bunch of ears containing the corn-spirit, of "the neck" and "the gander's neck" in England, "the goat's neck" in France, and "the head" in Scotland, varied as "the hare's tail" in Friesland, "the cat's tail" and "the fox's tail" in France, all of which have to be cut off by some ceremony, **attest the universality of the old-world custom of killing the corn-spirit.**

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍha
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	ḷri	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ĥ	भ	ಭ	bha
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	h̤	म	ಮ	ma
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ	य	ಯ	ya
Anunâsika	—	m̐	र	ರ	ra
क	ಕ	ka	—	ಱ	r̤a
ख	ಖ	kha	ल	ಲ	la
ग	ಗ	ga	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
घ	ಘ	gha	—	ೞ	l̤a
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	व	ವ	va
च	ಚ	cha	श	ಶ	śa
छ	ಛ	chha	ष	ಷ	sha
			स	ಸ	sa
			ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî **marks of punctuation** than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshar* or syllable.

NOTES ON THE BURMESE SYSTEM OF ARITHMETIC.

BY MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.

PART I.

SOME time back, when enquiring into the methods adopted by the Burmese in Upper Burma in working out their horoscopes and astrological calculations, which are essentially Hindu in every feature, I was led to learn their ideas of arithmetic, and as the subject appears to me to be likely to lead to an interesting series of investigations, I give my notes on it now. I should mention that the system now under discussion is that of the Phôngyîs or Burmese Buddhist priests, and of the astrologers, who are called Pônnâs, i. e., Puṇiyas or Brâhmaṇs, and are usually considered to have emigrated from Manipur.[1]

It seems to be certain that the Burmese obtained what mathematical knowledge they possess from their priests and astrologers with their religion and civilization generally, and that it is directly of Hindu origin, whether it came from Ceylon or through the hills about Manipur. They have words of their own, of non-Hindu origin, to express numerals, but in their arithmetic they are taught a series of words which are corruptions of the Pâli numerals, and it may be noted that, in ordinary life, for ordinals, so far as they express them at all, they adopt Pâli derivatives of a like nature. I have observed also that as surely as a Burman, not filled with European school learning, is given a problem to do that at all puzzles him, he will, while doing it it in his head, mutter to himself these Pâli derivatives and not his indigenous numerals.

Now Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit informs me that a system of arithmetic nearly corresponding to that of the Burmans is still, he believes, in vogue all over India among Hindu astrologers. A similar system is, he says, at any rate, employed by them in the districts of the Koṅkaṇ, Dakhaṇ, Gujarât and Karṇâṭak. At the same time, for mercantile and general purposes a system corresponding to the European has been in use among Hindus from a time long anterior to the era of British rule. On the other hand, nothing of the nature of the Hindu astrologers' method of arithmetic has, so far as I know, ever been adopted in Europe.[2]

In Burma, however, the method of the astrologers was, I believe, the only one known, until the arrival of the Christian Missionaries and the establishment of a Government Educational Department. If this belief is correct, the Burmese did not share the advance in mathematical science made by the Hindus, when they adopted for secular purposes what we may call the European system of arithmetic, whatever the date of the adoption may have been.

Precisely the same thing appears to have happened in Tibet; for, whatever the truth or the real date may be, there appears to be no doubt that the Tibetans claim to have received their mathematical knowledge directly from India with their religion in the second century B. C., and, when I was, about a year ago, explaining the Burmese arithmetic on a blackboard before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, Babu Sarat Chandra Das, C. I. E., the Tibetan scholar, at once recognized portions of the Burmese system as still current in Tibet. With the Babu was a Lâma, who further shewed on the board that the system taught him in the indigenous monastic schools in Tibet was much the same.[3]

---

[1] Some Pônnâ communities in Mandalay Town still keep up an annual communication with Manipur through members of their race, who travel backwards and forwards. They are very particular in retaining purity of blood and family connections.

[2] Mr. Dikshit has been kind enough to favour me with several comparative notes to this paper. These will be found in the footnotes with his initials attached to them.

[3] The absence of any but the astrologers' system in Burma may prove to be an exceedingly interesting point, because it may be discovered that the Burmans procured their arithmetic from India at a date anterior to the secular system now in use, and it is not likely that their knowledge of arithmetic is older than their other knowledge imported from India, i. e., it is not likely to be older that the seventh century A. D. If this should turn out to be the truth it would fix a date before which the adoption of the secular system of the Hindus could not have taken place.

To trace out the origin of the dual system of arithmetic found among the Hindus, and the time at which each part of it was adopted, would be a most interesting subject for enquiry,[4] rendered all the more so from the fact that everything about the astrologers' system points to great antiquity. It is essentially a system adapted to mental and not clerical processes: it is not, as used, capable of undergoing checks as the calculations proceed nor when they are completed: it is not adapted to the calculation of fractions: it works out easily by adopting, not the decimal notation, but the natural one of setting down numbers as they are spoken, and it demands the least mental exertion compatible with calculating at all. For instance, under this system it is not necessary to learn by rote to multiply beyond nine times nine, and in the Burmese monastic schools, and I am told in Tibet also, children are not taught to multiply by heart beyond that point. To the present day, the very crudest notions of arithmetical notation largely prevail in Burma, and, even in Rangoon, carts, bags and other things containing articles in quantities may be seen marked thus: — 1000100309 to represent one thousand one hundred and thirty nine, = 1139. In upper Burma mercantile accounts are frequently kept by the ordinary people in this way.[5]

To explain, except by ocular demonstration, such a matter as a method of arithmetic is an exceedingly difficult thing, and it may be that I have failed to make myself plain in the following pages. At the same time, it would seem that the best mode of explanation is by taking typical problems in arithmetic and working them out step by step with notes, and this plan I have adopted. The difficulties in the way, however, have been rendered all the greater by the Burmese methods of working in practice. They invariably rub out the results of each step as they proceed in their calculations,[6] and shew only the final one, just as a European child works on a slate. Indeed, their system is not adapted to any other way of setting to work. However, for the present purpose, I have been obliged to devise a plan whereby each step gone through can be shewn on paper.

The Burman does his calculations either on the ground in the dust, or on black *parabaik*.[7] *Parabaik* is a thick coarse indigenous paper with a smooth greasy surface on which characters are written with a soft soapstone style. This leaves a white mark which is easily rubbed out with the fingers. In either case each calculation is erased when it is no longer required.

The Burmans have various names for arithmetical books, but all refer astrological calculations to simple arithmetic, or to rule of thumb. The rules are embodied in *thôks* or *sûtras*, of which I hope some day to give renderings and explanations. They do not seem to be at all easy to procure.

A small palm-leaf MS. procured from a Mandalay monastery contains five "books" on arithmetic :—

(1) *Kôgyaung*, multiplication, *lit.* drawing out nine, *i. e.*, ascending to nine times nine.

(2) *Bôlingá*, astrological verses : *bô* (written *bôl*) is one of the six rules of astrology.

(3) *Bôbyé*, astrological movements.

(4) *Náyìhlì*, the revolution of the hours : *náyì*, spelt *nárì*, = *náḍí*, *ghaṭí* or *ghaṭiká*, the Indian hour of twenty-four minutes.

(5) *Sànhö*, calculating fortune (by astrology).

[4] It is to be feared that the indigenous mathematical writings will not throw much light on the enquiry, because in Burmese astrological works and in the old Hindu works and MSS. on Mathematics we have set down for us in various forms of notation the results of calculations merely, and, so far as I am aware, we do not know how the calculators arrived at these results. In other words, we do not know what the mental processes were by which they arrived at the results they set down on paper. We do not know in fact why, when an ancient mathematician tells us that 55 multiplied by 66 equals 3630, he knew the result to be correct, or how he set to work on the multiplication.

[5] In this custom we seem to have a plain remnant of the old Hindu numerical-symbol method of notation.

[6] So do the Hindu astrologers. — S. B. D.

[7] Hindu astrologers use a wooden plank, which they cover with dust. This plank is called *pâṭî*, hence arithmetic is called *pâṭîgaṇita* by Bhâskarâchârya and others. Nowadays a slate, also called *pâṭî*, is also used. — S. B. D.

An application to a well known monastic calculator in Mandalay produced the following, written on black *parabaik*:—

(1) *Kôgyaung̥liṅgâ*, multiplication verses.

(2) *Bôliṅgâ*, astrological verses.

The enumeration of these "books" is sufficient to shew the extent and nature of Burmese mathematical science. They do not, in fact, reduce their rules of thumb to writing as a general practice, but hand them down orally and by ocular demonstration on the sand or in the dust about the monasteries.[8]

It has been said above that the Burmese system of arithmetic is especially adapted to mental processes. Now, in adding 325 to 896, Europeans and Indians begin on paper with the units and work on to the tens and hundreds. This is the most convenient way, because each unit cipher of the calculation is discarded from the memory as it is jotted down. Thus 6 and 5 are 11, put down 1 and carry 1; 1 and 9 are 10, 10 and 2 are 12, put down 2 and carry 1; 1 and 8 are 9, 9 and 3 are 12, put down 12: result 1221. In each of the above processes the mind is not troubled with anything beyond the cipher to be carried forward. But the Burman reverses the process and commences by adding the hundreds, then the tens and lastly the units. He proceeds thus: 3 and 8 are 11, rub out 3 and 8 and put down 11:[9] 2 and 9 are 11, rub out 2 and 9 and put down 1 for 9, and the 1 carried forward under the unit of 11, thus 1116; then add the two 1 together, 1 and 1 are 2, rub them out and put down 2 for the unit
1 5
of 11, thus 1216: 5 and 6 are 11, rub out 5 and 6, and substitute as before, thus 1211; then add
5 1
the two 1 as before and substitute, 1221. Q. E. D.

Now, for a paper process, this is awkward; but it requires less mental effort than the European method, and it is that in use in mental addition all the world over. Rapid mental calculations in Europe and Indian mental arithmetic are both done in this way. Thus a man in rapidly working out the above problem in his head will commence 300 and 800 = 1100; 20 and 90 = 110, total 1210: 5 and 6 = 11, total 1221. The very rapid addition of account columns common in banks is really achieved in the same way: the pounds first, then the shillings, and lastly the pence are calculated out. Thus to add mentally—

£	*s.*	*d.*
319	17	9
241	7	11
678	14	5
1240	0	1

The operator will proceed thus: — £ 6 + 2 + 3 = 11; 7 + 4 + 1 = 12, 122; 8 + 1 + 9 = 18, 1238: *s.* 14 + 7 + 17 = 38, £ 1-18, £ 1239-18: *d.* 5 + 11 + 9 = 25, 2*s.* 1 *d.*, £ 1239 + £ 1 + 1 *d.*, £ 1240-0-1. He then puts the result down, appearing to be able to calculate all three columns at once, but, of course, he does nothing of the kind in reality.

All the Burmese processes are worked in the same way. They begin with the large figures and go on to the units, rubbing out and substituting as they proceed.

[8] I have a small book of 86 pages printed at the Hanthawaddy (Hansâvatî) Press, Rangoon, in 1889, and bearing the high-sounding title of *Thamûhadîbagâ Bêdinsâgyâ*, which I take to mean "Astronomical Writings Illuminating the Multitude." *Sâgyâ* is Burmese meaning 'writings.' *Bêdin* = *Vêda*, which in Burma means an astronomical, or, more strictly, an astrological, work. The rest of the title represents the Pâli *Samûhadîpaka*. This book contains a large number of rules and methods for many sorts of calculations, including the *Kôgyaung̥*, *bôliṅgâ*, &c., noticed above. It would probably be well worth a detailed examination.

[9] It being remembered that he always works by a process of erasing the steps of his calculation as he proceeds.

The **subtracting** process is a curious **reversal of the accepted European method.** Thus, take 78 from 95 : — 70 out of 90 leaves 20 in my hand :[10] 8 out of 5 I cannot take, so I take 10 out of the 20 in my hand : 8 out of the 10 I have taken leaves 2 in my hand, I add the 2 to the 5 which makes 7, so I have 17 in my hand. — Q. E. D.

Multiplication is to the average Burman a science requiring much exertion of the brain. In its simplest form **the principle** adopted may be said to be **the multiplication of each cipher of the multiplicand separately, from the large figures to the units, and adding up the results.** Here we see the play of mental arithmetic again. Thus in multiplying 391 by 65 he multiplies 300 by 60 which gives him 18,000, then 300 by 5 which gives 1,500, adding the results he gets 19,500. Next he multiplies 90 by 60 = 5,400, and 90 by 5 = 450, total 5,850: this added to 19,500 = 25,350. Then 1 × 60 = 60 and 1 × 5 = 5 which added together = 65, and this added to 25,350 = 25,415.[11] A multiplication of the two sums in European fashion will shew this result to be correct : thus

```
  391
   65
 ----
 1955
2346
 ----
25415
```

The above explains the mental process only. The Burman in practice keeps the untouched ciphers of the multiplicand constantly before him, which obliges him to adopt the rules of thumb shewn on pages 60 ff. *infrâ.*

In applying the principle of working from the large figures to the units for **division,** the Burmese arrive at a complicated process, but it has the advantage over all the rest of **checking the calculation as it proceeds.**

Suppose you are given 589 to divide by 27. In this problem to find the first cipher of the product, which must needs be a multiple of 10, you can take 2 tens of the 20 of the divisor out of the 500 of the dividend ; and then as the full dividend is 589 and the full divisor 27 you can find your true remainder by multiplying 27 by 20 (the quotient just reached) and subtracting the product of this multiplication from the dividend ; thus 589 — 540 = 49. This is the remainder after the first division. You have now to divide 49 by 20 to find the second cipher of the final quotient, and as this must needs be a unit you can take 2 units of the 20 of the divisor out of the 40 of the dividend ; and then as the full dividend is 49 and the full divisor is 27, you can find your true remainder by multiplying 27 by 2 = 54. But 54 cannot be substracted from 49 and this shews you that you cannot take 2 units of 27 out of 49 : you can, however, take 1 unit, leaving a remainder of 22. Your two quotients then are 20 and 1 with 22 over, which gives 21 with 22 over as the final quotient of the division.[12] This result is correct, as division by the European method will shew ; thus

```
27 ) 589 ( 21
     54
     --
      49
      27
      --
      22
```

The above again shews the process of reasoning only. The practice is given below at pages 63 ff. *infrâ.*

[10] As the Burman reasons.

[11] Of course, all the additions are done by the Burman in Burmese fashion.

[12] The Burman, of course, goes through every addition, subtraction and multiplication, in his own fashion.

Now the Burman writes the result of a division exactly as we do; thus, $21\frac{22}{27}$. He has, however, so far as I could ascertain, no notion of using fractions, except that he can by rule of thumb add $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$, or subtract $\frac{1}{4}$ from $\frac{1}{2}$, and work simple problems like these. But as to adding $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$, multiplying $\frac{2}{3}$ by $\frac{3}{5}$, or dividing $\frac{7}{10}$ by $\frac{1}{5}$, or telling how much greater $\frac{3}{10}$ are than $\frac{2}{5}$, these are problems quite beyond his powers. His expressions for fractions reveal his conception of them: *thông bông ta bông,* (of) three parts one part, *lê bông thông bông,* (of) four parts three parts.

So far as relates to concrete matters, such as money calculations, division of property or land, and so on, the Burmans I found could work out simple calculations in proportion, but abstract questions seemed to puzzle them at once. I regret that I have not so far found any leisure to enquire into their processes.

The following pages purport to exhibit by examples the actual arithmetical processes employed by the Burmese by rule of thumb, so far as they can be shewn on paper.

PART II.

A. ADDITION.

Example I. Add 236 to 325.

To add 236 to 325, place the sums one under the other; units under units, tens under tens, and so on: thus, **325.**
236

Now commence by adding the *first* ciphers together in the head; thus, $2 + 3 = 5$: and substitute the sum for the upper cipher of the addition; thus: **525.**
36

Now proceed in the same way with the second cipher, because $2 + 3 = 5$, thus: **555**
6

Now proceed in the same way with the third cipher, but because $5 + 6 = 11$, *i. e.*, more than ten, substitute thus: **551.**
1

Now, because $5 + 1 = 6$, add the remainder and substitute thus: **561.**

Demonstration by the European method is as follows:—

325
236
———
561.

In the Burmese method on the sand, *parabaik* or slate, the processes actually shewn would be as follows:[13] — (*a*) 325, (*b*) 525, (*c*) 555, (*d*) 551, (*e*) 561. That is, they are 5 in
236 36 6 1
number. There is no check at all by the Burmese method.

Example 2. Add 465 to 897.

Proceeding as before in the case of the sums of any two ciphers which exceed 10, we get 6 processes, as shewn by the Burmese method; thus: —

(*a*) 897, (*b*) 1297, (*c*) 1257, (*d*) 1357, (*e*) 1352, (*f*) 1362.
465 65 1 5 1
5

Demonstration by European method: 897
465
———
1362.

[13] The Hindu processes are identical, except that the ciphers of the upper sum only are rubbed out as the calculation proceeds. In addition and subtraction, the Hindu astrologers commence from units. — S. B. D.

Example 3. Add: 418
974
645
723

Add in the head as before and substitute the result of each row of ciphers for the uppermost cipher of the addition: thus, because 7 + 6 = 13 : 13 + 9 = 22 : 22 + 4 = 26, write

2618
74
45
23

Then because 4 + 2 = 6 : 6 + 7 = 13 : 13 + 1 = 14, write

2648
1 4
5
3

Now, because 1 + 6 = 7, write

2748
4
5
3

Then, because 3 + 5 = 8 : 8 + 4 = 12 : 12 + 8 = 20, write

2740
2

Then add remainder and write **2760.**

Demonstration by the European method is as follows: —

418
974
645
723
———
2760.

The Burmese processes,[14] which are 6 in number, are

(*a*) 418.	(*b*) 2618,	(*c*) 2648,	(*d*) 2748.	(*e*) 2740,	(*f*) 2760.
974	74	1 4	4	2	
645	45	5	5		
723	23	3	3		

B. SUBTRACTION.

Example 1. Subtract 78 from 95.

To substract 78 from 95, place the subtractor below the integer: tens under tens, units under units, and so on : thus, **95**
78

Then subtract the first cipher of the subtractor from the cipher of the integer immediately above it in the head, and substitute the remainder for the first cipher of the integer: thus: **25**: because 9 — 7 = 2.
78

[14] In cases where more than two sums are to be added together, the Hindus do not quite follow the process here described. They add the two lowest sums together and then the result to the sum immediately above it and so on. — S. B. D.

Now subtract the second cipher of the subtractor from the cipher of the integer immediately above it. But 8 cannot be subtracted from 5, so borrow 10 from the 20 of 25, and substitute thus : **15.**
78

Now subtract in the head the second cipher from the sum thus borrowed and, because 10 — 8 = 2, set down the remainder below the cipher of the integer immediately above it ; thus : **15.**
2
78

Now *add* the remainder to that cipher of the integer and substitute the result thus : **17**
78.

Answer : 17.

Demonstration by the European method : 95
78
—
17.

The Burmese processes, as shewn successively on the slate, sand or ***parabaik***, are as follows : —

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
95,	25,	15,	15,	17,	17.
78	78	78	2	78	
			78		

Thus 6 processes are gone through before the result is arrived at.[16]

Example 2. Subtract 9 from 22.

The process just explained is always observed when the cipher of the **subtractor** is **greater** than the cipher of the integer immediately above it. Thus, in taking 9 from 22, as 9 will not subtract from 2, borrow 10 from the 20 of 22 and substitute thus : **12.**
9
Then subtract 9 from the 10 thus borrowed and set remainder below the 2 : thus **12.**
1
9
Now *add* this remainder to 2 and substitute thus : **13.**
9

Answer : 13.

Example 3. Subtract 95 from 221.

In this case by observing the above rules the Burmese processes as set down successively are 8 in number, and as follows :—

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)
221,	121,	121,	131,	121,	121,	126.
95	95	1	95	95	5	95
		95			95	

Answer : 126.

Demonstration by the European method : 221
95
——
126

[16] The Hindus place the subtractor above the integer and proceed to see all the places where "one will have to be carried," as the English would phrase it, marking each with the symbol ≛. Thus take 186 from 432 : write 186.
432
Now 6 will not take from 2, and 8 will not take from 3, so write 1̀8̀6,
432
and in the calculation add 1 to the 1 and 8 thus marked. The substitution of the results of the calculation for the figures of the integer are made in the same way as in the Burmese system, and the process is otherwise the same. — S. B. D.

Example 4. Subtract 49 from 650.

Proceeding as before the processes are :—(*a*) 650, (*b*), 610, (*c*) 600, (*d*) 600, (*e*) 601, (*f*) 601.
59 49 49 1 49
49

There have been thus 6 processes.

Demonstration by the European method :

650
49
———
601

C. MULTIPLICATION.

Example 1. Multiply 391 by 55.

To multiply **391** by **55** the sums are set down thus : **391**
55

The rule is to set down the last cipher of the multiplier under the first cipher of the multiplicand, and the other ciphers of the multiplier in front of the last one.

First stage : multiplying the first cipher of the multiplicand.

First process : multiply the first cipher of the multiplicand by the first of the multiplier, setting down the result before the first cipher of the multiplicand :[16] thus **15391.**[17]
55

The real rule is : — The ciphers of the result must be set down so that the last cipher of the result is placed immediately above the multiplying cipher. The above process merely shews the resultant rule of thumb.

Second process : multiply the first cipher of the multiplicand by the second of the multiplier, setting down the result thus[18] : **15391.**
15
55

Observe that the rule as to placing the result above the multiplier still holds good.

Third process : substitute the last cipher of the result for the first cipher of the multiplicand : add the first cipher of the result to the cipher above it and substitute thus : **16591.**
55

Now push the multiplier forward one point and you are ready for the second stage : thus : **16591.**
55

Second stage : multiplying the second cipher of the multiplicand.

First process : multiply the second cipher of the multiplicand by the first cipher of the multiplier, setting down the result[19] thus : **16591.**[20]
45
55

[16] The Hindu method of multiplication is practically identical with that of the Burmese. — S. B. D.

[17] In this case the Hindus would keep the 15 separate from the 391 to avoid confusion. — S. B. D. The *Burmese*, so far as I have seen them at work, however, write as I have shewn in the text. — R. C. T.

[18] The Hindus would not set down the second result in this fashion, but would add it to the first result, keeping in mind the proper places of the figures. Thus in this case: second result 15; first result 15; total 165, keeping it again separate from other figures. — S. B. D.

[19] Here again the Hindus would add the result at once in the head without setting down any intermediate process. — S. B. D.

[20] Here also the Hindus would keep the 165 separate from the 91. — S. B. D.

Observe that the rule as to placing the cipher of the result over the multiplier still holds good. It will always do so.

Second process : add the result to the ciphers immediately above them separately, and substitute thus : (*a*) **16091**, (*b*) **11091**, (*c*) **21091.**

(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)
16091 5 55	11091 1 55	21091. 55

Third process : multiply the second cipher of the multiplicand by the second cipher of the multiplier, setting down the result thus: **21091.**
45
55

Fourth process : substitute the last cipher of the result for the second cipher of the multiplicand : add the first cipher of the result to the cipher above it, and substitute thus: **21451.**
55

Now push the multiplier forward one point and you are ready for the third stage, thus **21451.**
55

Third stage : multiplying the third cipher of the multiplicand.

First process : multiply the third cipher of the multiplicand by the first cipher of the multiplier, setting down the result thus : **21451.**
5
55

Second process : add the result to the cipher immediately above it and substitute thus : (*a*) **21401**, (*b*) **21501.**

(*a*)	(*b*)
21401, 1 55	21501. 55

Third process : mutiply the third cipher of the multiplicand by the second cipher of the multiplier, setting down the result thus : **21501.**
5
55

Fourth process : substitute the cipher of result for the third cipher of the multiplicand, thus : **21505.**
55

Final Result : **21505.**

Demonstration by the European method :

```
  391
   55
 ----
 1955
1955
 ----
21505.
```

In going through the above calculation the processes actually shewn successively on the slate, sand, *parabaik* or other material by a Burman would be as follows : —

(*a*) 391, 55	(*b*) 15391, 55	(*c*) 15391, 15 55	(*d*) 16591, 55	(*e*) 16591, 55	(*f*) 16591, 45 55	(*g*) 16091, 5 55	(*h*) 11091, 1 55
(*i*) 21091, 55	(*j*) 21091, 45 55	(*k*) 21451, 55	(*l*) 21451, 55	(*m*) 21451, 5 55	(*n*) 21401, 1 55	(*o*) 21501, 55	
(*p*) 21501, 5 55	(*q*) 21505, 55	(*r*) 21505.					

Thus he would have to go through 18 alterations of the ciphers before arriving at the result.

Example 2. Multiply 789 by 69.

By following out the processes explained above, in this case the **processes**, which would be **actually shewn by a Burman** in succession, would be as follows:—

(*a*) 789,	(*b*) 42789,	(*c*) 42789,	(*d*) 48389,	(*e*) 48389,	(*f*) 48389,	(*g*) 42389,	(*h*) 52389,
69	69	63	69	69	48	1 8	8
		69			69	69	69

(*i*) 52189,	(*j*) 53189,	(*k*) 53189,	(*l*) 53829,	(*m*) 53829,	(*n*) 53829,	(*o*) 53329,
1	69	72	69	69	54	1 4
69		69			69	69

(*p*) 54329,	(*q*) 54369,	(*r*) 54369,	(*s*) 54341,	(*t*) 54441,	(*u*) 54441.
4	69	81	1	69	
69		69	69		

Here then are 21 alterations of the ciphers before the result is arrived at.

Demonstration by the European method:

```
 789
  69
----
7101
4734
-----
54441.
```

Example 3. Multiply 748 by 874.

The processes gone through are precisely those explained above, but care must be taken to observe the rule that **the last cipher of the result must be set down immediately above the multiplying cipher.** Thus in commencing, the first process is shewn thus: (*a*) 56 748, and the successive steps of the second process, thus: (*b*) 569748, (*c*) 509748, (*d*) 609748; and those of the third process thus: (*e*) 609748, (*f*) 609848, (*g*) 601848, (*h*) 611848.

(*a*) 56 748,	(*b*) 569748,	(*c*) 509748,	(*d*) 609748;	(*e*) 609748,	(*f*) 609848,	(*g*) 601848,	(*h*) 611848.
874	4	1	874	28	2	1	874
	874	874		874	874	874	

Similarly the remaining processes are shewn thus:

(*i*) 611848,	(*j*) 611848,	(*k*) 643848,
874	32	874
	874	

(*l*) 643848,	(*m*) 643648,	(*n*) 646648,	(*o*) 646648,	(*p*) 646768,	(*q*) 646768,	(*r*) 646768,
28	3	874	16	874	874	64
874	874		874			874

(*s*) 646168,	(*t*) 643168,	(*u*) 653168,	(*v*) 653168,	(*w*) 653128,	(*x*) 653728,	(*y*) 653728,
7	1	874	56	6	874	32
874	874		874	874		874

(*z*) 653752,	(*aa*) 653752.
874	

Thus 27 alterations of the ciphers have to be gone through before the final result is arrived at.

Demonstration by the European method:

```
  748
  874
 ----
 2992
5236
5984
------
653752.
```

Example 4. Multiply 391 by 555.

In this case the alterations in the processes amount to 19 thus :—

(*a*) 15 391, 555	(*b*) 155391, 1 555	(*c*) 165391, 15 555	(*d*) 166591, 555	(*e*) 166591, 555	(*f*) 166591, 45 555
(*g*) 161591, 5 555	(*h*) 111591, 1 555	(*i*) 211591, 45 555	(*j*) 211091, 5 555	(*k*) 216091, 45 555	(*l*) 216451, 555
(*m*) 216451, 555	(*n*) 216451, 5 555	(*o*) 216951, 5 555	(*p*) 216901, 1 555	(*q*) 217001, 5 555	(*r*) 217005 555
(*s*) 217005.					

Demonstration by the European method is as follows : —

```
    391
    555
   ----
   1955
  1955
 1955
 ------
 217005.
```

Example 5. Multiply 12 by 12.

Precisely the same processes are followed as in simple multiplication. Thus in multiplying 12 by 12 the successive steps would be shewn thus :—

(*a*) 112, 12	(*b*) 112, 2 12	(*c*) 122, 12	(*d*) 122, 12	(*e*) 122, 2 12	(*f*) 142, 4 12	(*g*) 144, 12	(*h*) 144.

Here 8 successive steps are required.

Example 6. Multiply 56789 by 9.

With a single multiplier as above the steps would be as follows : —

(*a*) 456789, 9	(*b*) 456789, 54 9	(*c*) 404789, 1 9	(*d*) 504789, 9	(*e*) 50479, 63 9	(*f*) 500389, 1 9
(*g*) 510389, 9	(*h*) 510389, 72 9	(*i*) 510029, 1 9	(*j*) 511029, 81 9	(*k*) 511001, 1 9	(*l*) 511101, 9
(*m*) 511101.					

Here the Burmese process requires 13 steps before it arrives at completion.

D. DIVISION.[31]

Example 1. Divide 689 by 27.

To divide 689 by 27, set the first cipher of the divisor beneath the first cipher of the dividend and the subsequent ciphers after it, thus : — **689.**
27

Then divide the first cipher of the dividend by the first cipher of the divisor in the head,[32] and because $6 \div 2 = 3$, set the quotient over that cipher of the dividend which is immediately above the last cipher of the divisor, thus : —

```
  3
689.
27
```

[31] The Hindu processes of division are substantially the same as the Burmese. — S. B. D.

[32] Hindus usually learn by heart to multiply from 1 to 30, and even to 40, by 1 to 10; that is, a Hindu can at once give the answer to 29 × 9. So no Hindu would in a case like that in the text proceed to divide 6 by 2, but would at once divide 67 by 27 and so arrive at the first cipher of the quotient. Of course, when the divisor is composed of more than two figures in dividing large sums the correct first cipher in the quotient is not always found at once. — S. B. D.

Now *multiply* in the head the quotient with the first cipher of the divisor and subtract the result from the first cipher of the dividend, and then, because 3 × 2 = 6 and 6 — 6 = 0, substitute the remainder for the first cipher of the dividend; thus: — 3
089.
27

Then, to ascertain if the above quotient is the true first cipher of the final quotient, multiply it by the subsequent ciphers of the divisor and subtract the result from the ciphers of the dividend immediately over them in the head, and then if there is a remainder substitute it for the cipher of the dividend affected by the process; but if there can be no remainder, *i. e.*, if the result exceeds the cipher for which it should be substituted, then the quotient is wrong and must be lessened. *E. g.*, in this case 3 × 7 = 21, which cannot be subtracted from 08, and so 3 cannot be the true first cipher of the final quotient and must be lessened.

Begin again and try 2. Then the ciphers to be set down are 2
689.
27

Then, because 2 × 2 = 4 and 6 — 4 = 2, after multiplication with the first cipher of the divisor by the revised quotient, by subtracting the result from the first cipher of the dividend and substituting the remainder for the first cipher of the dividend, we have 2
289.
27

Next, the result of multiplying the revised quotient with the remaining ciphers of the divisor is 2 × 7 = 14, which is capable of subtraction from the ciphers of the dividend affected by the process: *i. e.*, 28 — 14 = 14. So substitute the remainder for the said cipher thus: — 2
149.
27

So 2 is the true first cipher of the final quotient.

Now set forward the divisor a point, thus: 2
149.
27

and proceed as before, dividing the ciphers of the dividend immediately over the first cipher of the divisor; thus: 14 ÷ 2 = 7.

Set down as follows 27
149.
27

Now multiply the first cipher of the divisor with the quotient thus obtained as before, and substitute the remainder after subtracting it from the ciphers of the dividend affected, and, because 2 × 7 = 14 and 14 — 14 = 0, set down 27
09.
27

Next proceed as before, to ascertain if 7 is the true second cipher of the final quotient of the division, by multiplying it with the second cipher of the divisor and subtracting the result from the ciphers of the dividend affected by the process thus 7 × 7 = 49, which cannot be subtracted from 09. So 7 is wrong, therefore try 5.

Set down and proceed as before; thus: 25
149.
27

Now, proceeding as before, $2 \times 5 = 10$, and $14 - 10 = 4$. So substitute 4 for 14, and set down

25
49
27

Then proceeding as before, $5 \times 7 = 35$, and $49 - 35 = 14$. So sub°titute 14 for 49, and set down

25
14.
27

Answer: $25 \frac{14}{27}$.

Demonstration by the European method:

```
27) 689 (25
    54
    ---
    149
    135
    ---
     14
```

Answer: $25 \frac{14}{27}$.

Check is practised in the Burmese method in the same way as in the European, *viz.* by multiplying out the quotient.

The processes shewn in succession on the Burmese slate or sand or *parabaik* would therefore be :—

	3	3	2	2	2	2	27	25
(*a*) 689,	(*b*) 689,	(*c*) 089,	(*d*) 689	(*e*) 289,	(*f*) 149,	(*g*) 149	(*h*) 09,	(*i*) 149,
27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27	27

25	25	
(*j*) 49,	(*k*) 14,	(*l*) $25 \frac{41}{27}$.
27	27	

That is, 12 processes are necessary before the result is arrived at.

Example 2. Divide 3965 by 172.

Proceeding as before, the processes gone through would be set down by a Burman as follows :—

	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	25	25
(*a*) 3965,	(*b*) 3965,	(*c*) 0965,	(*d*) 3965,	(*e*) 1965,	(*f*) 565,	(*g*) 525,	(*h*) 525,	(*i*) 525,	(*j*) 025
172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172

23	23	23	23	
(*k*) 525,	(*l*) 225,	(*m*) 15,	(*n*) 9,	(*o*) $2 \frac{9}{172}$.
172	172	172	172	

Answer: $23 \frac{9}{172}$.

Demonstration by the European method:

```
172) 3965 (23 9/172
     344
     ---
      525
      516
      ---
        9
```

Example 3. Divide 703 by 95.

Here the processes would be as follows: (*a*) $\begin{matrix}703,\\95\end{matrix}$ (*b*) $\begin{matrix}703,\\95\end{matrix}$ (*c*) $\begin{matrix}7\\703,\\95\end{matrix}$ (*d*) $\begin{matrix}7\\73,\\95\end{matrix}$ (*e*) $\begin{matrix}7\\38,\\95\end{matrix}$ (*f*) $7\frac{38}{95}$.

Answer: $7\frac{38}{95}$.

Demonstration by the European method:

$$\begin{array}{l} 95)\ 703\ (7\frac{38}{95} \\ \quad\ \ 665 \\ \quad\ \ \overline{\ \ 38} \end{array}$$

PART III.

A METHOD OF CHECKING BURMESE MULTIPLICATION.

In practice the **Burmese do not check their multiplication, but it is capable of being checked on paper** according to their system of ciphering, by shewing the processes as in the following tables, instead of in the manner given in the above examples. The figures shewn in italics are those that are struck out in each stage of the process of multiplication.

Example 1. 391 × 55.

	First Stage.
Final result	16591
Result of 2nd multiplication	65
Multiplicand and 1st multiplication	15*3*91
Addition of 2nd multiplication	*1*
Multiplier	55

	Second Stage.	Third Stage.
Final result	21451	21505
Result of 2nd multiplication	45	-5
Result of 1st multiplication	21*0*	50
Multiplicand	*165*91	21*451*
Addition of 1st multiplication	*45*	*5*
Addition of 2nd multiplication	*4*	–
Multiplier	55	55

Example 2. 789 × 69.

	First Stage.
Final result	48389
Result of 2nd Multiplication	83
Multiplicand and 1st multiplication	4*27*89
Addition of 2nd multiplication	6
Multiplier	69

		Third Stage.
Final result	53829	54441
Result of 2nd multiplication	82	441
Result of 1st multiplication	53*1*	4*36*
Multiplicand	*483*89	*53829*
Addition of 1st multiplication	*48*	*54*
Addition of 2nd multiplication	*7*	*8*
Multiplier	69	69

Example 3. 748 × 874.

	First Stage.
Final result	611848
Result of 3rd multiplication	118
Result of 2nd multiplication	60
Multiplicand and 1st multiplication	569748
Addition of 2nd multiplication	4
Addition of 3rd multiplication	2
Multiplier	874

	Second Stage.	Third Stage.
Final result	646768	653752
Result of 3rd multiplication	76	52
Result of 2nd multiplication	66	72
Result of 1st multiplication	43	531
Multiplicand	611848	646768
Addition of 1st multiplication	32	64
Addition of 2nd multiplication	28	56
Addition of 3rd multiplication	1	3
Multiplier	874	874

Example 4. 391 × 555.

	First Stage.
Final result	166591
Result of 3rd multiplication	65
Result of 2nd multiplication	6
Multiplicand and 1st multiplication	155391
Addition of 2nd multiplication	1
Addition of 3rd multiplication	1
Multiplier	555

	Second Stage.	Third Stage.
Final result	216451	217005
Result of 3rd multiplication	45	5
Result of 2nd multiplication	60	700
Result of 1st multiplication	211	9
Multiplicand	166591	216451
Addition of 1st multiplication	45	5
Addition of 2nd multiplication	45	5
Addition of 3rd multiplication	45	–
Multiplier	555	555

Example 5. 12 × 12.

	First Stage.	2nd Stage.	3rd Stage.
Final result	122	142	144
Result of 2nd multiplication	2	4	–
Multiplicand and 1st multiplication	112	122	142
Addition of 1st multiplication	1	2	–
Multiplier	12	12	12

PART IV.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BURMESE ARITHMETICAL METHOD.

It is explained, on page 54 above, that **the ordinary Burman still writes his numbers as he speaks them.** Thus he will write 1000100309 for 1139.

This peculiarity yields a possible explanation of his system of arithmetic, which would appear to have arisen from this method of notation.

Let us take one of the **addition problems** already explained: add 325 to 896. These sums he would write as follows: 300205 and 800906. Then we get, putting the naughts which are meaningless according to the decimal notation, in italics for clearness : —

800 + 300	=	1000100
90 + 20	=	10010
Added total	=	100020010
6 + 5	=	101
Added total	=	1000200201 (= 1221)

In this way we see that **even on paper the problem works out naturally** in the Burmese fashion.

Now let us **subtract** 78 from 95, writing the sums as 708 and 905. Then we have

90 — 70	=	20
20 — 10 (borrowed)	=	10
5 + 2	=	7
added total of last two items	=	107 (= 17).[23]

Here again it will be seen that **the Burmese method of subtraction works out naturally.**

Turning to **multiplication** we have to multiply 391 by 65, written 300901 and 605. Then

300 × 60	=	108000	first stage
300 × 5	=	1000500	
added total		109000500	
90 × 60	=	5000400	second stage
90 × 5	=	40050	
total of first and second stages...		20500030050	
1 × 60	=	60	third stage.
1 + 5	=	5	
total of second and third stages.		205000400105	

Or, in decimal notation, 25415. Thus it will be seen that **the multiplication system is merely the logical result of what may be called Natural Notation.**

Lastly for **division**, let us divide 589 by 27, written as 500809 and 207. Then

20 into 500 in terms of ten = 20: then 207 × 20 = 50040: and 50040 from 500809 = 409:	first stage.
20 into 40 in terms of ten = 2: then 207 × 2 = 504: and 504 will not subtract form 409 : so 2 is wrong and we must work with 1:	second stage.
Therefore 20 into 40 in terms of ten = 1: then 207 × 1 = 207: and 207 from 409 = 202	third stage.
Therefore the answer is obtained by 20 + 1 = 201 with 202 over	fourth stage.

[23] We are now following the Burmese method of subtraction explained on page 56, *suprà.*

Or, in the decimal notation, $21\frac{22}{27}$. Here again **the Burmese method works out naturally and clearly.**

This argument seems to shew us how the system arose naturally out of a system of notation which was merely one of writing numbers as they were spoken. If this be the fact, its antiquity is beyond doubt, and **we are thus brought face to face with what may be a genuine sample of primitive mathematics.**

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 194. — AN OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTION AT KOTUR.

Kôṭûr is a village about twenty miles in a north-westerly direction from Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Belgaum District, Bombay Presidency. It is entered in the map, Indian Atlas Sheet No. 41, as 'Kotoor,' in Lat. 16° 1', Long. 75° 2'. The present inscription, now brought to notice for the first time, is on a stone tablet on the south side of a temple or shrine of the god Paramânanda in a field, Survey No. 6, of this village. I edit it from an ink-impression made by my own man.

The surface covered by the **writing** is irregular in shape; the extreme measures are about 2' 5" square. There are no sculptures on the stone. — The **characters** belong to the transitional period of the so-called Old-Kanarese alphabet; and may be allotted, approximately, to the ninth century A.D. The **size of the letters** varies from ½" to 1½". The engraving is bold and excellent. It may be noted that the *j* is formed in two ways, see, for instance, *jaya* and *râja*, line 1; so also the *m*, see, for instance, *mati*[1] and *mana*, line 2. Also, in several instances a distinct form of the lingual *ḍ* is used, as compared with the dental *d*; see, for instance, *naḍadu*, line 3. — The **language** is Old-Kanarese; and the record is in verse throughout. — In respect of **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *b* for *v* in the Sanskṛit word *vîra*, lines 4 and 9; though the *v* is preserved in *vaṁśa*, line 1, and *virâjita*, line 2. The other peculiarities, — *e. g.*, *sambu* for *śambhu* or *śaṁbhu*, throughout, except perhaps where it is used in line 8 as a name of Śiva; *nij-êchche* for *nij-êchchhe*, line 5; *nivirtti* for *nivṛitti*, line 15; and *santôsa* for *saṁtôsha*, line 16, — are linguistic, rather than orthographical; and are customary in the adaptation of Sanskṛit words in Old-Kanarese.

The **inscription** belongs to the class of *vîrgals* or *vîra-kallus*, 'monumental slabs of heroes.' It describes how **a Śaiva ascetic named Sambu**, *i. e.* Śaṁbhu, performed the ceremony of walking through the fire, and then stood in it till he was burnt to death. It mentions **a Chaḷukya prince named Parahitarâja**; in which word we have, of course, a *biruda*, rather than a proper name. It is not dated; and the name of this prince is not known from any other record. But the inscription is to be referred, on palæographical grounds, to about the ninth century A. D.; and Parahitarâja was doubtless one of the Chalukya chieftains who must have survived, and would probably be entrusted with subordinate authority, during the period of the Râshṭrakûṭa supremacy in this part of the country.

TEXT.[2]

1 Śrî[3]-jaya-yutaṁge **Parahita-râjaṁge** **Chaḷukya-vaṁśad=âtaṁge** lasa-
2 [d-râ]jita-guṇaṁge **Sambu** virâjî(ji)ta-mati-vêḷe-goṇḍu bhaya-rahita-manaṁ [॥]
3 Jaḍi rajatôdarad=aḷkade taḍa-daḍisade naḍadu dahanana[ṁ] vola-goṇḍ=ô-
4 gaḍisade chintisi manadoḷ=Mṛiḍana nagumvâge pâyda **Sambuve** bîraṁ ॥
5 Kichchin-oḷag=iḷdu **Sambu** nij-êchcheyin=oladâr=iv=ârim=end=anunayadiṁ
6 bichchaḷike-verasi manadoḷ=mechchi Mahêśvaranan=alli chintisut-iḷdaṁ ॥
7 Pogaḷalk=aḷumbaṁ=app=oḷpugaḷane tanag=avane sâ(śâ)śvataṁ-mâḍi dhaga-

[1] The form of *m* that is used in this word, is the one that is liable to be mistaken for *ro*, or sometimes *re*; see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 431, note 53.
[2] From the ink-impression.
[3] Metre, Kanda; throughout.

8 ddhagita śikhi sekeya kole nage moga[di]ṁ ['Sa]m[bhu]vane **Sambu** neneyutt-iḷdaṁ ॥
9 **Sambugam**=achintyam=âytu guṇam=bageyalk=aḷa . . . .[4] biraman=idan=âvo[ṁ]
10 [mu]m-bagedu pogaḷa[5]l-aṟivoṁ **Sam[bu]van**=ambudhi-[vá]rita-dharaṇîtaladoḷ ॥
11 Mun-negaḷda vêḷevadicharum=inn-apporum=îgad-uḷḷoruṁ bage\od=avar
12 ninn=annare ninn=annare ninn=annare ninage nîne doreyay=**Sambû** ॥
13 Charchch[6]-âdyaṁ Bhavana guṇaṁ bechch-ire tannoḷ=samantu **Sambu** nitântaṁ
14 kichchaṁ pokkudan=î jagam=achchari-vaṭṭ=adane nuḍiyut-irppudu nichcha[ṁ] ॥
15 Urig=oḍḍi meyyan=aḷkade parama-tapôdhana-nivirttiyind=iḷdu Mahê-
16 śvaraṇane chintisi divy-âpsaraseyar=oḍa neradu **Sambu** santôsad-iḷdaṁ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Having declared (*his*) resplendent determination to **the king Parahitarâja,** who is endowed with fortune and victory; who is **of the Chaḷukya lineage;** (*and*) who is possessed of pleasing and splendid virtues, — **Sambu** (*became*) free from apprehension in (*his*) mind.

(Line 3) — A brave man indeed (*was*) **Sambu**, who, fearing not the shower of the fire,[7] delayed not, but ran up and fanned the flame; and then without any hesitation, having thought on the god Mṛiḍa[8] in (*his*) mind, with smiles passed through (*it*).

(L. 5) — When **Sambu** of his own free will was in the fire, (*the people*) expressed disapprobation, saying, in sympathy, (*to the flames*), "Be quenched;"[9] (*but*), with great happiness in (*his*) mind, there he remained, thinking of (the god) Mahêśvara.

(L. 7) — When the crackling fire, having appropriated to itself, once and for ever, those good qualities (*of his*) which were too great to be enumerated, began to acquire heat, — with a smiling face,[10] **Sambu** continued to think upon (the god) 'Saṁbhu.

(L. 9) — When it is considered how inconceivable were the virtues of **Sambu** . . . . this heroic deed,—who, on the surface of the earth surrounded by the oceans, could foretell and describe **Sambu**?

(L. 11) — Verily, neither those who have lived in days of fame gone by,[11] nor those who shall be in the future, nor those of the present time, — (*even*) if they were to think (*of it*), — could say[12] "(*This deed is*) thine, (*or*) thine, (*or*) thine;" (*for*), art not thou indeed, O **Sambu**!, the (*only*) standard of comparison for thyself?

(L. 13) — (*The whole of*) this world, — struck with amazement at the fact that, when the virtues of (the god) Bhava, headed by concentration of the mind in deliberation,[13] developed to (*such*) eminence in him, **Sambu** thus completely entered into the fire, — will for ever be talking of it.

[4] Letters representing two short-syllable instants, are illegible here. As a matter of fact, there is room for four or five syllables; and there was probably a break in the writing, owing to some fault in the stone, as, for instance, between the last two *aksharas* of line 12.

[5] This *ḷa* was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather small, on the top line of the writing.

[6] The *prâsa* is not quite perfect here, owing to the *r* in the second *akshara*. But the composers of ancient poetry do not seem to have been altogether so particular in this respect as those of subsequent times.

[7] I cannot find any dictionary authority for rendering *rajatôdara*, *lit.* 'silver-belly,' by 'fire;' but I do not see what other meaning can be given to the word. — *Jaḍi* seems to be the Kanarese *jaḍi*, *jaḍi-male*, 'incessant rain, small rain.' Strictly, it ought to have an accusative ending, instead of being in the crude form.

[8] *i. e.* Śiva. He is called Mahêśvara in lines 6 and 15-16, Śaṁbhu in line 8, and Bhava in line 13.

[9] I do not see how to render the word *ivu*, 'these' (nom. pl.), in this sentence. [10] *lit.* "smiling with (*his*) face."

[11] In *vêlevadicharum*, we must have the affix *icha*, 'one who is born at, or lives at' (see Nâgavarman's *Karnâṭaka-bhâshâbhûshana*, sutra 175, and Kêśirâja's *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, sûtra 200; in both of which, however, it is attached only to names of places, except in the word *alaricha*, 'born or living in the water-lily, *i. e.* Brahman'). But I do not see how to explain the syllables *vada*; unless the affix is in reality attached, in some instances, to the genitive case, and we have here a genitive form *vêḷevada*, instead of *vêḷeya*, analogous to *bâranâsivada* for *bâranâsiya* (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 145, note 8, which illustrates also a locative case formed in the same way).

[12] *lit.* "indeed they do not say."

[13] Or, instead of *charchch-âdyaṁ*, perhaps we should read °*âdyam*, i. e. °*âḍhyaṁ*, and translate "the unfathomable virtues of (the god) Bhava."

Old-Kanarese Inscription at Kotur.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

SCALE ·23

(L. 15) — Having fearlessly offered his body to the flames; having behaved with the resignation of a most profound ascetic; (*and*) having meditated on (the god) Mahêśvara; **Sambu** attained union with the nymphs of heaven, and became content.

A NOTICE OF THE GULABNAMA.

BY E. REHATSEK.

(*Continued from Vol.* XIX. *p.* 303.)

The **Râjâs Suchêt Singh and Hirâ Singh,** who worked in perfect unison in punishing the rebels, now raised **Dalîp Singh** to the throne, with Hîrâ Singh for his prime minister, but in a few days the old discord between uncle and nephew broke out again. Their quarrel had originally arisen thus. The Râjâ Suchêt Singh rented the *'ilâqa* of Jasrôtâ from the government, while the Râjâ Hîrâ Singh had been presented with it as a *jâgîr.* The late Dhyân Singh had, however, succeeded in keeping peace between them, but they now came to open hostilities and bloodshed, the chief reason for which was, that the Râjâ Hîrâ Singh had entrusted **Paṇḍit Jallâ** with the administration of most of the political and financial affairs and the *paṇḍit* had demurred to the wish of the Râjâ Suchêt Singh to increase Râi Kêsrî Singh's *jâjîr.* The Râjâ Suchêt Singh was further displeased because Paṇḍit Jallâ had captured and slain Bhâi Gûrmukhâ Singh and Miśr Bêlî Râm, the accomplices of Ajit Singh in the murder of the Râjâ Dhyân Singh, as he foresaw the danger entailed by such an act. He, however, strangely enough, put aside all the ill-feeling he entertained towards the adherents of the Sardâr Lahnâ Singh and associated with them, which behaviour disgusted Hîrâ Singh.

Gulâb Singh, informed of this discord, left Jammûn, and started for Lâhôr. When he arrived and halted near Shâhdara, the Râjâs Hîrâ Singh and Suchêt Singh, and all the notable Sardârs came from the city to meet him. In Lâhôr he attempted to effect the supersession of Hîrâ Singh, by inducing the Sardârs and Râjâs to entrust Suchêt Singh with the administration of the government, but they almost unanimously, although politely, refused to comply. He then departed with Suchêt Singh to Jammûn, having no doubt during his brief sojourn in Lâhôr become fully acquainted with the critical state of affairs, and prognosticated therefrom that new contests might soon arise from which it would be best to keep aloof. Having no offspring, and no hopes of obtaining any, Gulâb Singh adopted shortly after his return to Jammûn, **Raṇbîr Singh** as his son. Meanwhile the Râjâ Hîrâ Singh not only refrained from allowing the young Mahârâjâ Dalîp Singh to acquire any influence whatever, but made Paṇḍit Jallâ his chief counsellor. This man incurred great hatred by his tyrannical measures, in consequence of which two of the chief officials of the administration, who foresaw that disturbances would arise, retired from it. These were **Faqîr 'Azîzu'ddîn,** who, leading the life of a recluse, ceased to associate with any one, and **Sardâr Lahnâ Singh,** who abandoned his position and departed to Benares.

Meanwhile the troops of Gulâb Singh, commanded by Dîwân Harî Chand, remained encamped in Shâhdara, to be employed in case of need by the Râjâ Hîrâ Singh. But as **Pêshôrâ Singh,** son of Raṇjit Singh, entertained rebellious designs and had occupied the fort of Siâlkôt, Gulâb Singh besieged it, with the aid of the Dîwân Harî Chand, and the prince fell into their power. **Râjâ Suchêt Singh,** who aspired to supremacy, had meanwhile been corresponding with the officers of the Khâlṣa army. The **Dîwân Jawâhir Singh** at Lâhôr aided him in this matter, which ended in the officers secretly inviting Suchêt Singh to come to the capital. Accordingly he prepared to do so with his intimate friends, Râi Kêsrî Singh and others, in spite of the remonstrances of Gulâb Singh, who at last besought and entreated him in a private conversation not to venture upon so dangerous an undertaking, which must in all probability terminate fatally, and taking off his own turban, placed it before him, but all to no purpose. Suchêt Singh mounted a fleet charger on the pretence of going hunting, but was overtaken by **Miâṅ Raṇbîr** Singh and the **Dîwân Harî Chand,** who both endeavoured in vain to persuade him

to return. He reached Sâmbâ in three hours, which is six *farsangs* distant from Jammûṅ. There he took leave of his *haram*, and on coming out of it received a letter from Jawâhir Siṅgh to the purport that he had succeeded in bringing over the whole Khâlṣa army to their side. This letter so re-assured the Râjâ, that losing all caution he left his forces, which amounted to between three and four thousand men on the road, and hastened with only a few troopers to Lâhôr. When, however, he arrived in the vicinity of the capital with a retinue of 45 men, some of whom were armed and some not, he was informed that the Khâlṣa troops, greedy for money, desired to attack him, and that he ought to turn back. But he replied that it is not the part of a brave man to retreat from a battle-field, whereon Râi Kêsrî Siṅgh suggested that it would perhaps be better to fall back in the direction of Fîrôzpûr, and there to prepare for the struggle, or to go to the Shâlimâr garden at Lâhôr, and wait for the arrival of his troops. But he stoutly refused, and at last halted in Dêrâ Mîâṅ,[1] where Jawâhir Mall made his appearance and went away after conversing on various topics. Next morning the Khâlṣa army, amounting to more than 60,000 men and numerous artillery, came up and surrounded the locality on three sides. Thereon Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh prepared to sacrifice his life, performed his ablutions, put on new clothes, and adorned himself with costly jewellery; and as the gardener happened to come up with a basket full of beautiful flowers, he took one for himself and presented with his own hands one to Kêsrî Siṅgh and one to Dîwân Bhîm Sên. Shortly afterwards the fire of the Khâlṣa troops began, and the roof of the building in which Suchêt Siṅgh happened to be with his companions gave way. His swift charger was then brought to him, but he refused to mount it, and preferred to die fighting on the spot. Kêsrî Siṅgh was cut down by a sword, Dîwân Bhîm Sên fell shot by a gun, Nihâl Siṅgh being afraid of his life ran away, and the Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh valiantly defended himself with his sabre, killing several of his Khâlṣa assailants, but at last succumbed. In this catastrophe, says our author, Suchêt Siṅgh left a record of his name to be for ever remembered with praise, and Hîrâ Siṅgh's with reprobation. As to Paṇḍit Jallâ he proved ever ungrateful and dishonest towards Suchêt Siṅgh, not only whilst alive by plotting to encompass his ruin, but also by preventing Hîrâ Siṅgh after his death from observing the usual ceremonies of mourning for him. It is also alleged that when in the last emergency the artillery had been drawn up, and Colonel Ilâhî Bakhsh, the commandant, asked for orders, Hîrâ Siṅgh remained silent, but Paṇḍit Jallâ insisted that it should fire, in spite of the remonstrances of the Colonel, Dîwân Ajudhiâ Nâth, Sâdhû Singh, and others.

When Gulâb Siṅgh was informed of what had taken place, he bewailed the death of **Suchêt Siṅgh**, the ladies of whose *haram* at Jammûṅ, Sâmbâ, and Râmnagar immolated themselves. The Râjâ was born in St. 1858 and killed in St. 1901,[2] and so was 43 years old when he bade farewell to the world. Paṇḍit Jallâ advised Hîrâ Siṅgh to confiscate his *jâgîrs*, but his Rânîs, who were his heiresses, had at the time of undergoing *satî* bequeathed them all to Gulâb Siṅgh, whom their husband had in his life-time cherished and considered as his adopted son, and intended to be his heir. Gulâb Siṅgh, foreseeing that troubles would arise on this subject between himself and the Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh, therefore at once despatched the author's father with **Paṇḍit Charan Dâs** to Lâhôr, to arrange matters by claiming from the *darbâr*, Sâmbâ, Suchêtgaṛh, and the districts rented to the late Râjâ. Paṇḍit Charan Dâs who was an elder brother of Paṇḍit Jallâ did his best to persuade him to consent to the proposal, but he obstinately refused, and as **Hîrâ Siṅgh** had entrusted him with the management of affairs, no impression could be made upon the Râjâ, whilst other notables who were favourable to the claim dared not open their mouths for fear of Jallâ. So the two envoys returned without effecting anything. Some time afterwards, however, the Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh thought proper to send Râjâ Dînâ Nâth, Bhâi Râm Siṅgh, and Imâmu'ddîn as envoys to negotiate on this business with Gulâb Siṅgh. At one of their meetings Râjâ Dînâ Nâth happened to mention the way in which the Emperor Aurangzêb 'Âlamgîr had treated his father Shâh Jahân, and

[1] In Ch. 43 of the *Ẓafarnâma*, this locality is called Shêkh Kallâṅ, and is said to contain the tomb of a certain Shêkh Isma'il, known as Miâṅ Kallâṅ.

[2] A. D. 1844.

said that the Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh stood in the position of father towards Gulâb Siṅgh, whereon the latter rejoined that in this affair there was no analogy with Shâh Jahân, and compared Hîrâ Siṅgh to Suchêt Siṅgh, who, he said, possessed no experience of the world. Moreover, he said that if Hîrâ Siṅgh should think proper to attack him, he would find him quite ready to defend his possessions with the sword. The envoys, disappointed and frightened by this reply, left Jammûṅ and returned to Lâhôr. Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh, with the view of confiscating the districts of Gujrât, Jalâlpûr, Piṇḍ Dâdan Khâṅ, &c., which had been rented to Gulâb Siṅgh, and were in charge of his officials, and also of depriving him of all his possessions in the Pañjâb territories, despatched his army thither, some *paltans* of which encamped at Êminâbâd, with the intention of attacking and plundering Jammûṅ. Accordingly Gulâb Siṅgh collected his army of brave Râjpûts and issued proclamations that all persons desiring to enlist would be welcome. The result was that his forces increased considerably, and that even from Lâhôr many patriotic Râjpûts preferring to defend their homesteads rather than to gain money, joined them. This army, under the command of **Raṇbîr Siṅgh**,[3] and Dîwân Harî Chand, encamped near the city of Jammûṅ. However, the Râjâ Jawâhir Siṅgh negotiated with Hîrâ Siṅgh, and induced him to accept the districts of Sâmbâ, Suchêtgaṛh, &c., and one-half of the property left by Suchêt Siṅgh, leaving the rest, and the rented districts to Gulâb Siṅgh, who thereupon sent **Raṇdhîr Siṅgh**,[4] a youthful candidate for glory and dignity, to Lâhôr, where the bond of peace between Gulâb Siṅgh and Hîrâ Siṅgh was cemented.

At last the seed of evil, sown by **Paṇḍit Jallâ**, ripened into fruit to his own destruction. He had kept under surveillance Sardâr Jawâhir Siṅgh, the brother of the Bîbî Ṣâḥiba Chandâṅ, who took the first opportunity she could to apprize the officers of the Khâlṣa army that Jallâ had exceeded all bounds of propriety. **Lâl Siṅgh**, too, although indebted for his high position to Hîrâ Siṅgh, seconded her proposals, and presented himself with her, Dalîp Siṅgh and Jawâhir Siṅgh before the Khâlṣa army, adjuring it to destroy Paṇḍit Jallâ. Accordingly the Khâlṣa troops desired that Paṇḍit Jallâ should be surrendered to them by Hîrâ Siṅgh, who unwilling to comply, preferred to mount a fleet charger and to depart from Lâhôr, despite the warnings of several persons not to do so. **Hîrâ Siṅgh and Raṇdhîr Siṅgh** were, with a sma[ll] number of followers, overtaken at a distance of only a few *farsangs* from Lâhôr, and **were a[ll] slain fighting**, and the head of the much dreaded and execrated **Paṇḍit Jallâ**, who was als[o] one of the fugitives, became a trophy with which the Khâlṣa troops marched back to Lâhô[r]. This event took place in St. 1901,[5] on Sunday the 8th (*dwádaśí*) of the month Pûs. When Gulâ[b] Siṅgh obtained information of what had taken place, he was greatly shocked, and when Bagh[. . .] Siṅgh arrived from Lâhôr, bringing the head of that hopeful youth,[6] his grief was augmente[d]. He refrained from communicating the sad tidings to the Mahârânî, the mother of Raṇdhî[r] who had not yet forgotten the death of Mîâṅ Udham Siṅgh.

Whilst still mourning for the loss he had sustained, Gulâb Siṅgh received information th[at] Hîrâ Siṅgh had, some time before his death, sent Shâm Siṅgh and Lâl Siṅgh to conquer Jasrô[ṭâ] and other districts. At the same time too Lâlâ Ratan Chand Dugal and Bâbâ Mîâṅ Siṅ[gh] arrived from Lâhôr, bringing a message from **Bîbî Chandâṅ** and Jawâhir Siṅgh, remindi[ng] Gulâb Siṅgh of what he and the late Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh had endured from the iniquities of t[he] Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh and Paṇḍit Jallâ. They were also held guilty of Mîâṅ Raṇdhîr's dea[th] because having, like a youthful cypress tree, not yet attained the age of maturity, he would n[ot] listen to the Bîbî's advice, and separated himself from Hîrâ Siṅgh. She proposed that whatev[er] Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh had possessed, with one half of the property left by Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh, shou[ld] be surrendered to her, but that Gulâb Siṅgh should retain the districts and *jágîrs* he held wi[th]

[3] This is the first time the late, and father of the present, Mahârâjâ appears to have entered public life p[ro]minently.

[4] This individual, as will be seen further on, was killed with Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh, but is at the end of Ch. 43 [of] the *Zafarnâma*, where the episode is also narrated, called Sôhan, the young son of Gulâb Siṅgh.

[5] A. D. 1844.

[6] The literal meaning is "of that young cypress;" and Raṇdhîr is meant

the sanction of the preceding government. Gulâb Siṅgh feigned to comply with the demands of the envoys, but resorted to the stratagem of bribing the Sikh troops stationed at Jasrôtâ by the late Hîrâ Siṅgh for the impending **conquest of Chambâ,** and enlisting them in his own cause. He ordered also Raṇbîr Siṅgh,[7] who resided at that time in Râmnagar as the successor of Suchêt Siṅgh, to prepare his forces for a campaign, and many other chiefs received similar instructions. The expected storm soon broke, and when the death of Hîrâ Siṅgh became generally known disturbances took place in all directions. Some Khâlṣa troops invaded the possessions of the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, and even besieged Jammûñ, but were at last repelled. Negotiations then took place and Gulâb Siṅgh induced them by presenting every man with five rupees to march back with him to Lâhôr. To their commander, General Mêwâ Siṅgh, he paid Rs. 25,000 in cash, and presented him also with a horse and golden saddle. As the army was gradually approaching Lâhôr, several messages arrived from the **Bibî Ṣâḥiba** and the Sardâr Jawâhir Siṅgh, expressing their displeasure, that, contrary to their wishes, the army had allowed Gulâb Siṅgh to accompany it. This became an occasion for quarrelling, and when the Khâlṣa army arrived near Lâhôr at Shâhdara it was split into two factions, one of which continued to side with Gulâb Siṅgh, and the other spurned all connection with him. Gulâb Siṅgh now mounted elephants with some of his friends, intending to enter the city; but a letter arrived from the notables of the court with orders to convey him to Lâhôr under a strong guard, and not to allow any of his friends to accompany him. The ignorant and simple-minded troopers, entrusted with the letter, gave it to the uncle of the author, Dîwân Nihâl Chand, who read it out to the troops in this fashion: — "The Bîbî Ṣâḥiba and the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh strictly enjoin the troops to convey the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh into the city with demonstrations of honour." When, therefore, Gulâb Siṅgh made his entrance into Lâhôr with great pomp, the inhabitants crowded the roofs and doors of their houses, many expressing fervent wishes that nothing untoward might befall him, as he had already to deplore the loss of many of his relatives. He was taken to the house of the late prince Nau Nihâl Siṅgh, where he found a strong guard appointed to watch him. It happened to consist of men from a regiment that had, on a former occasion, been disgracefully routed by his own troops in Kaśmîr. This guard had orders not to allow any one to approach him except his Dîwân. As soon as the party had alighted the Dîwân, who was **the author's father,** attempted to draw water from a well, and, having been unsuccessful in the attempt, was relieved by a woman who had observed him from a distance. She procured not only water, but also food for the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh. The Dîwân then went in all haste to the court of the Bibî Ṣâhiba, and represented that it was usual to supply even a convicted criminal with food and drink, but that Gulâb Siṅgh, who was only under surveillance, had been provided neither with food, nor even with a bed to rest himself upon. Accordingly orders were immediately issued to supply him with all necessaries. The members of the court were unfriendly to Gulâb Siṅgh and desired his ruin, but were also apprehensive that a faction of the Khâlṣa troops might raise disturbances, in case any harm should befall him. His favourite Dîwân did the best he could to discover any intrigues which might be carried on, and narrated every evening to Gulâb Siṅgh all that he had ascertained during the day. One day he brought news that the court people intended to put the Dîwân and the Wazîr Zôrâwar Siṅgh to torture and force them to reveal where Gulâb Siṅgh kept his treasure, whereon the latter at once sent his *wazîr* out of the way back to Jammûñ, and the Dîwân promised rather to sacrifice his life than to divulge where the treasures were. On another occasion the court proposed to extort such a confession from Gulâb Siṅgh himself. Their evil intentions were brought to the notice of the Khâlṣa troops, and they manifested their displeasure, and Ratan Siṅgh advised the Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh to release Gulâb Siṅgh somehow, or else they would certainly raise a disturbance. The Dîwân Dînâ Nâth reported that they were already threatening to use violent measures in case of non-compliance with their wishes. These rumours disquieted the court, and in order to propitiate the army, the **Sardâr Jawâhir Siṅgh** next day took the **Mahârajâ**

[7] His adopted son, the late Mahârâjâ Raṇbîr Siṅgh, who died in 1885.

Dalîp Siṅgh to be present at a review of the troops, which had been arranged to take place in the plain of Mîâṅ Mîr. On that occasion, however, the troops demanded that the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, to whom they had pledged their honour, and had promised safety when they brought him, should forthwith be allowed to return to Jammûṅ; and as they threatened to kill Jawâhir Siṅgh on the spot, and to pull Dalîp Siṅgh down from his elephant, it became necessary to withdraw the guard, which had kept Gulâb Siṅgh prisoner, and to allow him to make his appearance next day at the Court of the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh, where he was questioned about the gold and property of the Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh and the possessions of Râjâ Suchêt Siṅgh. The court, however, continued to plot mischief against him, but his friends who were much attached to him, as well as others whose affection he had won by his affability, kept him informed of what was brewing against him, and also of the presence of musketeers in the *darbâr*, who might shoot him at any time, from their ambush behind a curtain, at a given signal. This put him on his mettle, and accordingly he one day bathed in the river at sunrise, placed a saffron mark on his forehead, armed himself with a sabre and gun, and proceeded to the court where he found some nobles assembled, including Sardâr Jawâhir Siṅgh, Lâl Siṅgh, Shâm Siṅgh and others, each of whom, elated by his own importance, had armed retainers by his side. They were surprised when he made his appearance among them, and still more at the manner in which he addressed them, stating that he had long served under the late Mahârâjâ Ranjît Siṅgh, and had fought in many battles, but as fate had not willed it, no harm had come to him. Now, however, as they had, with the intention of destroying him, placed men in ambush to shoot him, after the manner of brigands, he challenged any brave and honourable man in the assembly, desirous of shedding his blood, to step forth and to fight him; and if no one felt able he would accept any two antagonists, and dye the floor of the court with their blood, till he had slain every one in the assembly. The bravery of Gulâb Siṅgh being well known, and the Sardârs, not daring to accept his challenge, remained silent. Not even Sardâr Shâm Siṅgh, who was distinguished for his valour, would fight, and became very red in the face. The fire of Gulâb Siṅgh's ire was thereon quenched by the limpid water of apology, as every one in the Darbâr swore to be most amicably disposed towards him.

Some time afterwards **an attempt was made to poison Gulâb Siṅgh**, by throwing pulverised diamonds into some snow and sugar-cane juice, which it was expected he would drink, but having been warned by friends, he abstained from mixing the sugar with the snow, saying that he could enjoy the snow alone as he was a mountaineer. On another occasion the court ordered Raḥamu'llah Khâṅ of Rajâorî, and Faiz Ṭalab, the son of Sultân Khâṅ, to wait on the road against the return of Gulâb Siṅgh from the court and shoot him. They prepared for this deed by taking up a position, one very dark night with 200 men, on the road, which they knew that their intended victim must pass. It so happened, however, that after the rising of the court, Gulâb Siṅgh went to the abode of a celebrated ascetic, and conversed with him for so long a time, that his Dîwân went home by another road. The miscreants, having got tired of waiting any longer, departed in single file with the matches of their firelocks still burning, when the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh at last passed with his retinue, whereon they quickly took to their heels; but he had some of them captured, and these revealed the whole plot after the application of some pressure. Next morning Gulâb Siṅgh sent his Dîwân to the *darbâr* with the captives as witnesses, but when the Dîwân made his statement, the members of it pretended to be ignorant of the plot they had themselves devised. They complied, however, at his request, to remove the prisoners to some distance, in order to set at rest the apprehensions of Gulâb Siṅgh, and they were accordingly deported in chains to Gôbindgaṛh.

Dissensions having arisen between the **Sardâr Jawâhir Siṅgh** and the **Râja Lâl Siṅgh**, most people concluded that if Gulâb Siṅgh, whose bravery was well known, were to favour the claims of one of the disputants, it would be very difficult to settle their differences. The Sardâr Muḥammad Khâṅ, who was well disposed towards Gulâb Siṅgh, took the opportunity of reminding the Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh, that Gulâb Siṅgh — of whose ambition and prudence he was aware, as well

as of his having gained the favour of the Khâlsa troops by his affable manners and liberality — had been long sojourning in Lâhôr, and that as disturbances might ensue in consequence, it would be best to give him leave to depart to Jammûñ. Accordingly he was allowed to depart, but he refused to budge one step before the court had restored to him the districts he had been deprived of, and had granted him *parwânas* to that effect. His arrival at Jammûñ was hailed with joy by the population, but whilst he had been in Lâhôr under surveillance, malcontents had profited by his absence, and disturbed the peace in his dominions. The *zamîndârs* of **Kishwâr,** instigated by the officials of Kaśmîr, had prepared the population for rebellion. Yûsaf Khâñ, who was under many obligations to Gulâb Siñgh, ungratefully disregarded them, and Dilâwar Siñgh, the disloyal son of Têgh Siñgh, the preceding Râjâ of Kishwâr, not caring for the troops of Gulâb Siñgh, joined him, and they conjointly besieged the garrison of the latter in the fort of Dûdh, but were at last driven away. Ranbîr Siñgh was attacked at Râmnagar, which he had garrisoned, by Nihâl Siñgh, *wazîr* of the late Suchêt Siñgh, with his Khâlsa troops. In the fort of Pûñchh, the Dîwân Karam Chand had to stand a siege from the rebels, whilst the district of Jasrôtâ had already before fallen into their grasp. In fact it appears that certain chiefs of the Sikhs attempted to deprive Gulâb Siñgh, whilst he was under surveillance at Lâhôr, of every portion of his dominions, nearly all of which they invaded.

The Pañjâb army had, however, become demoralised by the machinations of ambitious Sardârs, who strove to attain supreme power with the aid of the troops, and bribed them by turn. This is evident from the narrative of the struggles of the Sindhâñwâliâ Sardârs, the Râjâ Suchêt Siñgh and the Râjâ Hîrâ Siñgh. The prince **Peshôrâ Siñgh,** a son of the late Mâhârâjâ Ranjît Siñgh, now once more appeared upon the scene as a pretender, and not being successful in raising disturbances at Siâlkôt, proceeded to Aṭak, of which he took possession. He was, however, induced to leave the fort by a stratagem devised by Chhatar Siñgh and Fatḥ Khâñ, who swore that they would do him no harm. **They slew him** nevertheless by order of **Jawâhir Siñgh.** When the Khâlsa troops were apprised of this murder, they determined to kill Jawâhir Siñgh, and forthwith took the Râjâ Lâl Siñgh, the Râjâ Dînâ Nâth and the Bakhshî Bhagat Râm into custody. The Sardâr Jawâhir Siñgh was several days on his guard, but at last trusted the regiment of Avitabile,[8] which pretended to be faithful to him. Accordingly he took it as an escort and went with the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siñgh to Miâñ Mîr, probably to witness a review of the troops, but they pulled the Mahârâjâ off from his elephant, and stabbed Jawâhir Siñgh to death with their knives.[9]

After the above event the Khâlsa army despatched one courier after another from Lâhôr to Jammûñ inviting the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siñgh to the capital, but he found various pretexts and excused himself. The Lâhôr Court was now in great fear of the troops, because the **Bibî Sâhiba Chandâñ,** breathing vengeance for the assassination of her brother, had instigated them to clamour for an increase of pay and other emoluments, and told them that **the English** intended to make a conquest on the Pañjâb side of the Satluj. The Khâlsa troops, therefore, puffed up with pride and believing themselves to be invincible, left their cantonments and encamped at Miâñ Mîr, whilst their officers held a council in the Shâlabâgh and determined to march to the frontier. The **Râjâ Lâl Siñgh** also consented to this campaign, but many others, considering it to be a breach of faith towards the English, remonstrated. Nevertheless, the army marched and began the campaign by plundering its own country, and finally reached the banks of the Satluj. The Bîbî Ṣâhiba wrote, in conformity with the intrigues she was plotting, to the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siñgh to proceed to the Pêshâwar in order to regulate the administration of that district, whereon he sent a reply, warning her by no means to break the treaty of friendship with the English, and never to invade their territory, for fear of the gravest consequences.

[8] This general's name is in various passages of our Persian text spelt ادوتابلہ, ابوتولہ and ابوتوالر, but in the present instance اتوالہ.

[9] These events are narrated also in Ch. 44 of the *Zafarnâma.*

The Bîbî Sâhiba then sent a plausible answer, and also issued a proclamation to the Khâlsa officers, that as the English authorities had in no way infringed the treaty of peace, it would be unjust to attack them without a cause. The Sikhs, who were ambitious and foolhardy, paid no attention to this late admonition and crossed the Satluj. On being informed that an English force had marched from Lûdhiânâ to defend Firôzpûr, they determined to forestall it. **Mr. [Major] Broadfoot**, Agent to the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, informed him of this state of affairs, whereon he ordered an army under **Lord Gough** to march, which encountered the Sikhs at **Mûdkî**, where an action was fought on the 8th of the month Pûh, St. 1902.[10] The Sikhs behaved gallantly, but were routed, abandoning all their baggage, and their Commander-in-Chief the **Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh** fled, no one knew whither. After this defeat the Khâlsa officers held a consultation, and some of them went to Jammûṅ to ask Gulâb Siṅgh for advice, and he told them to keep the army stationary on the spot where it was, there being no occasion for restlessness in the present state of affairs. No attention being paid to this advice, a bridge was constructed, which the troops crossed, and encamped on the other bank of the river. The Sardâr Raṇchhôḍ Siṅgh, who had been collecting troops in the Dôâb, also arrived and pitched his camp at Phillaur on the banks of the Satluj. The Khâlsa troops also **marched** in a fit of bravery **to Lûdhiânâ and burnt the cantonment** with everything it contained. The Râjâ of Lâdwâ, with his forces and seven pieces of artillery also joined the Râjâ (Sardâr) Raṇchhôḍ Siṅgh. The English, who were vexed by what had taken place at Lûdhiânâ, were joined by the forces of the Mahârâjâ of Paṭiâlâ. On the other hand **Lâl Siṅgh Murâriâ**, who had on behalf of the Lâhôr government been regulating the administration of the district of Jasrôtâ, joined the Khâlsa army by order of the court with the few troops he had, and the **Sardâr Têjâ Siṅgh**, who commanded the regiment of Avitabile did the same. Also the **Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh**, who had fled from the battlefield, and being ashamed had remained for some time in the Dôâb, was ordered to rejoin the army, and obeyed.

Several officers of the army, — as already mentioned, — had arrived at Jammûṅ desiring the personal presence of **Gulâb Siṅgh** at the seat of war to direct operations and to give advice. One day these officers, who were full of bombast and ignorance, quoted a hemistich in the Pañjâbî language, in which one of their ancestors had predicted that the Khâlsa army would sit on the throne of Dehlî, whereon Gulâb Siṅgh remarked that he could not understand how the prophecy was to be fulfilled, the throne being very small, and the Khâlsa army amounting to nearly 100,000 men ; and all present in the assembly smiled. Gulâb Siṅgh entertained the envoys most hospitably on the best of food, but delayed on various pretexts to comply wth their invitation, and leaving his Dîwân at Jammûṅ to entertain his guests, went occasionally to Riâsî on a pretence of performing his devotions at the shrine of Bhâgavatî, or alleging that the auspicious time for departure had not yet arrived, or spending some time at Pûrmaṇḍal. In fact, Gulâb Siṅgh was not willing to join the Khâlsa army without receiving an invitation from the **Bîbî Sâhiba**, which, however, at last arrived, having been brought by Bâbâ Mahâṅ Siṅgh and Dîwân Siṅgh. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh also had written a letter from Jammûṅ to **Edward Lake Sâhib**, who sent no reply beyond a verbal message that "whoever wishes to ascend a high mountain must begin to climb early in the morning." Accordingly Gulâb Siṅgh marched with his forces, commanded by the author's father, Dîwân Harî Chand, after sending a *parwâna* to the officers of the Khâlsa army, advising them to keep it stationary, and arrived in Lâhôr, where he pitched his camp on the banks of the Râvî. There Bhâi Râm Siṅgh, Râjâ Dînâ Nâth, and other Sardârs who happened at that time to be in Lâhôr, received him on behalf of the government, and he made his appearance at court on the 19th of the month Mâgh, to be invested by the *pêshkâr* of the Bîbî Sâhiba with a costly robe of honour and the dignity of *wazîr*. Then Gulâb Siṅgh despatched *parwânas* to the officers of the army to cease hostilities; but fate had decreed otherwise, for the Sardâr Raṇchhôḍ Siṅgh Majîthîâ crossed the river and a battle had ensued, in which many of the combatants perished on

[10] A. D. 1845.

both sides, and although the Sikhs were defeated they made nineteen Europeans prisoners. **Gulâb Siṅgh now wrote a letter of apology to the British officers**, assuring them that the attack had been made in consequence of the Mahârâjâ Dalip Siṅgh's minority, and that according to the treaty of friendship with the late Mahârâjâ Ranjît Siṅgh, peace ought to prevail. The letter having been delivered by Lâlâ Chunî Lâl Harkâbâshî and Lâlâ Anant Râm to **Sir Henry Lawrence**, who wrote a reply from the cantonment of Firôzpûr, dated the 11th February 1846, informing Gulâb Siṅgh that it was not the intention of the Honourable East India Company to destroy the Sikh government, but only to repress the unwarranted hostilities which had not yet ceased, although the Sikhs had been defeated in four battles; and that if it should hereafter become necessary to punish the rebels further, the Court would be held responsible. Before, however, the envoys had even spoken, or this letter was written, the English forces attacked the Sikhs at daybreak, entering their trenches unawares, and a sanguinary contest ensued. When **Têjâ Siṅgh**, the commander of the Sikhs, perceived that they were beginning to yield, he destroyed the bridge across the river to cut off their retreat, but many of the fugitives leaped into the water and perished. as well as the **Sardâr Shâm Siṅgh Aṭâriwâlâ**,[11] who, however, fell on the battle field fighting bravely, while the **Râjâ Lâl Siṅgh**, who had before heard the roar of the English artillery, did not venture into the fray, but remained quietly sitting esconced in a corner. On that occasion **Major (Sir Henry) Lawrence sent a few lines**, dated the 13th February 1846, **to Gulâb Siṅgh**, to inform him that he desired to have a private interview with him, and urgently requesting him to make the necessary arrangements for that purpose.

(To be concluded.)

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 35. — The Komaṭṭi that suits the Stake.

In the city of Puṅganûr there lived **a merchant**, of the Komaṭṭi caste, named **Aṅkuseṭṭi** He had been very rich, but, having lost all his wealth in speculative transactions, he was **in very reduced circumstances** at the time that our story commences. He was, however, **still the owner of a big house**, which he had, when affluent, built to live in.

In those good old days lime and mortar were unknown, and houses were generally built of mud, and Aṅkuśeṭṭi's mansion was no exception to the rule, and in an unusually severe winter a great portion of the back of it had fallen down. Weeping much over the damages that the rains had done, and true to his love for the only property left to him in this world, he gave orders for its repair. In those days, when labour was very cheap and the cost of materials extremely low, repairing a house was not a difficult undertaking. Half a dozen coolies mixed some water and clay and made some balls of mud, and, heaping these one over the other, soon patched up the gaps.

Now Aṅkuśeṭṭi's house was a large one, and **a thief**, who had no idea of the real state of Aṅkuśeṭṭi's wealth, was led astray by the size of his mansion, and so on a certain night, soon after the repairs had been made, he bored a hole into the back wall. But unfortunately for the scoundrel, the weight of the still undried mud of the repaired part of the wall descended upon him just as he was putting his head in, and before he could withdraw it, the weight of the whole wall was on his neck, and he **died without a struggle**. As this took place in a corner at the back of the house, the inmates knew nothing of it till their attention was called to it in the following manner: —

The thief had spoken about his intended adventure to **a comrade**, who, missing him and suspecting something wrong, had been searching for him for nearly two days when he discovered

[11] His death is mentioned in Ch. 45 of the *Ẓafarnâma*, where these events are likewise recorded.

the body sticking out of the wall of Aṅkuśeṭṭi's house. He at once preferred a **complaint before the king, that Aṅkuśeṭṭi had killed his comrade.** At that time an extremely stupid king, named **Mahâmûḍha** ('great fool'), reigned over the kingdom of Puṅganûr, who was surrounded by equally stupid ministers; and as soon as the complaint was made, he ordered his servants to arrest Aṅkuśeṭṭi at once, and in due course the poor merchant stood before the king! Said the king: — "Why did you raise up a wet wall, and thereby kill a thief?"

"Your excellent Majesty!" **said the poor merchant. "It was not my mistake. The cooly whom I engaged for the repairs built the wall. He must account for it.**

The cooly was at once summoned and questioned. Said the king: — "Why did you, O cooly, make the wall wet, and thereby cause the death of a man?"

Said the cooly: — "Most gracious king! **It was not my mistake.** The cooly who handed me the mud for raising the wall, gave it me mixed with more than the usual quantity of water."

At once the second cooly too was summoned. Said the king: — "Why did you give mud mixed with an unusual quantity of water, and thereby cause the death of a human being?"

Said the second cooly: — "Most mighty sovereign! **It was not my mistake.** The pot from which I was using the water, had a wide mouth, and so while I was engaged in my business, more than the proper quantity fell out and made the mud watery. So the potter who made the pot, is responsible for the mistake."

The potter was at once sent for and questioned. Said the king: — "Potter! Why did you make the mouth of the pot wide, and thereby cause the death of a human being?"

Said the potter: — "Most supreme sovereign! **It was not my mistake** that the mouth of the pot was so wide. The day on which I was shaping that pot on my wheel, I noticed a dancing-girl passing along the street. My attention was thus diverted. Though my hand was engaged in the work, my mind was absent from it, and the mouth of the pot became wide. So she is responsible for the mistake."

The dancing-girl was at once summoned. There was some difficulty at first in finding out the exact girl, but the potter, who had observed her minutely, gave a complete description of her, and she stood before His Majesty. But she had taken care previously to attire herself in her best clothes, and to wear her choicest jewels. Said the king: — "Why did you, vile woman, pass by the potter on the day on which he was shaping his pots, and divert his attention, which made the mouth of the pot wide, and thereby indirectly you caused the death of the thief?"

Said the dancing-girl: — "Most beautiful king! I had given a jewel to be reset by a goldsmith, and I was proceeding to demand it from him. Had he returned it in time, I would never have left my house. So he is the cause of the death!

The king, who was already pleased by her address, now summoned the goldsmith for his explanation. **The goldsmith** argued that a small quantity of gold was wanting for the jewel he was resetting, and that he had been very careful to demand it often and often from a Komaṭṭi who traded in the higher metals. As he refused to give it in time, he was delayed in preparing the jewel. **The Komaṭṭi** was at once summoned, and as he belonged to a class of people not generally intelligent, **he had no excuse.** The king and his ministers at once set him down as the person responsible for causing the death of the thief, and passed orders that he should be **driven to the stake, and impaled, for causing the death of the thief!**

Thus usually ends the story, to which is generally attached the moral: — **"Never live in the Kingdom of the Tughlaqs."** It is also said that the ministers commented upon **the Komaṭṭi's stoutness,** a peculiarity of the class brought on by want of exercise and sedentary habits, and said that that also shewed he was the proper person for the stake; hence **the proverb,** — *Kaluvukketta Komaṭṭi,* — **"the Komaṭṭi that suits the stake."**

To the above story, the ingenuity of Southern Indian story-tellers has given a clever additional point, to bring into prominence the king's extreme stupidity.

When the innocent Komaṭṭi, who had failed to give the gold in time, was ordered to the stake, no one thought the punishment unjust except two men, for such was the supreme stupidity that reigned throughout that whole kingdom of Puṅganûr! These two were the greatest of rogues, but for all their bad character they pitied the innocent victim of Puṅganûr logic, which argued that the fittest person for capital punishment was the most rotund of body! So they picked up a sham quarrel between themselves, in the hope of averting the evil fate of the innocent Komaṭṭi jeweller, and purposely made so much noise as to attract the attention of the king and his officers.

Said the king: — "What are you fools making all this noise for on such an occasion?"

Said the first rogue: — "Most Gracious Majesty! It has been pronounced by eminent astrologers that whoever gives up his life at the stake on this occasion, is destined to be re-born as the king of Puṅganûr! I want to go to the stake, but this wretched fellow won't let me, as he is so anxious to go himself."

Then turning to the second rogue, he continued. "Out upon you, you fool, you shall not forestall me. I am stronger than you!"

Said the second rogue, pretending to disregard the presence of the king:— "If you think that I am weak, there is my sovereign to support me."

Then turning towards the king, he said: — "Most Gracious Majesty! Let me be driven to the stake meant for the Komaṭṭi; for then I shall be re-born as a king. What is the use of being for ever poor and miserable? Better give up life with a cheerful countenance, than bear all the miseries of poverty. Death is troublesome only for a moment, but poverty is troublesome for the whole term of life. So, I appeal to your graciousness to order this person to be taken away to prison for assaulting me, and to permit me to proceed to the stake in the place of the Komaṭṭi."

Letting the rogues go on fighting with each other, the king deliberated for a while and then broke silence:— "None of you wretches shall usurp my kingdom! What! Are you fools, that you attempt such impossibilities? I will never have my throne occupied by such paupers as you! Let the Komaṭṭi be released! I shall myself proceed to the stake, and be re-born again as the king of my own country.

So saying, the king gladly had himself impaled, while his stupid ministers cheered! Thus the foolish king gave up his life, and the rogues, who by their tricks could bend his subjects to any of their whims, easily got possession of the kingdom, and reigned as king and minister!

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 6. — The Children of Vows.

There was once a baker who used to supply the king of the country with bread and confectionery, and amassed a large fortune. One day the king, who had no children, asked the baker how many children he had. The baker answered: — "Sire, like yourself I have none.'

"Then, what will you do with all the wealth you are accumulating?" said the king. "Come, let us both go to Church, and make a vow in order to obtain children. Should a daughter be born to you, and a son to me, you must give your daughter in marriage to my son; if, again, a daughter is born to me, and a son to you, I will give my daughter in marriage to your son." The baker, of course, did not like to offend the king, and so he gave his assent to the king's proposal.

Accordingly one day they both went to Church, and made a vow, **each promising to give his child in marriage to the other, in case the sexes differed.** Some time after this, the queen, and also the baker's wife, became pregnant. **The baker's wife** was confined first, and **brought forth a boy.** The baker, greatly rejoiced at his good fortune, at once made off to the palace, and informed the king that a son was born to him. Two or three days later, **the queen was confined of a girl,** to the great regret of the king, who did not even inform the baker of the occurrence. But on the day of the queen's confinement there was a great bustle in the palace, which made the baker suspect something, and so he asked one of the maids what was the matter, and she frankly told him that the queen had been confined of a girl.

When the boy was old enough, the baker sent him to school, and spared neither pains nor money to give him a fitting education, and he was the pride of his parents. Many years passed. and **the king's daughter became marriageable**, but the idea of giving a king's daughter in marriage to even a wealthy baker's son preyed upon the mind of the king, and **he determined** by some means or other **to get out of it.** With this object, one day he said to the baker:— "I believe your son is now well grown, and it will be interesting to know if he is being educated." "Yes, sire," replied the baker; "the boy goes to school, and I spare neither pains nor money to educate him well." "But," interrupted the king; "that sort of education will not do. You must **fit out a ship,** and send him to a distant country with merchandise, and see how he succeeds. That is the sort of education you must give, for it will make a man of him." "Very well," said the baker; "I will act up to your advice."

Going home, the baker at once set to work to build a ship. He hired numerous workmen, and a job that usually takes some months to complete, he got done in a few days. He then loaded the ship with costly merchandise, and ordered his son to go to a certain country, and there to trade at what profit he could. The son, always obedient to his father, at once embarked on board the ship and set sail. When he arrived at his destination, he did business at an immense profit for two or three years, and then returned home with every expectation of marrying the king's daughter. Before leaving the place he bought some rarities, in the way of clothes, jewellery, and such like, for his intended wife, which he packed in a box. Half-way home he received information that **his intended bride had been married to another person, a king's son.** This so disheartened him that he had a mind to throw the **box of presents** overboard, but when he reached his native shore he opened the box, and to his great astonishment discovered that everything had disappeared! **He only found in it a very small packet of paper,** which he took up and put in his pocket, without even looking at its contents! On his arrival home, his parents welcomed him with great kindness, and told him how **the king had violated his vow,** but he pretended not to pay heed to what they said. After his arrival he never staid at home a single hour, but daily visited his old friends and acquaintances, with whom he spent the day, and came home late in the evening.

One day he paid a visit to his promised wife, the princess, at her house, and remembered all the rarities he had brought for her, which had been miraculously changed into the small packet he still had in his pocket. He thought to himself: — "I brought all those rarities to give to her. What can I do with them now? What use are they to me? I will give her their substitute."

So thinking, **he pulled out the packet and handed it to her,** and she, thinking it contained only sweets or something of the kind, laid it aside. They sat and conversed together for a long time, till it was very nearly time for her husband to return. The baker's son then rose to bid her good-bye, and as he was about to shake hands with her, **he fell on her neck and died!** She was at a loss to know what to do, and how to dispose of the corpse. **She, however, dragged it to her room,** and covered it up on a cot.

Now, the princess had an express order from her husband that, as soon as she had finished her domestic duties, she was to dress herself up in her jewellery against his arrival. But on this

day, as most of her time had been taken up in conversation with the baker's son, she could not obey her husband's orders promptly. She now hurried through her work, and whilst she was still arranging her toilet, her husband came home. He enquired how it was she was not ready to receive him as usual, and why she looked so full of anxiety. She did not know what to say, and looked quite confused. Her husband then said to her: — "Do not be afraid, but tell me what is the matter with you." Upon this she took heart, and said: — "Should a friend happen to come and see me, am I not supposed to speak to him?" "Certainly, you are allowed to speak to your friend," said her husband; "what then? Tell me everything." She was further encouraged to speak, and told her husband everything: how the baker's son had come to visit her, how when he was wishing her good-bye he fell on her neck and died, and how, being unable to carry the corpse, she dragged it to the cot, where it still was. Her husband then said: — "Is this what you were afraid of to tell me? Get an empty box, and leave the rest to me. I will dispose of the corpse with little trouble."

Late at night, her husband, putting the body of the baker's son in the box, carried it to the baker's house. He then set the corpse up in a standing position against the door, and called out to the baker twice or thrice, addressing him as father, and then ran away. The baker, who had already gone to sleep, awoke, and, thinking that his son had called out, opened the door, upon which the corpse fell upon the floor. The poor baker saw his son was dead, and thought he himself had killed him, through his carelessness in opening the door. He and his wife burst into cries and tears which brought the neighbours to their house, and at dawn preparations were made for the funeral of the baker's son.

Now, the princess, as her husband was going out, asked him if he was not going to attend the funeral. He said he had some urgent affairs which prevented him from doing so, but that she herself might attend. So when he had gone, the princess began arranging to go to the funeral. She now thought of the packet the baker's son had given her on the previous day, and determined to eat some of the sweets she thought it contained. So she went to the place where she had put it, but, to her utter astonishment, in place of the packet she found clothes and jewels of the rarest kind and of exceedingly high value. Looking over these things, she found a complete dress for a bride, and thought how great must have been his love for her, and that it must have been that love that killed him. She, therefore, determined to wear that bridal dress at the funeral. In this fashion she started for the baker's house.

When the neighbours, who had assembled for the funeral, saw her, they began to mutter among themselves: — "Yes, these were the children of vows, but it was very unfortunate that the king violated his vow," and such like expressions. The princess went up to the corpse, and stooped to look in its face, and, with her head inclined on the breast of the baker's son, remained motionless for a very long time. The people thought she did this through grief, and so they told her to be more moderate in her sorrow, saying: — "Poor princess, how sorry she is for him. Enough, enough, good lady; such has been your fortune!" Still she would not lift up her head from the breast of the baker's son, and so they took her by the arm, but the princess was dead!

They then sent information to her father the king, and to her husband, who came in all haste. On all sides the talk was that they were the children of vows, and the people said one to another: — "No wonder that death has come to both in this manner! Are they not children of vows?" At last it was decided to bury them side by side; which done, every one returned home.

Now, it happened that on the third night after the funeral the baker had a vision, in which he saw his son, who thus spoke to him: — "Father, have a grand feast celebrated in the Church at your expense. On the day of the festival, during the ceremonies at the Church, let my mother kneel on the grave of the princess, while you kneel on my grave."

In the morning the baker, thinking it was only a dream, did nothing; but he saw the same vision for several nights consecutively, and so suspected that there must be something in it. So he told some of his neighbours about it, who all advised him to celebrate the feast.

The idea of celebrating a feast, when scarcely a week had passed since his son's death, was highly repulsive to the baker's mind; but, owing to the repeated visions, and the instigation of his neighbours, he appointed a day for the feast. Grand preparations were made, both in the Church, in the way of decorations, music, and so forth, and also at his house, to entertain the innumerable guests who were invited. On the day fixed for the feast, hundreds of guests came, and all repaired to the Church to attend at the Holy Sacrifice of Mass, during which the baker knelt on his son's grave, while his wife knelt on that of the princess. The king and queen, and the husband of the late princess, were also present at the service.

When it was about half over, **the graves opened**, and all the multitude in the Church saw the baker's son and the princess issue forth from their graves, as lively as if nothing had happened to them. All the people were filled with wonder, and spoke with one voice: — "Are they not **children of vows**? See how they died, and now, behold! they have come to life again together! They truly deserve to be united in marriage."

All were of one opinion, and the king also gave his assent, and the late husband of the princess deferred to the people. **They were, therefore, duly married on that very day,** amid great rejoicings, and lived happily to a very old age!

MISCELLANEA.

SOME NAMES AND DATES FROM UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTIONS.

Mr. Fleet has placed at my disposal several bundles of rough rubbings of inscriptions, which were handed over to him by Sir Alexander Cunningham. From the materials thus supplied to me, I have already edited in this Journal seventeen inscriptions, and have got realy for publication two others which, with Mr. Fleet's permission, will appear in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I shall now give a short account of some other inscriptions from the same collection, which the imperfect state of the rubbings prevents me from editing in full. The characters of all these inscriptions are Nâgarî, and the language of all is Sanskrit.

1 — An apparently well preserved inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple of **Udaypur** in Gwâlior. Six lines. The writing covers a space of 1′ 6½″ broad by 11″ high, and the size of the letters is 1⅛″.

L. 1. Svasti ‖ Êka-chchhattrâṁ karôtu kshmâm=**Udayâditya**-bhûpatiḥ ।

2. ity=âdyaṁ siddhi-da n vêdam śaṁsâmah sarvvatô nṛipa ‖

5. paṇḍita-śrî-Mahîpâlasya ‖ **Saṁvat 1137 Vaiśâ(sâ)kha-sudi 7**

This inscription gives us for **Udayâditya of Mâlava** the date Vikrama 1137 = A. D. 1080.[1]

2. — Another inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple of **Udaypur** in Gwâlior. Fourteen lines. The writing covers a space of 1′ 3″ broad by 1′ 8″ high, and the size of the letters is about 1¼″. The rubbing is throughout exceedingly indistinct.

L. 1. [Ôṁ] **saṁvat 1286 varshê Kârtti-[ka*]-sudi**

2. . . **Su(su)krê** ˙ dêva-śrî(śrî)-[Û]da[lê]-sva(śva)ra[2]-

3. [saṁnidhau] . . . .

6. śrî-**Dêvapâla[dêva]-kalyâ-**

7. ṇa-vijayarâjyê . . . .

3. — Another inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple of **Udaypur** in Gwâlior. Fifteen lines. The writing covers a space of 1′ broad by 1′ 7″ high, and the size of the letters is about 1″.

L 1. Ôṁ **saṁvat 128[9 ?] varshê**

2. **Mârga-vadi 3 Gurau** a[dy=ê]-

3. [ha **U**]**dayapurê** samasta-râjâ-

4. valî-mâ[l-âlaṁkṛi]ta-pa[ramabha]-

5. [ṭṭâra]ka-mahârâjâdhirâ-

6. ja-śrî-**Dêvapâladêva**- . . . .

The Dêvapâladêva of this inscription and of the preceding one, is clearly the **Dêvapâladêva of Dhârâ**, whom from the Harsaudâ (or Chârwâ) inscription we know to have ruled in the Vikrama year 1275. See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 24, No. 11.

4 — An inscription inside the fort of **Râhatgaḍh** in the Central Provinces (*Archæol. Survey*

[1] See Sir A. Cunningham in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. IX p. 104.

[2] See *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 342, note 4.

of India, Vol. X. p. 31). Fourteen lines. The writing apparently is very rudely engraved, and covers a space of 2′ broad by 1′ 9″ high. The size of the letters is about 1″.

L. 1. **Ôṁ siddhiḥ || Saṁvat 1312 varshê Bhâdrapada-su 7 [Sô]ma .**

2. . śrîmad-**Dhârâyâṁ** mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmaj- **Jaya[siṁ ?]-**

3. [ha]dêva-vijayarâjyê **Upa[ra ?]hâḍâ-**maṁḍalê . . . . .

This inscription tells us that in the Vikrama year 1312 the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, ruling at **Dhârâ**, was **Jaya[siṁ]hadêva.**[3] The exact date corresponds to Monday, the 28th August, A.D. 1256.

5. — An inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple of **Udaypur** in Gwâlior. Nine lines. The writing covers a space of 1′ 1″ broad by 1′ ½″ high, and the size of the letters is about 1″.

L. 1. [**Ôṁ saṁ**] **1366 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 12 [Śukrê ?]**

2. **Udayapu[rê]** samasta-râjâvalî

3. mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Jaya-**

4. **siṁghadêva-**râjyê . . . . .

This inscription, therefore, apparently is of the reign of another *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Jayasiṁhadêva**, who was ruling over Udayapura (and probably Dhârâ) in the Vikrama year 1366.

6. — Another (fragmentary) inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple of **Udaypur** in Gwâlior. Portions of four lines. The writing covers a space of 9½″ broad by 5½″ high, and the size of the letters is about 1″.

L. 1. [Saṁ]vat 1360 [râ ?]-śrî-**Harirâja-[dêva ?]** . . .

It is impossible to say whether the **Harirâja[dêva ?]** of this inscription was a royal personage, or a private individual.

7. — A fragmentary and apparently much damaged inscription, stated to be from **Kugda** near Bachhaudgaḍh (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 211). Portions of twenty-five lines. The existing writing covers a space of about 2′ broad by 2′ high, and the size of the letters is about ¾″. The inscription is in verse and has reference to **the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapur.** It is particularly interesting for the concluding words —

Kalachuri-saṁvatsarê 893 râja-śrîmat-Pṛithvîdêva-[râjyê ?] —

which, for **Pṛithvîdêva II. of Ratnapur,** give us the new date Kalachuri 893 = A. D. 1141-42 (see *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 138). Besides, I notice in the body of the inscription the following names: —

L. 1. . . . . **Kalachuri-**

2. . . . . **Lâchhalladêvî** mahishî babhûva ।

3. . . . . śrî-**Ra[tnadêvaḥ ?]**

7. . . . . **Vallabharâja**-nâmâ

8. — Another fragmentary inscription, stated to be from **Akaltârâ** (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 211). Portions of twenty-six lines. The existing writing covers a space of from 10″ to 1′ 5″ broad by 2′ high, and the whole breadth of the inscribed surface must have been about 3′. The size of the letters is between ⅝″ and ¾″. Like the preceding, the inscription is in verse and has reference to **the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapur.** I notice the following names: —

L. 4. **[Ra*]tnadêvas**=tataḥ ||

6. . . . . **Harigaṇa** iti nâmnâ tasya sûnur=babhûva ॥

14. . . . Kṛishṇaṁ Yaśôd=êva Guham Śiv=êva **Lâchchhalladêvî** . . .

16. . . . **Vallabharâja**-nirmmitam=idam . . .

20. . . . śrî-**Ratnadêva**-dharaṇîpatayê . . .

21. **[Ra*]tnadêva**-nṛipatiḥ . . .

23. . . . **Jayasiṁhadêvaḥ** . . .

The inscription was composed by Dêvapâṇi (line 25) and engraved by Pâlhûka (line 26).

9. — An inscription stated to be from **Muhammadpur.** Twenty-seven lines. The writing covers a space of about 2′ 1″ broad by 1′ 5″ high; the upper portion of it appears to have greatly suffered, but the lower (apparently historical) part seems to be fairly well preserved. The size of the letters is about ½″. This inscription also is in verse and has reference to **the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapur.** The rubbing is so very indistinct that I can only here and there make out a few names.

[3] Since editing the three inscriptions from Udaypur (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 341), it has occurred to me that the unpublished Udaypur inscription of Jayasiṁha, referred to in my introductory remarks (*ib.* p. 341), may really belong to the Jayasiṁhadêva of Dhârâ of the Râhatgaḍh inscription. The date of the Udaypur inscription, unfortunately, is very indistinct in the rubbing, but it may have to be read —

Saṁ 1311 varshê ॥ Mâgha-vadi 13 Su(śu)krê ॥—, which, by the pûrṇimânta reckoning, would correspond to Friday, 8th January, A. D. 1255.

L. 17. Âśi(sî)t=Tu[mmâ]ṇa-dêśê **Kalachuri**-tilakô râja-**Jâjalladêvas**=tasmâj=jâtaḥ pratâpaiḥ sa taraṇir=aparô **Ratnadêvô** narêndraḥ । **Pṛithvîdêvas**=tatô 'bhûd= . . .

19. . . . śrîmân=**Vallabharâjaḥ** . . . . . **Pṛithvîdêva** . . .

10. — A fragment of an inscription from **Têwar**, measuring about 10″ broad by 7″ high, and containing portions of eleven lines in characters of about the 12th century, has in —

L. 4. .mahâ-samudrât=sârddhaṁ Śriyâ samabhavad=bhuvi **Bhîmapâlaḥ** ।

7. . . . . **Tripurîya**-chatuḥpathê । . . .

8. . . . . nivâsaṁ śrî-**Siṁhapuryâṁ** . . .

11. — An inscription stated to be at '**Chandrehe** on the Sôn river, Rewa' (*Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XIII, p. 8). The rubbing is in two parts, and looks as if the inscription were on two separate slabs of stone. The writing of either part covers a space of 3′ 2″ broad by about 1′ 4″ high. The first part contains fourteen, the second part thirteen lines. The size of the letters is about ½″. The inscription ends with a date which by Mr. Beglar was read 'Samvat 324 Phâlguna-sudi 6,' and the year of which was altered by him to Saṁvat 1324. I read the date —

Samvat 724 Phâlguna-sudi 5 —

and, referring it to the Kalachuri era, make the year equivalent to A. D. 972-3. The writing, in my opinion, undoubtedly belongs to the 10th or 11th century A. D.

The inscription is in verse. It apparently is of no historical importance, but refers to a line of sages which is mentioned also in the large Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chêdi, and a fuller account of some members of which is furnished by an inscription at Ranôd (or Narôd) which has been edited in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI. pp. 1080-88, and will be re-edited by myself in the *Epigraphia Indica*. So far as I can make out, the inscription records the building of a tank by a sage **Prasântasiva**, and its restoration by a disciple of the sage. In the rubbing before me, I notice the following names: —

L. 5. . . . . Śrîman-**Mattamayûra**-santatir=iyaṁ . . . . **Purandara** . . .

6. . . . . **Sikhâsivaḥ** . . . . Tasmân=**Madhumatî-patêḥ** . . .

7. . . . . **Pra[bhâva]siva** . . .

8. **Prasântasiva** . . .

9. . . . . **Sôṇa-Nada**-saṅgamê . . .

The inscription was composed by the poet Dhâṁsaṭa, the son of Jêika and Amarikâ, and grandson of Mêhuka (lines 24 and 25); and engraved by Dâmôdara, the son of Lakshmîdhara and younger brother of Vâsudêva.

I may as well draw attention here to a note on page 5 of *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. XIII, according to which there is in the Asiatic Society's collection a rubbing of an inscription from **Makundpur**, which is near Chandrehe, dated in (apparently Chêdi) Saṁvat 772.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 22.

Journal of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society.[1]

(*a*) PROCEEDINGS.

Papers read: (i). A. J. Harkavy: On an inscription on an Aramean vase. (ii) Baron V. Rosen: On the budget of the Khilâfat in 306 A. H. according to Baron Kremer's researches. (iii) S. F. Oldenburg: On the supposed Indian original of the Arabian Nights. (iv) Baron V. Rosen: On the new edition of Ibn Khorâdhbeh (v) W. S. Golenischef: On the archæological results of his journey to Egypt. (vi) N. M. Yadrintzef: On his journey to Mongolia and the Siberian inscriptions. (vii) A. J. Harkavy: On a fragment of an Egyptian papyrus in the collection of W. S. Golenischef: (viii) N. I. Vesselofsky: On the Embassy of Prince Bariatinsky to Persia in 1618.

(*b*) ARTICLES.

(i) *I. P. Minayef: Salvation according to the doctrine of later Buddhists.* This is the first part of an article which contains the Sanskrit text of the **Bôdhicharyâvatâra** of **Sântidêva**.[2] The

[1] *Zapisky Vostochnago Otdelenja Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obschestva, Vol. IV. fasc. III. and IV. (2 plates).*

[2] This book has found a place in a compilation called *Aśôkâvadânamâlâ*, where it occupies the ninth chapter. MSS. of it are to be found also in Paris, Bibl. Nationale, D., 85., Burn. 90; in Cambridge, *Add.*, 869; in Calcutta (palm-leaf), *cf.* Râjendralâla Mitra, *Sansk. Buddh. Lit. of Nêpâl*, ff. 47-48: and in Kâṭhmâṇḍû, *cf.* C. Bendall, *A Journey in Nêpâl*, p. 20. (old MS. of the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries). A short commentary on this book and the *Sikshâsamuchchaya* by Yêtâri is mentioned by Târanâtha (Wassilief, *Buddhism*, III. 225). We take the opportunity of rectifying a little misunderstanding in the last Notice of the *Zapisky*. Prof. Minayef quite agrees with Prof. Peterson in the identification of Chandragôpin with Chandragômin. — [*Zapisky* = the *Journal* of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society. — R. C. T.]

edition is based on three MSS.: — (1) in the India Office Library (palm-leaf); (2) in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society (palm-leaf); (3) paper MS. in the editor's own collection. The text is followed by a discussion on the author's age and his works. Ŝântidêva lived most probably in the beginning of the VIIth Century A.D. Three works of his are known: *Bôdhicharyâvatâra*, *Ŝikshâsamuchchaya* (of which Prof. Minayef is preparing an edition), and *Sûtrasamuchchaya* (now only known in the Tibetan translation). According to Târanâtha there were three recensions of the *Bôdhicharyâvatâra*. Ŝântidêva is mentioned in the *Subhâshitâvalî* (ed. Peterson), of which v. 3313 corresponds to the *Bôdhicharyâvatâra*, 4.

(ii) *S. F. Oldenburg: The Persian version of the Romance of Barlaam and Joasaf.* A detailed account of the unique MS. in the British Museum of the **Persian translation of the Arabic version** of the celebrated romance, dealing chiefly with the apologues contained in the work. As an edition of the Arabic original is to appear, it would be superfluous now to give a detailed notice of the Persian translation, and it will suffice to state briefly what has been done in the last few years towards making the **Barlaam and Joasaf romance** better known. In 1886 appeared Dr H. Zotenberg's excellent *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph*, in which he proved definitively that **John of Damascus was not the author of the Romance.** In Dr. Zotenberg's opinion the original text was Greek, and composed in the first half of the VIIth Century by a monk named **John** of the Monastery **of St. Saba near Jerusalem.** This opinion was contested by Baron V. Rosen in his review of the book.[3] He pointed out that there are traces of an old **Georgian version,** which **was translated into Greek by Saint Euthymius the Georgian,** who lived at the end of the Xth and the beginning of the XIth Century. Following the indications given in Baron Rosen's article, a young Georgian scholar, M. N. Marr, came in the course of his researches on a **Georgian MS. of the Romance called "The Wisdom of Balavar,"** of which he gave an account in the third volume of the *Zapisky* (1889). This version, however, seems, in my opinion, to be **derived from the Greek** or from another lost Georgian version. Meanwhile Prof. F. Hommel, prompted by Dr. E. Kuhn, gave an edition of the **non-Christian Arabic version,** unfortunately after an unique and incomplete MS. (Vienna, 1887). **Dr. Hommel also expressed doubts about the originality of the Greek text, which, in his opinion,** is based on an Arabic version, going back to a Pahlavî original. Some time afterwards I found in the British Museum a **Persian MS.,** one of the many valuable acquisitions of Mr. Sidney Churchill, which gave a **complete text of the non-Christian version.** I wrote about it to Baron Rosen, quoting the first two lines of the MS., where the author's name was given. Baron Rosen wrote a notice of it, identifying Ibn Babavaih and Muhammad Ibn Zakaria with the well-known Arabic authors of the Xth Century A. D., Al-Kummi and Al-Râzî.[4] At his instigation I prepared an account of the MS.[5] At the end of last year appeared the second part of Prof. Ahlwardt's *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the Berlin Library*, which contained the work of Ibn Babavaih mentioned in the Persian version. Baron Rosen wrote about it to Prof. Hommel, who having got the MS., found, in accordance with Rosen's indications, the original of the Persian version. Prof. Hommel now promises us an edition of the Arabic text, which will be most valuable for the history of this renowned Buddhist-Christian legend. (See now also Prof. Rehatsek's translation in the Journal of the R. A. S.)

(iii) *D. Kobeko: on the Question of the site of Saraj, the capital of the Golden Horde.* A critical review of some old documents bearing on the question. The existence of **two Sarajes** seems very probable: — Old Saraj (Ak-Saraj; now the village Selitrjanoje, and the New Saraj (great Saraj) near Zarevy Pody. The article is illustrated by a little map showing the sites of the two Sarajes.

(iv) *N. Ostroumof: Elegy on the death of Urmân Bek (Text and translation, with introduction).* Urmân Bek was the fourth and favourite son of Khudâyâr Khân and his mother was the daughter of the Regent of Darvâz. He was born in 1865, his mother dying shortly after his birth, and was educated by another of his father's wives, named Agacha-aim. In 1879 Urmân Bek went to Tâshkand, where he died in 1883, aged 19 years. The author of this simple, but touching elegy is unknown.

(v) *Baron V. Tiesenhausen: Oriental Coins in N. P. Linevich's Collection.* This interesting collection belongs to Colonel N. P. Linevich, and was **made in the environs of Merv,** which seems to be **a rich field for numismatical discoveries.** The following dynasties are represented: — (1) **Parthian**: an inedited drachma of probably Arsaces I., and two drachmas of Phraates II. (2) **Sassanian**: 2 silver coins of

[3] *Zapisky*, Vol. II. 1887. [4] *Zapisky*, Vol. IV 1889.

[5] The article under notice.

Bahrâm V. (3) **Saffavi**: a copper coin of Azâdu'd-dîn Abû'lmuzaffar. bin Harb; the coin is to be placed between 612 and 622 A. H. (4) Sâmanî: Ileks of Turkistân, Khwârizmi Shâhs, Ghaznavîs, Ghûrîs, Saljûqîs of Persia, Sinjarîs, Changêzîs, Hulâqûîs, Kerts, Tîmûrîs, Shaibânîs, Khâns of Khîva, Khâns of Bukhârâ, Shâhs of Persia, Amîrs of Afghânistân, and coins of Eastern Turkistân. Fifty of the specimens are inedited. Two plates and many cuts illustrate the article.

(vi) *A. M. Pozdnejef*: *Kalmuck Tales* (*II. and III.*) We must wait till the end of this publication to give a detailed account of these tales. It will suffice now to explain the way in which they were collected. In 1874 Prof. Pozdnejef was sent on a scientific mission to the steppes of the **Kalmuks (Qalmâqs)** of **Astrâkhân,** where he collected **folktales**, and in nine successive journeys completed a large collection. Of the 38 tales he collected, 35 belong to the Ulus of Maloderbetj, one to the Ulus of Ikizokhur, and two to Bagazokhur. He got a Kalmuck to recite the tales, while another wrote them down. To his 35 tales, Prof. Pozdnejef adds four tales brought from the Kalmuck steppes by Prof. Golstunsky.

(*c*) NOTES AND NEWS.

(i) *W. P. Vassilief*: *Contributions to a Chronology of Changêz Khân and his Successors.* This gives some dates from the history of Buddhism in Tibet by Sumba Kutukhta from 1162-1296 A D., the former date being the year of the birth of Changêz.

(ii) *W. P. Vassilief*: *Queries and Doubts.* (1) **The name Changêz is a corruption of Tiandzij, "given by Heaven." The name of the dynasty, Mongu, is Chinese,** meaning "one who has received the restitution of old rights." (2) In the well known document from Darmabala written in the quadrangular Mongol character, we must, most probably, understand by **A-li-ke-un** the Musulmâns and not the Christians. (3) The **Yasa of Changêz** is not a code of laws, but a collection of sayings of the emperor, such as were collected after the death of every Bogdokhan. These collections are incumbent on the scientific comity.

(iii) *A. O. Ivanofsky*: *On some Chinese objects in the Archæological Museum of the University of Tomsk.* This consists of some coins, medals, two mirrors, and some Buddhist bells from Kulja.

(iv) *S. F. Oldenburg*: *Nepalese MSS. in the Petersburg Libraries.* This is a List of **ten (Sanskṛit and Nêwârî) MSS.** (1) *Âryanâmasaṁgîtiṭîkâ* (2) *Dharmalakshmîsaṁvâda.* (3) *Divyâvadâna.* (4) *Jâtakamâlâ.* (5) *Tantrâkhyâna.* (6) *Vasuṁdharâvrata.* (7) *Vîrakuśâvadâna.* (8) *Vêtâlapañchaviṁśatî.* (9) and (10) *Laṅkâvatâra.* In the Asiatic Museum there is an interesting MS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*, written in the Landga character.

(v) *W. A. Shoukofsky*: *A Song of Nâsiri Khusrav.* A delightful *tarjîband* of the famous Persian poet in text and translation.

(vi) *S. F. Oldenburg*: *Mention of a Representation of a Buddhist Drama.* A text from the *Avadânaśataka* (*avadâna* 75) where a *bauddhaṁ nâṭakam* is mentioned.

(vii) *N. J. Marr*: *On the Question of Barlaam and Joasaph, from the Armenian Geography attributed to Vardan.* This geography mentions three capitals of the realm of **Avenir and Joafas**: firstly, Sinapatank (or Sinavatan), where they lived; secondly, Mindan (or Omndan); and thirdly, Bedar. The question of the date of the Armenian prose version of the Barlaam and Joasaf legend is far from being settled, and most probably it is earlier than the XVth Century.

(viii) *Baron V. Rosen*: *Additions to the question of Ibn-Babovaih and Barlaam.* — See above, p. 86.

(ix) *Baron V. Rosen*: *Did the author of the Fihrist live in Constantinople in 988 A. D.?* This notice **corrects a misinterpretation of the text of the Fihrist,** which seemed to prove that An-Nâdim, the author of the *Fihrist,* was in Constantinople in 988 A. D. The confusion arose from taking Dâr-ar-Rûm to mean Constantinople. Baron Rosen proves Dâr-ar-Rûm to designate a certain locality in Baghdâd.

(x) *Baron D. Gunsburg*: "*Les fils d'Aissou.*" *Note on a passage in the work of Amélineau in the Mémoires des Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, Vol. IV.* The "fils d'Aissou" are the "sons of Esau."

(*d*) REVIEWS.

(i) *The Court of the Emperor of Turkey*: *the work of the priest Simeon Starovolsky.* A not very careful edition of the old Russian translation of 1678. An earlier edition is left unnoticed.

(ii) *Arandarenko, G. A.*: *Leisure hours in Turkistân,* 1874-1889. A collection of articles written between 1874 and 1889 by a high official in Turkistân. They deal with various questions of **life and administration in Turkistân,** and give most valuable information to everybody who wishes to know Central Asia.

(iii) *David and Mher.* Very interesting **Armenian popular legends** of the heroes of Sasun in the country of Mush.

(iv) *Memoirs of the West-Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. X.* (1888). A most interesting publication, two articles of Mr. Pantussof being especially noticed, *viz.*, "A prayer-meeting of the (durvêsh) congregation, Jahr-i-Qâdirî in Tâshkand," and "On the **language of the Musalmân hawkers in Turkistân.**"

(v) *The Ethnographical Review, fasc.* ii. (1889). Contains a very interesting and carefully compiled bibliography. To be noticed here are an article by W. F. Miller, **Echoes of Iranian legends in the Caucasus,** and an article by M. A. Khakhanof on "**Persian epics in Georgian translations.**" This last is quite unscientific and untrustworthy.

(vi) *Arkhangelsky. Muhammadan Cosmogony. (Forty questions put to Muhammad by Jewish scholars).* This is a translation from the Turkish, and is far from being trustworthy. The reviewer gives some instances of very puzzling renderings of the original. The introduction is a useless compilation.

(vii) *Kitab Kalilah wa Dimnah, translated from the Arabic text by M. Attaya and M. Riabinin, with an introduction explaining the history of the book.* The translation is on the whole trustworthy, but more accuracy, especially in the philosophical passages, is much to be desired. Corrected translations of many passages are given in the review.

(viii) *Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XXV. fasc.* v.[67]

(ix) *Proceedings of the East-Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Vol. XIX. fasc.* 3, *Vol. XX. fasc.* 1.[7]

(x) *Collection of materials for a description of the countries and nations of the Caucasus, Vol. X., Tiflis,* 1890. This is one of the many useful works on **the Caucasus,** published in Russia. In the first part of the book is a long article by M. Hahn: "Notions of Greek and Roman writers on the Caucasus, (pt. II.), Byzantine historians;" the second part of the volume contains many legends, songs and tales from different parts of the Caucasus.

(xi) *Inscriptions de l'Iénissei. Helsingfors,* 1889. An edition of many of the **enigmatic inscriptions in Siberia,** the key to which is yet to be found M. Yadrinzef in his last journey to Karâkôrum found a good many of these inscriptions, and amongst them some that are bilingual, which will perhaps yield us the looked-for explanation.

(xii) *Jacoub Artin. Pacha: L'Instruction Publique en Egypte.* This is a very interesting publication.

(xiii) *Recueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l'École des langues Orientales vivantes.* This forms one of the many interesting and useful publications of the well-known École des Langues Orientales Vivantes.

(xiv) *Comte Carlo Landberg: 'Imâd ed-dîn el-Kâtib el-Isfahânî, conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine.* Containing an account of the conquest of Syria and Palestine by Salâhu'ddîn (Saladin).

(xv) *Th. Houtsma: Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, Vol. II., Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irâq par al-Bondâri.* Two most important publications by two well-known scholars. In noticing the second book the reviewer draws the attention to the word *iji* (page 133, 4-5) which with the signification of "elder brother" is to be found in the Calcutta *Chughatai Dictionary.*

(xvi) *Kitâb al-Masâlik va'l-Mamâlik, auctore &c. Ibn-Khordâdhbeh, ed. M. I. de Goeje.* An excellent edition and translation of a very important work. The reviewer notices two pieces of verse on Ibn-Khordâdhbeh by Al-Buhturî which he found in the MS. *divân* of this poet, on following the indication of Al-Husuri in his Anthology, *Zahru'ladâb., cf. al-Ikd. ed.* Boulaq., III. 52, 3 a. f., on the margin.

(xvii) *A. Mehren: Traités mystiques, &c. d'Avicenne, fasc.* i. An interesting publication. The reviewer draws the attention of the editor to a MS. in the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg, No. 842 a (cf. *Mél. As.* IV. 37-39) where various tracts of Ibn-Sînâ are to be found.

(xviii) *W. Pertsch: Verzeichniss der Türkischen Handschriften der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin.* A valuable catalogue, edited with the well-known accuracy of Dr. Pertsch. Amongst other MSS. the reviewer mentions an interesting Turco-Arabic and Mongol-Arabic glossary, of which he is preparing some extracts, collated with three Oxford MSS.

[67] As these geographical publications are well known to the readers of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, we give only their titles here.

(xix) *Riza Qouli Khan*: *Riáz-al-ârifín.* An excellent *tazkirah* full of important facts on the life and works of many writers. This is a posthumous work of the celebrated Persian scholar.

(xx) *Weber*: *Ueber die Samyaktvakaumudî.* A very important question is raised by the author. The reviewer doubts the conclusions of the pamphlet. The Arabian Nights are not yet sufficiently known to allow of comparisons. To the episode of the wanderings of the king and his minister, some parallels in some versions of the *Siṁhásanadvátriṁśiká* and the *Prabandhachintámaṇi* are adduced. In conclusion some parallels to the Arabian Nights are drawn from the *Kitáb-i-Sindbád* and the *Ṭúṭínámah.*

SERGIUS D'OLDENBURG.

St. Petersburg, May 1890.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN ORIENTAL STORY OF MOSES.

In *Indian Notes and Queries*, Note No. 789 in No. 48, Vol. IV., page 221, bears a remarkable resemblance to Sa'di's story of Moses in the *Bustán*; given also by Forbes amongst the stories in his *Persian Grammar* (Allen; Lond.; 1862, page 34 of the Persian App. 4, and pp. 153, 164 and 170 of the English portion). Briefly it is as follows:—One day Abraham espied a stranger in the desert, whose body was bent like a willow, and whose beard and head were as white as snow with age. He invited him to his board, and as the *B'ismi'llah* was muttered, it was found that the stranger was silent. Abraham enquired how it was that he had not joined them in invoking God's blessing on the food, and was told that the stranger was a Zoroastrian. Abraham in zealous wrath expelled him from his tent. A voice, thereupon, came unto Abraham from on high conveying this rebuke, "I have given him bread and life during a hundred years and you have not been able to bear with him for a moment," &c.

Dr. Forbes in pp. 164-70 of his *Grammar* seeks to trace in Sa'di's story the origin of Dr. Franklin's *Imaginary Chapter of Genesis.*

S. J. A. CHURCHILL.

CORRUPTIONS OF ENGLISH.

A—In Telingâṇâ.

In the Telugu country **jâinavu** is 'join from anywhere,' not necessarily 'from hospital.'[1] That is **rikâvaravu** (recover). 'Discharge from hospital' is **rikâvarchêyi** (imp.)

G. H. PRENDERGAST.

Masulipatam.

B—In Bombay.

The following are several of the corrupted English words now well imbedded in the ordinary **Gujarâtî** language spoken by the Parsees and other Gujarâtî-speaking people in this presidency.

kabâṭ, cupboard.
hánis, harness.
kórat, court.
iskôl, school.
faitín, phaeton.
brûn-gáḍí, a brougham.
kárḍ, card.
pánáno-kárḍ, pack of cards.
ág-bôṭ, a steamer.
ispiṭál, hospital.
ḍáktar, a doctor.
rêlwê, railway.
núspépar, newspaper.
fêmlí, family.
hál, hall.
rán, reins.
nôṭ, note.
pâṭí, a party or gathering.
butlêr, butler.
kôch, a couch.
kóchmán, a coachman.
mánwár, man of war.
bákas, box.
pâṭlún, pantaloon.
wáskôṭ, waistcoat.
kisí, kiss.
kisí-kôṭí, an embrace.
sákin, shake-hands.
kókâṭ, a coquette.
rasíb, receipt.
gilêṭ, gilt.
ṭawál, towel.
pâlis, polish.
vilbôn, whalebone.
chichkêk, cheese-cake.
gêráp-sháṭ, grapeshot (meaning a lie or *canard*).
ṭaraṅg, trunk.
shampin, champagne.
ṭrûp-sawár, a trooper.
ṭarái, tray.
rijmêṭ, regiment.
haṇḍikáp, aide-de-camp.
ḍálí, a dole.
madam, an English lady (madam.)
jáṅgló, an Englishman (a corruption from French *anglais*).
thásôn, station.
piliaus, playhouse.
mat-aus, madhouse.
hispetôr, Inspector.
argín, organ.
ṭôn-dál, town-hall.
santrí, sentry.
ṭhaṭ-klâs, third class.
gôvandár, governor.

C. M. C.

C—In the Pañjâb.

nistí, a list.[2]
sêrîpiṭal, sherry and bitters.
argin, hurricane lamp.

D—In Burma.

Hindustânîs say habitually:—

Ramún, for Rangoon (Bur. Yâṅgôn).
Bambú, for Bhamo (Bur. Bamaw).
Chinapahár, for Chwetnapâ near Mandalay.

R. C. TEMPLE.

[1] See *Pañjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I., note 240.

[2] The interchange of *l* and *n* is well known in North-India. *Jalam-ashṭhamî* for *janam-ashṭhamî* is a good and common instance in the Himâlayan Districts. — R. C. T.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; MARRIAGE.

In China.

With reference to the following cutting regarding a **Chinese legend** as to the custom of **throwing rice at weddings,** is there any story or legend connected with the custom in India or Europe ? : —

The *Chinese Times* gives the following version of the origin of the custom of **throwing rice at weddings : —** In the days of the Shang dynasty, some 1,500 years before Christ, there lived in the province of Shansi a most famous sorcerer called Chao. It happened one day that one P'ang came to consult the oracle, and Chao, having divined by means of the tortoise diagram, informed the trembling P'ang that he had but six days to live. Now, however much we may trust the sagacity and skill of our family physician, we may be excused if, in a matter of life and death, we call in a second doctor for a consultation; and in such a strait, it is not to be wondered at that P'ang should repair to another source to make sure that there was no mistake. To the fair Peachblossom he went, a young lady who had acquired some reputation as a sorceress, and to the tender feminine heart unfolded the story of his woe. Her divination yielded the same result as Chao's; in six days P'ang should die, unless, by the exercise of her magical powers, she could avert the catastrope. Her efforts were successful, and on the seventh day great was Chao's astonishment and still greater his mortification and rage, when he met P'ang taking his evening stroll and learned that there lived a greater magician than he. The story would soon get about, and unless he could quickly put an end to his fair rival's existence, his reputation would be ruined. And this was how Chao plotted against the life of Peachblossom. He sent a go-between to Peachblossom's parent to inquire if their daughter was still unmarried, and receiving a reply in the affirmative, he befooled the simple parents into believing that he had a son who was seeking a wife, and ultimately he induced them to engage Peachblossom to him in marriage. The marriage cards were duly interchanged: but the crafty Chao had chosen the most unlucky day he could select for the wedding, the day when the "Golden Pheasant" was in the ascendant. Surely as the bride entered the red chair, the spirit-bird would destroy her with his powerful beak. But the wise Peachblossom knew all these things, and feared not. "I will go," she said; "I will fight and defeat him." When the wedding morning came, she gave directions to have rice thrown out at the door, which the spirit-bird seeing, made haste to devour, and while his attention was thus occupied, Peachblossom stepped into the bridal chair and passed on her way unharmed. And now the ingenuous reader knows why he throws rice after the bride. If any interest has been engendered in his breast by this tale of the fair Peachblossom, let him listen to what befell her at the house of the magician. Arrived at Chao's house, no bridegroom was there, but an attendant was given her, and the two girls prepared to pass the night in the room assigned to them. Peachblossom was wakeful, for she knew that, when the night passed, the "Golden Pheasant" would be succeeded by the evil star of the "White Tiger," whose power and ferocity who can tell? "Go you to bed first," she said to the maid. The girl was soon asleep, and still her mistress slept not, but continued to pace the room, and at midnight the tiger-spirit came and the morning light showed Peachblossom still pacing the room, while on the bed lay the lifeless body of the little maid. Thus were fought the magic battles of Peachblossom and Chao, and many more were there, until they took their flight to heaven, where now they reign as gods. And on earth the actors have not idols more prized than those of Peachblossom and Chao Kung.

R. C. Temple.

BOOK-NOTICES.

The Kausikasutra of the Atharvaveda, edited by Maurice Bloomfield. New Haven, 1890. 8vo., pages lxviii. and 424. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XIV.)

Students of Vedic literature will hail with delight this editio princeps of the **Kausikasûtra.** A glance at the critical notes, which stand on every page of the beautifully printed text, will give the reader an idea how much patient labour was required in order to rescue this difficult book from oblivion and corruption. The *Kauśikasûtra* occupies an almost unique place among the Vedic Sûtras, as it treats chiefly of charms and omens. It is presupposed by the *Vaitânasûtra*, which is the *Srautasûtra* of the *Atharvavêda*; and though "a rather late product of the efforts to put into exact easily remembered form the traditional practices of the Atharvan," it contains a considerable amount of ancient Âryan superstitions, some of which can perhaps still be traced among the sister nations of Europe. It thus commands an international interest, besides its importance in the history of Indian language and literature. Professor Bloomfield's edition is based on eight MSS. and accompanied by extracts from the valuable commentary of

Dârila, the great-grandson of Vatsaśarman. In the existing MSS., this commentary goes only as far as about the first half of the text. Dârila and two other commentators, Rudra and Bhadra, are quoted in the *paddhati* of Kêśava. Extracts from this treatise on the ritual of the *Kauśika-sûtra* are added in the Appendix (pages 307 to 372). Indices of proper names, technical terms, mantras and quotations, conclude the volume. A list of new contributions to the Vedic lexicon is included in the Introduction (pages xliii. to lvii.)

E. H.

TOUNG PAO, Archives pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire, des langues, de la géographie et de l'ethnographie de l'Asie Orientale (Chine, Japon, Corée, Indo-Chine, Asie Centrale et Malaisie), rédigées par MM. GUSTAVE SCHLEGEL et HENRI CORDIER. Vol. I. No. 1, Avril, 1890. Leide, E. J. Brill: London, Luzac and Co.

We hasten to welcome this remarkably good addition to the periodical literature of the East, and to wish it every success. The names of its editors, Profs. Schlegel of Leiden and Cordier of Paris are indeed a guarantee of the excellence of its contents, and although periodicals dealing with matters Oriental are already numerous enough and a heavy burden on students with limited means, yet the papers in this first number of **Toung Pao** shew that it fills a vacant space and will supply us with information which we are not likely to meet with elsewhere.

It deals principally with China, but in this first number there are articles of great interest to Anglo-Indians, such as "**The French in Burma in the Eighteenth Century,**" "**To Yunnan viâ Tongking,**" and "**Notes on a Journey to Yunnan.**"

The first of these articles is extremely interesting and most valuable at the present time, as it consists of "extracts from the log of the Royal Tender La Baleine, commanded by "le Sr. Flouest, Naval Lieutenant, from 12th February 1782 to 28th March 1786, **with a description of the kingdom of Pegu**, the manners, laws, religion, customs and commerce of the inhabitants of that country (*paijs*)."

This journal is divided into two parts. The first consists of an account of the journey to and fro from Brest to Rangoon, and what may be called personal matters; and the second of a description of the country. With regard to these the author appears to have been so close an observer that we propose, if possible, to reproduce his remarks in full in the *Indian Antiquary*.

In the present number we are only taken as far as the arrival at Rangoon. Starting from Brest on 12th February 1782 with troops, M. Flouest sailed *viâ* Madeira and the Isle of France for India, sighting the Cocos Islands on 18th February 1783, and making the coast of Coromandel on the 16th March, where he disembarked troops at Porto-novo.

The fleet, for in those days it was not safe for ships to travel alone, then made for Trincomalee (Tirukkôṇamâlai), but were chased *en route* by the "enemy," that is, a British Squadron! However, Trincomalee was safely reached on 11th April 1783.

After refitting, M. Flouest received orders to go to Pegu and left Trincomalee on the 11th August with troops for the coast of Coromandel. On the 12th September he left Pondicherry direct for Burma, passing the Andamans and the Cocos. On approaching Burma, he was much bothered by the currents and a want of knowledge of the coast, and goes into an elaborate description of "la manœuvre qu'il faut faire pour monter" the River of Rangoon. He reached the mouth of the river on the 30th September, and the town of Rangoon at 11 a. m. on the 7th October.

The above outline of the journal is enough to shew how instructive it will prove to readers at the present day.

The spelling of the place-names is interesting also, and shews how little it has changed in the century that has passed since he wrote. Thus we find Cocos, Achem (Acheen), Trinquemalay, Madras, Porto Novo, Pégu (which shews that the French pronunciation of the name is nearer than ours), Adaman (Andamans), Chinabaker, Pointe de l'Elephant, and Rangon.

The notes on the journeys to Yunnan present quite a different point of interest. They consist of a letter from M. Leduc, dated 30th January 1890, and a reprint of an official report by M. Rocher, French Consul at Mongtze, published in "le journal officiel de la Republique Française" of 28th January 1890. This journal remarks on the commerce with Yunnan, the means of transport, the navigation of the Red River, the currency in use, the centres of trade, relations of the French with the people, communications with Tongking, and general observations.

Enough has now been said to shew how important are the contents of this new periodical, and while heartily congratulating the editors on the literary success of their venture, we will only

further remark that the articles are accepted in French, English and German indifferently.

THE SELUNGS OF THE MERGUI ARCHIPELAGO, by JOHN ANDERSON, M.D., F.R.S. London: Trübner & Co., 1890.

This little book is the embodiment of the observations of a very capable observer, made during a visit to the Mergui Archipelago in 1881 and 1882.

The first person to publish an account of the Archipelago was Capt. Thomas Forrest, in 1792, but he saw nothing of its very timid inhabitants. The first account of these people appeared in the official *Calcutta Gazette* in 1826, after the First Burmese War. They are there called '**Chalomes,**' and their ill-treatment by their neighbours, the Malays, Burmese and Siamese, who used the Island as a hunting ground for slaves, is noticed. Capt. Lloyd, who surveyed the Archipelago in 1838, gives an account of the '**Chillones,**' a miserable, badly clothed and shy race, without agriculture, living in boats, in the open air and in temporary huts, on shell-fish, turtle and indigenous products, and doing a little barter for rice and coarse cloth. They are described, inaccurately of course, by the Rev. Mr. Kincaid, a missionary whose attention was drawn to them at that time, as having no god and no religion. Dr. Helfer, who saw them in 1839 and calls them '**Seelongs,**' gives much the same account of them as Capt. Lloyd, and adds that they have a peculiar tongue. Broadfoot and Durand, both names famous in subsequent Indian History, tried up to as late as 1846 to do something for the poor '**Salones**' and to turn them into Christians. In 1850 Mr. Logan wrote an account of them, and observed that they had *nàts*, spirits of the sea, land, air, trees and stones, which were offered to, but did not invoke or symbolise. It appears that they have always been taxed on their fishing operations, and that the Chinese, Malay, and other traders were allowed to first make them drunk and then rob them, up to 1881-82 at any rate.

So much for the history of the Selungs. In number they appear to be about 1,000. Their clothing is chiefly a loin-cloth, but coats cut in Burmese fashion are sometimes worn. Their dwellings are rickety leaf huts, built on low bamboo piles, of a type commoner in Burma than perhaps Dr Anderson supposes from his description of them. Their boats are canoes, covered by pent thatched roofs, and have much the appearance of Burmese boats of the same class. Their diet is chiefly rice, when they can get it, but they frequently run out of their stock and take to what wild products they can gather. Their worship is exactly what one would expect in a people of their civilization, and the account given by Dr. Anderson of one ceremony he witnessed, is exceedingly interesting.

The industries and occupations of the Selungs are boat-building, harpooning the great devil-fish or eagle-ray, collecting *bêche-de-mer*, molluscs, mother-of-pearl oysters and pearls, and "black coral" for barter and export. Honey and bees'-wax are also similarly collected; so are eagle-wood and edible birds' nests when procurable. The Selungs also keep dogs, their only domestic animal, with which they hunt the wild hogs of the Islands and barter the fat thus procured. The main occupation of the women is the making of the *pandanus* mats for which the Islands are famous.

Marriage is performed by consent of parents without much ceremony, and the young pair observe the common custom of dwelling with the parents of the bride till the birth of the first child. There is a ceremony at the naming of the child.

The health of the people seems to be fairly good, but small-pox and cholera make great gaps in their families. Sickness is ascribed to a malignant *nàt*, whom the medicine-man extracts from the sick person and takes into himself with liquor supplied him for the purpose. The *nàt* makes its exit by the arm and sometimes assumes the shape of a broken piece of glass. Here we have an instructive example of the world-wide savage belief in the external soul. The dead are exposed, not buried, either in their own boats or on a platform on an uninhabited island, and are apparently provided with clothing and other necessaries for the future life.

Physically, the people are probably a mixed race of Malay origin, the admixture being with Burmans and Karens. They are in no sense Negritos, as has been suggested. The average height is that of the Malays: 5 ft. 2 in. for the men, and 5 ft for the women.

A *Selung Language Primer* was published at Maulmain by the missionaries in 1846, but nevertheless the study of the language seems to have been most limited. Their names for persons are derived from the Burmans, but otherwise their language seems to shew no connection with Burmese. We have it, however, on the great authority of Dr. Rost, that it is a distinct Malayan tongue.

Lastly, we cordially agree with Dr. Anderson that any Deputy Commissioner of Mergui, who will take up the study, has a fine and almost unique field of research before him.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍa
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ẖ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḥ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
			—	ಱ	ṟa
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ			
Anunâsika	—	m̐	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೞ	ḻa
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî **marks of punctuation** than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets,** for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are, represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshar* or syllable.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 15.)

VARIOUS passages, both in the Eastern Chalukya records and in those of some other dynasties, shew that, just as, after the period of the Râshṭrakûṭa sovereignty, the later descendants of the Western Branch of the Chalukya family were specially known as "the lords of Kuntala," so the kings of the Eastern Branch were called distinctively **"the lords of Veṅgî,"** from the territory which for so long a time formed the principal and favourite portion of their dominions. In the Eastern Chalukya records, that territory is called, sometimes, **the Veṅgî or Veṅgi maṇḍala**;[1] sometimes, **the Veṅgî dêśa**;[2] and sometimes, simply **the land of Veṅgî** (*Veṅgî-mahi*, and *Veṅgî-bhû*). One of the records (S.) mentions also a territorial division called the Veṅgînâṇḍu *vishaya*;[3] this, however, I should think, denotes, not the whole Veṅgî country, but a subdivision of it, lying round the town from which the kingdom took its name. In a Tamil inscription of the Chôḷa king Ko-Râjarâja-Râjakèsarivarman, it is called **the Veṅgai nâḍu**[4] (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 63, 65). **The original boundaries** of this tract of country appear to have been, towards the west, the Eastern Ghauts, running from south-west to north-east; on the east, the sea-coast, running parallel to the Ghauts; on the northern frontier, the river Gôdâvarî, running from north-west to south-east; and on the southern frontier, the river Kistna or Kṛishṇa, running almost parallel to the Gôdâvarî. The area thus enclosed would be roughly about eight thousand miles. And the proper Hindu name of this territory, — but perhaps of a larger area of which it only formed a part, — appears to be **the Andhra or Ândhra country.** There are, however, indications that in subsequent times the Veṅgî country included a great portion of the territory on the north of the Gôdâvarî; the boundary line in that direction being then taken more in a straight line, almost due east, to the coast, from the place where the Gôdâvarî passes through the Ghauts. On the north of Veṅgî lay the territory of the Gâṅgas of Kaliṅganagara; and on the south, that of the Pallavas of Kâñchî, the more northern portions of whose dominions appear to have been rather quickly absorbed into the Eastern Chalukya country. On the west, the Eastern Chalukya dominions must have been coterminous with the territories that were held, first by their relations of the Western Branch, whose capital was Bâdâmi; then by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ; and then by the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇ. As has been pointed out by previous writers, the name of Veṅgî, and probably an indication of **the position of the original capital,** is preserved in **Vêgi or Pedda-Vêgi,** which is a village about seven miles north of Ellore (Êlûru), the chief town of the Ellore Tâlukâ or Sub-Division of the Gôdâvarî District in the Madras Presidency, and about ten miles, to the north-west, from the Kôlâr or Kollêru lake, which would probably furnish, quite as well as any river, an ample water-supply for a city of size; it is shewn in the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94, as 'Pedavaigie,' in Lat. 16° 49′, Long. 81° 10′. There is, however, another village close by, Chinna-Vêgi, — not entered in the map, — which, it seems, is just as likely to represent the ancient capital. Also, there are said to be extensive ruins and mounds, reaching from Pedda-Vêgi to Deṇḍalûru, five miles to the south-east; and there is a tradition that Deṇḍalûru once formed a part of the ancient city.[5] Subsequently, **the**

[1] The name occurs in both ways; with the long vowel *î*, and also with the short vowel *i*, in the second syllable: but it is most usually written with the long vowel. Dr. Burnell considered that the Tamil form, Veṅgai, indicates that properly the vowel is short; and that Veṅgî, like Kâñchî, is a Sanskritised form.

[2] *maṇḍala* and *dêśa* are technical territorial terms, evidently applied to rather extensive areas, and more or less synonymous; see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 32, note 7.

[3] *vishaya* is another technical term; and seems to denote properly a sub-division of a *maṇḍala* or *dêśa* (*loc. cit.*)

[4] *nâḍu* is the Drâviḍian equivalent of the Sanskrit *dêśa*. In composition, it occurs in the nasalised form of *nâṇḍu*; *e. g.* Veṅgînâṇḍu, and Velanâṇḍu. — *Nâṇṭi, e. g.* in Beṅgurunâṇṭi, seems to be another form of it.

[5] See Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, p. 16, note, and Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. pp. 34, 36; also, for a small map of the Andhra country, Sir A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 527. — The identification of Veṅgî with Pedda-Vêgi appears to be due to Sir Walter Elliot; but I am not able to refer to his paper on the subject.

capital was removed to Râjamandri or Râjamahêndrapuram, on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, in Lat. 17°, Long. 81° 48′, and about forty-five miles in a north-easterly direction from Pedda-Vêgi; possibly this city was first occupied, under the Eastern Chalukyas, by **Amma I.,** who had the *biruda* or secondary name of Râja-Mahêndra and was named after him.[6] **Dr.** Burnell (*loc. cit.* note 5 above) tells us that in the Telugu *Mahâbhârata*, which belongs to the twelfth century A. D., Râjamahêndrapuram is called the *nâyaka-ratna* or "central gem" of the Vengî country; this description of it supports, not only the removal of the capital, but also the inclusion before this time, in the original Vengî country, of a good deal of the territory on the north of the Gôdavarî. **The land of Vengî, or the Andhra kingdom,** was described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, in the seventh century A. D., under the name of **An-to-lo;** and it is supposed that he mentions **Vengî** as its capital, by the name of **Ping-ki-lo** (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 217).[7] The earliest epigraphical mention that we have of Vengî, is in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, in which the name of **Hastivarman, king of Vengî,** occurs in the list of Samudragupta's conquests in Southern India (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 13); this reference belongs to the fourth century, A. D. And to some time between that date and the Eastern Chalukya period, we have to refer the mention of the town of **Vengîpura** in the grant of **the Sâlankâyana Mahârâja Vijayanandivarman,** who issued his charter from that place (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 177). Also, to some date in the same interval belongs the grant of **the Pallava Mahârâja Simhavarman,** who, issuing his charter from the town of Dasanapura, granted to some Brahmans the village of Mângadûr in **Vengorâshṭra** (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 157);[8] this record seems to give a variant of the name of the Vengî country, and to supply a link in its early history, before it passed into the hands of the Eastern Chalukyas. **In the records of the Eastern Chalukyas** themselves, the first use of the word **Vengî** is in L., of the time of Amma I., which calls Vijayâditya II. "**the lord of Vengî** (*Veng-îśa*);" and M., of the time of Châlukya-Bhîma II., contains the first explicit statement, that the territory over which reigned **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I.** and his successors, was **the Vengî country.**

The course of events which led to **the establishment of the Eastern Branch of the Chalukya family in Vengî,** seems to have been this. **Pulikêśin II.** succeeded to the Chalukya sovereignty in A. D. 609 or 610 (see page 3 above). From Hiuen Tsiang's account (*Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. II. p. 256, and *Life*, p. 146 f.) we know that he was at the head of a powerful and warlike nation. And from the Aihole inscription (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 245) we learn that **his conquests in Southern India** extended right across the peninsula; he reduced the strong fortress of Pishṭapura, which is the modern Piṭṭâpuram in the Gôdâvarî District, near the coast, and about eighty miles to the north-east of Pedda-Vêgi; and he caused the leader of the Pallavas to shelter himself behind the ramparts of the city of Kâñchî, which is the modern Conjeeveram, about forty miles south-west of Madras. In leading his armies so far away from home, he would need someone invested with authority to represent him fully in his own hereditary dominions. And for this purpose **Vishṇuvardhana I.,** his younger brother, was appointed *Yuvarâja*. This appointment was made in A. D. 615; and Vishṇuvardhana I. was still holding the same post in A. D 616 or 617. Probably during the campaign which included the conquest of Piṭṭâpuram, and which must have taken place at this time, the **Vengî country** was made a part of the Chalukya dominions; and the reference to the Pallavas, immediately after the mention of Pishṭapura, has been understood as indicating that it was from their possession that Vengî was taken. On the return of Pulikêśin II. to Bâdâmi, he would naturally depute Vishṇuvardhana I. to administer the newly acquired

[6] Mr. Sewell (*loc. cit.* p. 22) mentions two traditions about the origin of Râjamahêndrapuram; one connects it with Mahêndradêva, son of Gautamadêva, a supposed early king of Orissa, and states that the city was then the southern capital of Orissa; the other connects it with a Chalukya king named "Vijayâditya-Mahêndra."

[7] Dr. Burnell (*loc. cit.*) considered that the last syllable in the Chinese representation of the name is "merely the locative suffix *lô* of the Telugu nouns, naturally mistaken by the worthy Chinese pilgrim monk for a part of the word. So the Portuguese called Salayam, — Chaliatta, using the inflected form of the name."

[8] *Rāshṭra*, usually translated by 'country,' is another territorial term. It occurs also in Mahârâshṭra; and it seems to belong properly to only rather extensive areas.

territory, in the same capacity of *Yuvarâja*. And then, — whether it came to pass through a formal division of the kingdom by mutual consent, because it was too extensive to be managed as a whole; or whether there was a distinct act of rebellion on the part of the younger brother, — in no great length of time, — at any rate before A. D. 632, — Vishṇuvardhana I. became established on the eastern coast as an independent sovereign, and founded there the Eastern Branch of the family, which held that part of the country for five centuries at least, and remained distinct from and independent of the Western Branch, down to the latest times of both the dynasties.

The successive members of the Eastern Branch of the family, taken for the most part in the order in which they followed each other on the throne, irrespective of their actual places in the genealogy were as follows:—

1. — Vishṇuvardhana I.; Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana.

Eighteen years; A. D. 615 to 633.

He was a younger brother of the Western Chalukya king Satyâśraya-Pulikêśin II.; his father was Kîrtivarman I. His name occurs as simply **Vishṇuvardhana** in his own grants (A. and B.), and in D. and E.; as **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,** — (the word *kubja* means 'hump-backed;' also 'a curved sword, a scimitar'), — in K. and all the subsequent grants, except in two (O. and U.), in which he is called **Kubja-Vishṇu**; and as **Biṭṭarasa,** 'king Biṭṭi or Biṭṭa,' on the seal of A. Probably the latter, a Prâkṛit form, is the name that was given to him at his birth; and it was expanded into its Sanskṛit form, Vishṇuvardhana, at the time of his installation as *Yuvarâja*.[9] He had the epithet of **Śrîpṛithivîvallabha,** 'favourite of fortune and of the earth' (in A.); and the *biruda* of **Vishamasiddhi** (in A and B.), which is explained in B. as being due to his achieving "success (*siddhi*) against fortresses, difficult of access (*vishama*), on the plains, in the water, in the woods, and on hills," and which is used to denote him in C. His titles were, at first **Yuvarâja** (in A.), and afterwards **Mahârâja**; the latter, in addition to being used in one of his own grants (B.), is attached to his name in D. and E.; for its value, in this period, as a paramount title, see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 305 ff. K. and all the subsequent grants agree in stating that he reigned for **eighteen years**; but M. is the first grant which specifically states that the locality of his rule was **the Veṅgî country.** As we have seen from the dates examined in the preceding portion of this paper, **the initial point of his years,** — whether it is taken as being in the month Vaiśâkha, or as being the immediately preceding Chaitra śukla 1, — lies in **A. D. 615,** in **Śaka-Saṁvat 538 current;** and his regnal years run, not from the date of his assumption of independent sovereignty, but from the earlier time **when he was installed as Yuvarâja** by his elder brother (see page 5 above).

L. mentions a follower of his, named **Kâḷakampa, of the Paṭṭavardhinî family,** who, "with his permission," killed in battle **a king named Daddara,** and seized his insignia.

Of his time we have two records: —

A. — A copper-plate grant from Sâtârâ in the Bombay Presidency; edited by me with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 303. — It gives the name of the family as **Chalikya**;[10] and describes the members of the family as meditating on the feet of the god Svâmi-Mahâsêna

[9] Speaking of Bêta, otherwise called Vijayâditya V., a Gôdâvarî grant says, — Tâḍap-ôchchâritô yô=bhûd Ammabhûpâla-nandanaḥ kaṇṭhikâ-dyutimat-kaṇṭhô jâtô Bêtâ-mahîpatiḥ. This distinctly seems to imply that he was first named Bêta, — "he was born (*as*) Bêta;" and so, that he received the name of Vijayâditya, when he was invested with the *kaṇṭhikâ*. So also W. shews that Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. was first called Râjêndra-Chôḷa, and received the name of Kulottuṅgadêva when he was anointed to the Chôḷa sovereignty. — The explanation must be the same in the case of Amma I., otherwise called Vishṇuvardhana VI.; of Châlukya-Bhîma II., otherwise called Vishṇuvardhana VII.; and in some other instances. — In some cases, *e. g.* those of Maṅgi-Yuvarâja and Kokkili, we evidently have only the personal names, conferred at birth.

[10] The variants of the family-name in this series of documents, in the preamble of each, are, — Chalikya, here; Chalukya, in B., C., D., K., L., M., and S.; Chaluḳya, with the Drâviḍian ḷ, in E., F., G., and H.; Châlukya, with the long vowel â in the first syllable, in J., N. to R., and T. to X.; and Châḷukya, with the long â and the Drâviḍian ḷ, in I.

(Kârttikêya, the god of war); as belonging to **the Mânavya gôtra**; as being **Hâritiputras** or descendants of an original ancestress of the Hârita *gôtra*;[11] as being protected by the Mothers of mankind;[12] and as having acquired **the crest of a boar** through the favour, when he had arisen from sleep, of him (the god Vishṇu) whose couch is the ocean of milk. **The genealogy** commences with Pulikêśin I., who is spoken of by his *birudas* of Raṇavikrama and Satyâśraya; it mentions his son, Kîrtivarman I.; but it takes the line direct from the latter to Vishṇuvardhana I., entirely passing over his elder brother, Pulikêśin II., in this passage, and only referring to him, as "the glorious *Mahârâja*," in the passage at the end which contains the date. Pulikêśin II. is similarly passed over in C. and E. The charter was issued by Vishṇuvardhana I. himself, as *Yuvarâja*, from **Kurumarathî (or Kurumarathyâ)**; and it records the grant of the village of **Alandatîrtha, in the Śrînilaya bhôga.** The village granted is probably the modern 'Alundah' of the map, about thirty-five miles north of Sâtârâ. But, however this may be, the statement that it was **on the south bank of the river Bhîmarathî,** is sufficient to shew that the locality of the authority of Vishṇuvardhana I., at this time, was to the west of Long. 77° 21′, where the Bhîma flows into the Kṛishṇa, and was, therefore, within the radius of the Western Chalukya sovereignty. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Kârttika, in the eighth year of "the glorious *Mahârâja*," *i. e.* of Pulikêśin II.; and the corresponding English date lies in A. D. 616 or 617.

B. — A grant from Chîpurupalle in the Vizagapatam District, Madras Presidency; edited by me, page 15 above; for a lithograph, see Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, second edition, Plate xxvii. — It gives the family-name as **Chalukya.** The **genealogy** commences with Pulikêśin II., who is mentioned as "the *Mahârâja* Satyâśraya, the favourite of fortune (*śrîvallabha*);" and this grant expressly states that **Vishṇuvardhana I. was the younger of the two brothers.** The charter was issued by Vishṇuvardhana I. himself, as *Mahârâja*, from the village of **Cheṟupûra in the (?) Pûki vishaya**; and it records a grant of the village of **Kâlvakoṇḍa in the Dimila vishaya.** **Cheṟupûra** is probably an older form of the name of Chîpurupalle itself, where the plates were obtained. But, at any rate, there can be no doubt that the name of **the Dimila vishaya** has been preserved in the modern village of **Dimile,** in the Sarvasiddhi Tâlukâ of the same District, fourteen miles towards the south-west from Chîpurupalle. And this identification is sufficient to establish the important point, that the sphere of the sovereignty of Vishṇuvardhana I. now lay on the eastern coast, far away from the Western Chalukya dominions. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month Śrâvaṇa, on the fifteenth day in the fourth month of the eighteenth year of Vishṇuvardhana I. himself; the corresponding English date, as shewn on page 4 f. above, is **the 7th July, A. D. 632.** The *Dûtaka* of the grant, *i. e.* the officer who conveyed the king's commands to the local officials by whom the charter was then drawn up and delivered, was **Aṭavidurjaya, of the (?) Matsya family.**

[11] The variants of the first component of the word, in the preambles of the documents, are, — Hârîtî, here, and in L., V., and perhaps W.; Hâriti, in C., F., H., and I.; Hâritî, in D., E., G., and J.; and Hârîti, in K., M. to U., and X. — In his *Sanskṛit Literature*, p. 143, Prof Max Muller gives Hârîta as one of the principal authorities quoted in the *Taittirîya-Prâtiśâkhyâ*. But the *gôtra*-name given by him, is Harita; with the short vowel in both the first and the second syllables (*id.* p. 383). I should think, therefore, that the correct form of the name is Hâritîputra, or more properly Hâritiputra; with the short vowel *i* in the second syllable. The long vowel *â* in the first syllable, points to there having been a Hârita *gôtra* as a later offshoot from the Harita *gôtra*. In the same way, the Kâśyapa and Kauṇḍinya *gôtras* of epigraphical records, must be offshoots of the original Kaśyapa and Kuṇḍina *gôtras* of Prof. Max Muller's list. Other similar instances also could be quoted. — The Western Chalukyas also were Hâritiputras. But the name was not confined to this family. It applied also to the Early Kadambas (*e. g.*, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 31). And in earlier times there were Haritiputras or Hâritiputras in Central India (see *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 121).

[12] These are the divine mothers, or personified energies of the principal deities. They are usually taken as seven in number; *viz.*, Brâhmî or Brahmâṇî, Mâhêśvarî, Kaumârî, Vaishṇavî, Vârâhî, Indrâṇî or Aindrî or Mâhêndrî, and Châmuṇḍâ. They are closely connected with the worship of Śiva: and they attend on Kârttikêya, who was his son. — They must have some original connection with the Pleiades, when the principal stars of that group were seven in number. Kârttikêy awas fostered by the Pleiades (Kṛittikâḥ): and from this is derived one of his epithets, *shanmâtura*, 'having six mothers.'

2. — Jayasiṁha I.

Thirty years; A. D. 633 to 663.

He was the (eldest) son of No. 1, Vishṇuvardhana I. His name occurs as simply **Jayasiṁha** in M. to U., and in X.; in his own grant (C.), and in D., E., K., L., V., and W., *vallabha*, 'the favourite,' is attached to it; and in F. it is written **Jayasiṁgha**, with *vallabha* attached. The seal of his own grant gives him the *biruda* of **Sarvasiddhi**, which is explained in line 13 f. by the words "he who acquired all (*kinds of*) success by the strength of his arm;" and it is used in an epithet applied to him in D. His title was **Mahârâja**; it occurs in his own grant, and it is affixed to his name in D., E., and F. The grants K. to O., and Q. to W., say that he reigned for **thirty-three years**; while P. and X. say **thirty years**. I follow the latter statement, because, in spite of its not being the earlier one, and of its not being the statement of the majority, it must be the more correct of the two (see pages 10, 14 f., above).

Of his time we have one record:—

C. — A grant from Pedda-Maddâli in the Kistna District, Madras Presidency; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 137. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chalukya**; and to the description of the Chalukyas as given in A., it adds the statement that they had had their bodies purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice. The **genealogy** commences with Kîrtivarman I.; Pulikêśin II. is not mentioned; and Vishṇuvardhana I. is not spoken of by name, but is referred to by his *biruda* as "he who attained success under difficulties (*vishama-siddhi*) in harassing the forts of many enemies." The charter was issued by Jayasiṁha I. himself, as *Mahârâja*, from the town of **Udayapura**; and it records a grant of the village of **Peṇukapaṟu in the Gudrahâra vishaya**[13] on the occasion of one of the equinoxes, in the eighteenth year of the reign. The *Dûtaka* was **Siyaśarman**. The language of this grant is rather full of inaccuracies; and I am not quite satisfied as to its authenticity.

3. — Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka.

Seven days; A. D. 663.

He was the younger brother of No. 2, Jayasiṁha I. His name occurs as **Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka** in D., E., and F.; and as **Indrarâja** in K. and all the subsequent grants. In the Gôdâvarî grant of the *Râja* Prithivimûla, the son of the *Mahârâja* Prabhâkara, mention is made of an *Adhirâja* Indra, who joined in "a tumultuous combat waged by all the kings who were gladdened by having assembled together in the desire to uproot by force **Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka**" (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 119); the reference here seems to be to Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty; the *Adhirâja* Indra being possibly the *Mahârâja* Indravarman of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅganagara (*ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 120, 122, and Vol. XVI. p. 132), whose territory lay just to the north-east of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom. The only records that mention Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka as reigning, are V., W., and X., which state that he reigned for **seven days**.[14] The truth seems to be, that he did not actually succeed in ascending the throne; being prevented by a confederacy of chiefs, in which the leading part was taken by the *Adhirâja* Indra.

---

[13] This district is mentioned also in E., by the same name. And it seems to be identical with the Gudravâra of J. and N., and the Gudrâvâra of Q. In V. and W. mention is made of the Guddavâḍi *vishaya*, which Dr. Hultzsch has suggested may be identical with the preceding, and may have some connection with the modern Guḍivâda in the Kistna District (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 52, note 1); Guḍivâda, however, occurs also as the name of two villages in the Vizagapatam District. — I am inclined to think that the original name may have been Gudrâhâra (Gudra + *âhâra*, a territorial division). The expression Gudrâhâra *vishaya* would be analogous to the Khêṭakâhâra *vishaya*, which we have, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 72, line 25 f. Gudra might pass into Gudda; through the habit of doubling consonants before *r*. And we might thus obtain Guddavâda, or Guddavâdi; the last part of the latter word being another form of *vâṭa*, 'a town.' But I do not see how the dental *d* could change into the lingual *ḍ* in Guḍivâḍa.

[14] In V., line 37, the actual reading is *tad-anuj-êndrarâja-nandanas=sapta dinâni*; this is a mistake for *°êndra râjas=sapta dinâni*, due to carelessness in amplifying the *°êndrarâja-nandanô vishṇuvardhanô nava* of other grants. — W., line 10, has *tat-kanîyân=ind[r*]arâjas=sapt-âham*; X., line 31, has *tad-anuja i[m*]drarâjas=sapta dinâni*.

4. — Vishṇuvardhana II.

Nine years; A. D. 663 to 672.

He was the son of No. 3, Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka. His name occurs as **Vishṇuvardhana** in his own grants (D. and E.), and in L. to X.; and as **Vishṇurâja** in K. D., line 10, seems to imply that he had the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya,** 'asylum of all mankind;' and the seals of both his grants give him the *biruda* of **Vishamasiddhi,** as in the case of his grandfather. D. describes him as a *paramamâhêśvara* or 'most devout worshipper of the god Śiva under the name of Mahêśvara;' and E. gives him the epithet of *samadhigata-pañchamahâśabda*, 'he who has attained the five great sounds,' *i.e.* who is heralded in public by the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments.[15] His title was that of **Mahârâja**; it is used in his own grants, and is also affixed to his name in F. In M. the years of his reign are carelessly omitted. K., L., and N. to X., are unanimous in stating that he reigned for **nine years.**

Of his time we have two records:—

D. — A grant from somewhere in the Nellore District, Madras Presidency; edited by me, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 185, with a lithograph in Vol. VIII. p. 320. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chalukya;** and it adds, in respect of the members of the family, that they acquired the dignity of sovereignty through the favour of the god Kârttikêya. The **genealogy** commences with Vishṇuvardhana I. The charter was issued by Vishṇuvardhana II. himself, as *Mahârâja*; and it records a grant of the village of **Reyûru in the Karmarâshṭra vishaya.** The grant was made in the second year of his reign, on Wednesday, the tenth *tithi* in the bright fortnight of Chaitra, under the Maghâ *nakshatra*; and the corresponding English date, as has been shewn on page 8 above, is **Wednesday, 13th March, A. D. 664.** The writer of the grant was Vinâyaka, the son of Eṛa.

E. — A grant apparently from Maṭṭewâḍa in the Kistna District; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 191. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chaḷukya,** with the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in the second syllable. The **genealogy** commences with Kîrtivarman I.; and it passes from him to Vishṇuvardhana I., without any reference to Pulikêśin II. The charter was issued by Vishṇuvardhana II. himself, as *Mahârâja*. It is addressed to the residents of the village of **Paḷḷivâḍa in the Aṛutaṅkûr âśraya which was in the Gudrahâra vishaya;** but the exact details of the grant are not known, the concluding portion of the charter, after the second plate, being not forthcoming. The grant was made in the fifth year of his reign, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of Phâlguna; and the corresponding English date, as we have seen at page 9 above, is **the 17th February, A. D. 668.**

5. — Maṅgi-Yuvarâja.

Twenty-five years; A. D. 672 to 696.

He was the son of No. 4, Vishṇuvardhana II. He is spoken of as **Maṅgi-Yuvarâja** in K. and all the subsequent grants; but there is nothing to shew why the title *Yuvarâja* is always attached to his proper name. He had the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya,** 'asylum of all mankind,' (see his own grant F.); and the seal of his grant gives him the *biruda* of **Vijayasiddhi,** which is also used in the text of the grant, in describing him as "he who achieved the success of victory in controversies (?) of metaphysics and other sciences." K. and all the subsequent grants agree in stating that he reigned for **twenty-five years.**

Of his time we have one record: —

F. — A grant from an unknown locality; edited by me at page 104 below. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chaḷukya;** and in the description of the members of the family, it substi-

[15] See *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9. — This is another exceptional instance, in which the epithet is applied to a paramount sovereign.

tutes the statement that they acquired their sovereignty through the excellent favour of the goddess Kauśikî (Durgâ),[16] for the statement of D., which attributes this to the favour of Kârttikêya. The genealogy commences with Jayasiṁha I. The record does not mention Maṅgi by his own proper name, but speaks of him, in the passage which introduces the grant, as "the *Mahârâja* who is the asylum of all mankind." The grant, which was made by Maṅgi-Yuvarâja himself, was of some fields in the village of **Nutulapaṛu in the Karmarâshṭra (vishaya).** It was made on the occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti or winter solstice, in the twentieth year of his reign. The *Dûtaka* was **Nissaramiji** . . . .

6. — Jayasiṁha II.

Thirteen years; A. D. 696 to 709.

He was the (eldest) son of No. 5, Maṅgi-Yuvarâja. He is first mentioned in K.; and in that and all the subsequent grants, his name is given as simply **Jayasiṁha,** without *vallabha* attached to it. K. to M., and O. to X., are unanimous in stating that he reigned for **thirteen years**; through a careless repetition of the length of the reign of his ancestor of the same name, N. represents him as reigning for thirty-three years.

7. — Kokkili.

Six months; A. D. 709.

He was a younger brother, by a different mother, of No. 6, Jayasiṁha II. P. to T., and V. to X., simply mention him as a younger brother; M. describes him as *dvaimâtura*, 'a half-brother,' without any statement as to seniority; K., L., O., and U., state explicitly that he was *dvaimâtur-ânuja*, 'the younger half-brother;' N. carelessly represents him as the son of Jayasiṁha II. His name is first mentioned in K.; that and all the subsequent grants agree in stating that he reigned for **six months.**

8. — Vishṇuvardhana III.

Thirty-seven years; A. D. 709 to 746.

He is described in K. and the subsequent grants as the elder brother of No. 7, Kokkili; but they do not state whether he was born of the same mother. Nor do they give his seniority in respect of Jayasiṁha II.; I follow Dr. Hultzsch, and place him between Jayasiṁha II. and Kokkili. In L. he is called **Vishṇurâja;** in all the other grants in which he is mentioned, his name is given as **Vishṇuvardhana.** He acquired the sovereignty by ejecting Kokkili. K. and all the subsequent grants state that he reigned for **thirty-seven years**

9. — Vijayâditya I.; Bhaṭṭâraka.

Eighteen years; A. D. 746 to 764.

He was the son of No. 8, Vishṇuvardhana III.; O. describes him as an *aurasa* or 'legitimate son.' G. and X. give his name as simply **Vijayâditya;** in all the other instances in which he is mentioned, he is called **Vijayâditya-Bhaṭṭâraka.** H., which does not introduce his proper name, appears to give him the *biruda* of **Vikrama-Râma;** and it may be interpreted as giving him also the second *biruda* of **Vijayasiddhi.** In G. the title of **Mahârâja** is attached to his name. K. and the subsequent grants all state that he reigned for **eighteen years.**[17]

---

[16] *kauśikî-vara-prasâda.* I notice that Dr. Hultzsch (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 35) has preferred to connect *vara* with the preceding member of the compound, and thus has translated "by the favour of (Śiva) the husband of Kauśikî." But the expression *vara-prasâda* is of such constant occurrence in unambiguous passages, that I am not disposed to agree with his rendering.

[17] Dr. Burnell (*South-Indian Palæography*, p 21) has stated that, according to one grant (the charter dated in the twenty-third year of Vîra-Chôḍadêva), he reigned for sixteen years; this, however, is based on a mislection; the passage has *vijayâdityô-shâdaśa*, for °*-shṭâdaśa*. He has also prefixed Śaktivarman to his name; but I have not been able to trace any authority for this.

10. — Vishṇuvardhana IV.

Thirty-six years; A. D. 764 to 799.

He was the son of No. 9, Vijayâditya I. In O. his name is given as **Vishṇurâja**; in all the other instances, he is called **Vishṇuvardhana.** The title of **Mahârâja** is attached to his name in G., H., and I. The grants K. to X. all state that he reigned for **thirty-six years.**[18]

11. — Vijayâditya II.; Narêndramṛigarâja.

Forty-four years; A. D. 799 to 843.

He was the son of No. 10, Vishṇuvardhana IV. He is called **Vijayâditya** in his own grants (G., line 16, and H., line 13-14), and in I. to L.; **Narêndramṛigarâja,** in G., lines 11-12, and 51, and in M., O., U., and W.; and **Vijayâditya-Narêndramṛigarâja,** in N., P. to T., and V.; through a careless omission of the latter part of his *biruda,* X. speaks of him as simply **Narêndra.** He had the epithet of **samastabhuvanâśraya,** 'asylum of the universe;' it is attached to his name in his own grants, and in J. and L. J. also gives him another *biruda,* **Châluky-Ârjuna.** The seals of his grants bear the legend **śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa,** literally 'the glorious elephant-goad of the three worlds;' and furnish the earliest instances, as yet obtained, of the use of this expression. A Piṭṭâpuram inscription of 'Saka-Saṁvat 1124 (Sir Walter Elliot's *Telugu Sâsanams,* p. 501 ff) states that his grandson had the "name" of Tribhuvanâṅkuśa. But, from the occurrence of the word also on the seals of K. and all the subsequent grants, it appears to have been a family-motto, rather than a *biruda* of this king or of any other member of the family. In J. the title of **Mahârâja** is attached to his name; but in his own grants he uses the fully developed paramount titles of **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara, and Bhaṭṭâraka**; and this is the earliest instance of the use of them in this dynasty. His own grant G. speaks of him as a *paramamâhêśvara,* or 'most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara ('Siva).' As to the length of his reign, there are different statements; K. and O. say **forty years;**[19] L., **forty-four years;** and M., N., with P. to X., **forty-eight years.** These discrepancies are rather curious. It would be easy enough to make a mistake between forty and forty-four years; thus, owing to the recurrence of the *ś*ch, a careless scribe might very readily reduce *vijayâdityaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśatam* (forty-four) to *vijayâdityaś=chatvâriṁśatam* (forty); or he might even amplify, though not so easily, the latter expression into the former. But it is difficult to see how a mere mistake in copying could well be made between *vijayâditya-narêndramṛigarâjas=s-âshṭâ-chatvâriṁśatam* (forty-eight; N., line 11-12), or *vijayâditya-narêndramṛigarâjaś=ch=âshṭâ-chatvâriṁśatam* (P., line 11-12), and such an expression as *vijayâditya-narêndramṛigarâjaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśatam.* L., however, does not use the formal expression at all; but states, in a verse, that he reigned for forty years increased by four (*sa-chatvâriṁśatas=samân chatur-uttara-saṁkhyâtân*), and, therefore, in this passage at any rate, there is no possibility of a literal mistake by a careless writer. I am strongly inclined to think that, in spite of its standing alone for the present, the statement in L. is the correct one; the explanation being that, in addition to actually reigning for forty-four years, Vijayâditya II. had previously ruled for four years as *Yuvarâja*; that in M., N., and P. to X., the four years of *Yuvarâja*-ship were erroneously added to the forty-four years of his reign; and that in K. and O. a mistake was made in the other direction, and, it being thought that the forty-four years included his four years of *Yuvarâja*-ship, four years were deducted, and his reign was thus reduced to forty years.

---

[18] Dr. Burnell has shewn him as reigning for thirty years; adding, in a note, that two records (W. and X. in my series) give thirty-six years. But I do not know what authority there is for the statement of thirty years. He has also added that one record (the grant specified in the preceding note) gives twenty-six years; but there again the original has thirty-six years.

[19] Dr. Burnell has also quoted the grant mentioned in the preceding two notes, as giving forty years but the original has forty-eight years.

Moreover, forty-four years is the only period that fits in at all naturally, if we look to such details as have been considered in the arrangement of my principal List, on page 12 above. A reign of forty-eight years cannot be allowed for there, without making such reductions in other reigns, as practically to shorten some of them by a full year at least; and it seems almost an impossible length, following, in a new generation, after reigns of thirty-seven, eighteen and thirty-six years, in three successive generations. For these reasons, **forty-four years** is the duration that I have adopted in my principal List, in which the reigns are determined according to the years A. D. In the alternative List, however, on page 13, the principle of the arrangement of which makes it easy enough to admit a longer time, I have allowed for forty-eight years, on the chance that this is really the correct record.

J. speaks of him as "a fire of destruction to **the Gaṅga family**;" and as "having the valour of a lion, splitting open (*the temples of*) the lordly elephants of his enemies (*ari-nâgâdhipa*) with his unsheathed sharp sword;" this last epithet seems to have a double meaning, and to indicate also a defeat of some hostile chief of **the Nâgas.** And L. states that during twelve years, by day and by night, he fought a hundred and eight battles with the armies of **the Gaṅgas and the Raṭṭas,** and built the same number of large temples of Śiva under the name of Śaṁbhu. **The Raṭṭas** here spoken of, are the well-known **Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ,** of whom the reigning kings were, Gôvinda III. at the beginning of the time of Vijayâditya II., and Amôghavarsha I. later on. In his Râdhanpur grant of Śaka-Saṁvat 730 (*ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 63, 71) **Gôvinda III.** claims to have ordered "the lord of Veṅgî" into his presence, and to have made him assist in building or fortifying a city. It would seem, therefore, that, in the contest between the two dynasties, success was not entirely with the Eastern Chalukyas. **The Gaṅgas** may be either some of the feudatory Gaṅga *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras*, who are mentioned in some Râshṭrakûṭa inscriptions; or early members of the family of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 161 ff). The building of the temples of Śiva is referred to again in K. and M., in passages in which the god is called Narêndrîêśvara, — *i. e.* 'Îśvara' in composition with the first part of the king's *biruda*. L. further speaks of him as "**the lord of Veṅgî** (*Veṅg-îśa*);" and this seems to give really the first indication that the country of Veṅgî constituted the dominions of this dynasty.

Of his time we have two records:—

G. — A grant from an unknown locality; edited by Dr. Hultzsch, in his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 31 ff.; I have also my own reading of the original plates. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chaḷukya.** The **genealogy** commences with Vijayâditya I. The charter was issued by Vijayâditya II. himself; and it records the grant of the village of **Koṟṟapaṟṟu,** on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The name of the *vishaya* in which the village was situated, is illegible. The *Dûtaka* was the prince **Nṛipa-Rudra,** who is described as a brother of Vijayâditya II., but as a descendant of **the Haihaya race**; he appears, therefore, to have been a half-brother, born from a different wife of Vishṇuvardhana IV. who belonged to the lineage of **the Kalachuris of Tripura.** The writer was Aksharalalitâchârya, a resident of **Vijayavâḍa,** which must be the modern **Bêzwâḍa,** in the Kistna District.

H. — A grant from 'Îdara'[20] in the Kistna District; edited by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 55; I quote, however, from my own reading of the original plates. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chaḷukya.** The **genealogy** commences with Vijayâditya I., who appears to be mentioned by the *birudas* of Vikrama-Râma and Vijayasiddhi. The charter was issued by Vijayâditya II. himself. It records the grant of a field at the village of **Vamṟupiṟeyu or Vamṟupiḷeyu in the Kaṇḍaṟuvaḍi vishaya,** made on account of an eclipse of the sun. The *Dûtaka* was **Boḷama.**

[20] This name is written Îḍêru (*ante*, Vol. XIII., p. 50); Êḍêru (Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. II. p. 25); and Îdara (*id.* Vol. I. p. 51).

12. — Vishṇuvardhana V.; Kali-Vishṇuvardhana.

Eighteen months; A. D. 843 to 844.

He was the son of No. 11, Vijayâditya II. In his own grant (I.), and in J., his name occurs as simply **Vishṇuvardhana**; in K. and all the subsequent grants, he is called **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana.**[21] He had the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya**, 'asylum of all mankind' (in his own grant, and in J.). His grant seems to imply that he had the *biruda* of **Vishamasiddhi**; and it qualifies him as a *paramamâhêśvara*, or 'most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara.' The title of **Mahârâja** is attached to his name in his own grant, and in J. In L. he is called "**the lord of Vengî** (*Vengî-nâtha*)." K. and the subsequent grants all state that he reigned **for one and a half years.**

Of his time we have one record :[22] —

I. — A grant from 'Ahadanakaram' in the Madras Presidency; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 185. It gives the dynastic name as **Châḷukya**; and furnishes the first contemporaneous instance of the use of the long *â* in the first syllable of the name.[23] The **genealogy** commences with his grandfather, Vishṇuvardhana IV. The charter was issued by Vishṇuvardhana V. himself. The donative part of the record is in a difficult style of Telugu; and the meaning of it has not yet been properly made out. But it mentions a town named **Pṛithivipallavapaṭṭana**; and it seems to describe a grant made by the inhabitants of that town. In the word *kanaḍi*(or °*ḍi*)-*rajul*, with the epithet *samastabhuvanâśraya* prefixed, it possibly refers to **some king of the Karṇâṭaka country**. And it seems also to mention **Kâñchî and Râmêśvara.**[24]

13. — Vijayâditya III.; Guṇaka.

Forty-four years; A. D. 844 to 888.

He was the eldest son of No. 12, Vishṇuvardhana V. In his own grant (J.), and in K. and L., his name occurs as simply **Vijayâditya**; in N. he is called **Guṇaka-Vijayâditya**; in M., S., T., U., V., and X., **Guṇaga-Vijayâditya**; in P., Q., R., and W., **Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya**; and in O., **Guṇakenalla-Vijayâditya**; and U. explains the prefixes by saying that he was "a thorough arithmetician (*aṅkakâraḥ sâkshât*)." He had the epithet of **samastabhuvanâśraya**, 'asylum of the universe' (in his own grant, and in L.). And his title was that of **Mahârâja**; it is used in his own grant, and it is attached to his name in K. The records K. to T., and V., W., and X., agree in stating that he reigned for **forty-four years**; U. says the same in the first instance, but adds an alternative statement, that the duration of his reign was **forty-eight years.**[25]

L. tells us that, "challenged by the lord of **the Raṭṭas**, he conquered the unequalled **Gaṅgas**; cut off the head of **Maṅgi** in battle; and frightened the fire-brand **Kṛishṇa**, and completely burnt his city." The killing of Maṅgi, and the burning of the city of Kṛishṇa, are also spoken of in M.;[26] and a reference to the former event is also made in the grant of Vijayâditya III. himself. The Kṛishṇa in question must be **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa II.**; and the city must be **Mâlkhêḍ.** There seems to be another reference to him in U.; which states that

[21] In L., line 16 f., an attempt is made to explain the prefix of his name, by saying that he was "skilled in fighting (*kali*) with all weapons." But I consider that the prefix, which does not occur anywhere with the Drâviḍian *ḷ* that is used in that passage, is in reality the Drâviḍian word *kali*, 'a courageous, valiant man; a hero.'

[22] When I published this grant, I was doubtful whether the charter was issued by him, or by his grandfather. The use, however, of the epithet *sarvalôkâśraya* appears to stamp it as his.

[23] As noted above, J. gives the *biruda* of Châluky-Ârjuna to an earlier king, *viz.* Vijayâditya II.; but that record is later in date than the present one.

[24] I owe this partial explanation of the contents to Dr. Hultzsch's assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya.

[25] Dr. Burnell quoted X. (of my series) as stating forty years. But it says distinctly forty-four.

[26] Dr. Hultzsch *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 38, note 3) has already pointed out that the words *kiraṇa-pura-dahana*, which were not intelligible at the time, are a mistake for *kṛishṇa-pura-dahana*.

king Vallabha did honour to the arms of Vijayâditya III. And it is probably in connection with some earlier event of this reign, involving on this occasion a defeat of the Eastern Chalukyas, that we must understand the statement in the 'Sirûr inscription, that worship was done to **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I.** by the lord of Veṅgî (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 219). **Maṅgi** may have been a Chôḷa king; a Pittâpuram inscription, of Saka-Saṁvat 1124, calls him **Maṅgi-Râjêndra,** and states that Vijayâditya played the game of ball with his head.

Of this reign we have one record: —

J. — A grant from an unknown locality; not yet published. — It gives the family-name as **Châlukya.** The **genealogy** commences with Vijayâditya II. The charter was issued by Vijayâditya III. himself. It records the grant of the village of **Tuṇḍapaṛu or Traṇḍapaṛu in the Gudravâra vishaya,** to a person named **Vinayadiśarman,** who appears to be either the actual **slayer of Maṅgi,** or the leader of the troops on the occasion of his being slain. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The *Dûtaka* was **Pâṇḍarâṅga** (possibly for Pâṇḍurâja). The writer was Kaṭṭama, or Kaṭṭaya.

Vikramâditya I.

He was a younger brother of No. 13, Vijayâditya III. K., M., N., P., S., and U., mention him with the title of **Yuvarâja;** and T. speaks of him as "wearing round his throat a glittering necklet (*kaṇṭhikâ*)," which appears to have been the token of the dignity and rank connected with his name.[27] But he evidently did not actually ascend the throne.

Yuddhamalla I.

He was a (younger) brother of the preceding, Vikramâditya I. His name occurs, as **Yuddhamalla,** in S., in which he is specified as a paternal uncle of Bhîma I.,[28] and in U.; in X. he is not mentioned by name, but is simply referred to as a brother of Vikramâditya. He apparently did not reign.

No. 14; Châlukya-Bhîma I.

Thirty years; A. D. 888 to 918.

He was the son of the *Yuvarâja* Vikramâditya I.; and he succeeded Vijayâditya III. His name occurs as simply **Bhîma** in S. and U.; and as **Nṛipa-Bhîma** in K.; but he is usually mentioned as **Châlukya-Bhîma,** in other places in K. and U., and in M. to R., and T. to X.; L. gives the prefix with the short *a* in the first syllable, **Chalukya-Bhîma.** L. gives him the *biruda* of **Drôh-Ârjuna;** and S. seems to give him also the *biruda* of **Saucha-Kandarpa.** K. and all the following grants agree in stating that he reigned for **thirty years.**

From L. we learn that, after the time of Vijayâditya III., the land of Veṅgî was overrun by **the Raṭṭas,** and had to be reconquered by Bhîma I.; and U. specifically states that his opponent, whom he conquered, was **Kṛishṇavallabha,** *i. e.* Kṛishṇa II. K. mentions his general, named **Mahâkâla,** the son of his foster-sister Gâmakâmbâ, who was the daughter of his wet-nurse Nâgapoṭi.

15. — Vijayâditya IV.; Kollabigaṇḍa.

Six months; A. D. 918.

He was the eldest son of No. 14, Bhîma I. His name occurs as simply **Vijayâditya** in K., L., M., N., O., T. and X.; as **Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya** in Q. and V.; and as **Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya** in P., R., and W.; while S. mentions him as simply **Kollabigaṇḍa and Kollabigaṇḍabhâskara;** U. states that he was Vijayâditya, who was also named king Kollabigaṇḍa. L. also attaches the *biruda* of **Kaliyartyaṅka**[29] to his name; and an unpublished inscription

[27] See *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 70, note *; and Vol. XI. p. 161, note 27.

[28] In line 16, for *châlukya-bhîma-pitṛivyâṁ yuddhamall-âtmajas*, read *°pitṛivya-yuddhamall°*.

[29] *aṅka* seems to me to be used here in the sense of 'name, appellation, secondary title,' — "having the *biruda* of Kaliyarti" (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 18, note 44).

gives another variety of this *biruda*, in the form of apparently **Kaliyartiganda.**[30] His wife was **Mêlâmbâ**; she is mentioned in M. and N. The length of his reign is not stated in L.; but K., M., and all the subsequent grants, give it as **six months.**

K. states that he ruled over **the Veṅgî maṇḍala,** together with **the forests of Trikaliṅga** or the three Kaliṅgas. M. says that he conquered **the rulers of Kaliṅga.** L. mentions a follower of his, **Bhaṇḍanâditya,** otherwise called **Kuntâditya**; he was the son of Pritiviyarâja, who was the son of Sômâditya, who, again, was a descendant of the Kâḷakampa, **of the Paṭṭavardhinî family,** mentioned above in connection with No. 1, Vishṇuvardhana I.

(To be continued.)

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo C.S., M.R.A S., C.I.E.

No. 195. — MADRAS MUSEUM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MANGI-YUVARAJA.

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., in 1884, in his *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. II. p. 24, No. 176. It is now published in full for the first time. I edit it from the original plates, which belong to **the Government Central Museum at Madras.** I obtained them for examination in 1883, through the kindness of Dr. Bidie, who w then in charge of the Museum. I have no information as to where they were found.

The **plates,** of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are three in number. The first and second plates are entire, and measure about 6⅞″ by 2¼″. The third plate is broken, towards the ends of the lines; the extant portion measures about 5¼″ by 2¼″. The second plate is in a state of very good preservation; but the first and third are a good deal corroded by rust, and the writing on them is rather difficult to read. The edges of the plates were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces; so as to protect the writing. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung, and the holes for which are near the proper right-hand end of each plate, is about ⅜″ thick and 2½″ in diameter. It had been cut, for the purpose of making impressions, before the time when the grant came into my hands; there seems, however, to be no reason for thinking that it is not the proper ring belonging to the plates. The **seal** on it is circular, about 1⅜″ in diameter: in relief on a countersunk surface, it has, across the centre, the legend *śrî-Vijayasiddhi*[*ḥ**]; in the upper part, the moon; and in the lower part, a floral device. — The **weight** of the three plates, which are rather thin, is 7 oz, and of the ring and seal, 7½ oz.; total, 14½ oz. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and are of the regular type of the period and part of the country to which the record belongs. The **average size of the letters** is between ⅛″ and $\frac{3}{16}$″. As is usual, the interiors of them shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. The engraving is rather shallow; and the letters do not show through on the reverse sides of the plates. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except for the quotation of two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. It is written rather carelessly; especially in respect of the number of cases in which a long vowel *â*, a *visarga*, or an *anusvâra*, has been omitted. — In respect of **orthography,** the only points that call for special notice, are (1) the use of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in the name of the family, line 5, and in *yugaḷaḥ*, line 13; and (2) the use of *ru* for *ṛi* in *pitru*, lines 11 and 13, though the proper vowel is used in *mâtṛi*, line 2, and *kṛita*, lines 5 and 10.

The **inscription** is one of **the Eastern Chalukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarâja.** He is mentioned, not by his name, but as "**the Mahârâja, who is the refuge of all mankind** (*sarvalôkâśraya*)." But the genealogical details that are given, leave no doubt that it is he who is intended. The record is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant of some

[30] This grant is No. 84 in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. II. p. 13. It is so corroded and so difficult to read, that, not having the original plates to refer to, I cannot deal with it at present.

land to a Brâhmaṇ, at **the village of Nutulapaṟu in the Karmarâshṭra country.** The grant was made on the occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti or winter solstice, in the twentieth year of the reign; but no details are given that can be tested by calculation.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-jagad-abhishṭûyamâna-**Mânavyâ(vya)-sagôtrâṇ[â*]ṁ Hâri-**
2 **ti-putrâṇâṁ** Kôśiki[2]-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâṁ mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâ-
3 litânâṁ Sv[â*]mi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavâ(va)n-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-
4 samâsâdita-varâhalâñchhanânâṁ aśvamêdh-âvabhṛithasnâna-pavitri(trî)-
5 kṛita-vapushâṁ **Chaḷukyânâṁ** kula-jaladhi-samudit-êndôr=nnaya-vinaya-vikram-ô-
6 pârjita-châru-bhûri-kîrttêḥ śrî-**Jayasiṁgha**-vallabha-mahârâja-priy-ânujasy=Êndra-
7 samâna-vikramasya śr-**I(i)n[dra]-Bhaṭṭârakasya** su(sû)nôr=anêka-samara-saṁghaṭṭ-ôpalabdha-

Second Plate; First Side.

8 yuddha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prasûty-âmôda-gandh-âdhivâsita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya
9 nânâ-śâstr-âbhyâs-ôpabri(bṛi)ṁhita-vimala-viśâla-buddhê[ḥ*] tyâg-audâryya-dhairyya-
10 kâ[n*]ty-âdi-guṇ-âlaṁkṛitasyaḥ[3] śrî-**Vishṇuvarddhana**-mahârâjasyaḥ[4] priya-tanayaḥ sama-
11 tiśai(śayi)ta-pitru(tṛi)-guṇa-śakti-sampanna ânvi(nvî)kshiky-âdi-vidyâ-pragêshu[5] vijaya-
12 siddhi[ḥ*] sv-[â*]si-dhâraṇ-[â*]namita-ripunṛipati-maku[6]ṭa-taṭa-ghaṭit-ânêka-maṇi-kiraṇa-râ-
13 ga-rajiṁta[7]-charaṇa-yugaḷaḥ paramabrahmaṇyô mâtâpitru(tṛi)-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ
14 śrî-**sarvvalôkâśraya**-mahârâjaḥ[8] **Kraṁja**-v[â*]stavy[â*]ya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtr[â*]ya A(â)pa-

Second Plate; Second Side.

15 staṁba-su(sû)trâya Taitri(ttirî)ya-sabrahmasa(châ)riṇ[ê*] Kuḷiśarmmaṇa[9][ḥ*] pautrâya Dôṇaśarmmaṇa-
16 ṇa[10][ḥ*] putrâya Kuṇḍi-Dôṇaśarmmaṇê **Ka[11]rmarâshṭrê Nu[12]tulapaṟu-nâma-grâmê** do(da)kshi-
17 ṇa-diśây[âṁ*] padanta-kshêtra[ṁ*] dattam[13] **Revadistanê** br[â*]hmaṇa kshêtra[ṁ*] [|*] dakshiṇata[ḥ*] taṭ[â*]-
18 ka[ṁ*] paśchimata[ḥ*] Peṇukapaṟabuṁ-br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] uttarata[ḥ*] Nidubaṁrupa-
19 nta puvvata[14] Dôṇavâdipanta-br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] [|*] dakshiṇata Etakaṇḍa-nâma-brahmâ-[15]
20 ṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] paśchimata[ḥ*] Veleṟukaṇḍi-nâma-br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] uttarata Etakaṇḍa-n[â*]-
21 ma-br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] purvata[16] 'Sramataṭâka-br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] paśchimata[ḥ*] br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*]

---

[1] From the original plates. [2] Read *kauśikî*. [3] Read °*kṛitasya*. [4] Read °*râjasyo*.
[5] Read, probably, *praśnêshu*. [6] First the *ṭa* was engraved here; and then it was corrected into *ku*.
[7] Read *raṁjita*.
[8] This word was first engraved as *marâjaḥ*; and then the *râ* was corrected into *hâ*, and the *jaḥ* into *râ*, and another *jaḥ* was cut.
[9] First the *pau* was engraved here; and then it was corrected into *na*.
[10] The *ṇa* seems to have been repeated, because at the end of the preceding line it fell partly on the edge of the plate and is rather indistinct.
[11] First *ma* was engraved here; and then it was corrected into *ka*.
[12] Mr. Sewell read this *akshara* as *ku*; but wrongly.
[13] The construction is faulty. Either we ought to have *dattavân* here. Or, if we retain *dattam*, the nominative cases *priya-tanayaḥ* &c., in lines 10 to 14, must be altered into the instrumental.
[14] Read *pûrvvataḥ*. [15] Read *brâhma*°. [16] Read *pûrvvataḥ*.

Third Plate.

22 uttarata[ḥ*] Veḷukataṭâka-br[â*]hmaṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] purvata[17] Koṟinipa(?)[18] . . . . [brâhma]-

23 ṇa-kshêtra[ṁ*] dakshiṇata[ḥ*] cha tat-satur-avadhi[19] dv[â*]daśa-kaṇḍikak-ôdra-[30] . . . . [kshê]-

24 tra[ṁ*] **uttarâyaṇa-nimittê** udaka-purva saṁrva[21]-kara-parihaiê[22] datta[ṁ] [||*] **[Pravarddhamâna-vija]-**

25 **ya-râjya-saṁvatsarê visaḥ**[23] [||*] Atra Vy[â*]sa-gîtâ[ḥ*] slôkâ[24] [|*] Bah[ubhir=[25] vvasudhâ dattâ]

26 bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya yad[â*] bhûmi[ḥ*] tasya [tasya tadâ phalam] [||*]

27 Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ v[â*] yô harêti(ta) vasundharâṁ shashṭhi(shṭi)-va[rsha-sahasrâṇi]

28 vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ [||*] Âjñâpti[ḥ*] **Nissaramiji(?)**[26]. . . . . [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Of **Indra-Bhaṭṭâraka** (line 7), — who was a very moon, risen from the ocean which is **the family of the Chaḷukyas** (l. 5), who belong to **the Mânavya gôtra** (l. 1), *(and)* are **Hâritiputras**; *(and)* who was the dear younger brother of the *Mahârâja* **Jayasiṅgha (I.)**, the favourite (l. 6); — the son was the *Mahârâja* **Vishṇuvardhana (II.)** (l. 10).

His son, **the Mahârâja, who is the asylum of all mankind** (l. 14), — who has the success of victory in controversies (?) of metaphysics and other sciences,[27] — has given to Kuṇḍi-Dôṇaśarman (l. 16), an inhabitant of **Krañja** (l. 14), a member of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, a follower of the Âpastamba *sûtra*, a student of the Taittirîya (*śâkhâ*) (l. 15), a son's son of Kuḷiśarman, and a son of Dôṇaśarman, a *padantu*-field[28] in the southern quarter at **the village of Nutulapaṟu[29] in the Karmarâshṭra country** (l. 16); and, apparently, also a Brâhmaṇ's field in a site called **Revadistana** (l. 17).

Lines 17 to 23 contain a specification of boundaries; but the application of them is not quite plain. And line 23 seems to record that the yield of one or other of the fields was twelve *khaṇḍikas*.[30]

From lines 24 and 25 we learn that the grant was made on account of **the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti, in the twentieth year of the augmenting victorious reign.** And the record ends with the statement that the *Dûtaka* (denoted by the word *âjñâpti*) was **Nissaramiji** . . . . (?)

---

17 Read *pûrvvataḥ*. 18 Four or five letters are broken away here. 19 Read *tach-chatur-avadhiḥ* |.

20 Five or six letters are broken away here. Probably the correct full reading was *dvâdaśa-khaṇḍikak-ôdrava-brâhmaṇa-kshêtraṁ*. Compare *dvâdaśa-khaṇḍikak-ôdrava-bîja-saṁsthônaṁ kshêtraṁ*, which is the proper reading in line 21 f., *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 56.

21 Read °*pûrvvaṁ sarva*°. 22 Read *parihârêṇa*. 23 sc. *viṁsaḥ*, for *viṁśaḥ*, for *viṁśaḥ*.

24 Read *ślôkâḥ*. 25 Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the following verse.

26 If this line was a full one, six or seven letters have been broken away here.

27 This passage introduces the *biruda*, Vijayasiddhi, which is on the seal of the grant.

28 This word seems to be a corruption of *bhadanta*, 'a Buddhist priest or venerable man;' or else a mistake for *adanta*, as a corruption of *bhadanta*.

29 This termination of village-names occurs with the single *ṟ* again in Peṇukapaṟu (p. 97 above), and Ṭuṇḍapaṟu or Ṭraṇḍapaṟu (p. 103); it also occurs with the double *ṟṟ*, *e. g.* in Koṟṟapaṟṟu (p. 101); other forms are, *baṟṟu*, in Diggubaṟṟu, and *vaṟṟu*, in Elavaṟṟu.

30 For some remarks in connection with this word, see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 274, note 29. — It is probably identical with the *khaṇḍa*, which was the yield of one hundred *pâśas* of land (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 115, note 43).

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 16. — The Charitable Faqîr.

Once upon a time two men were journeying together to a distant place. One of them, who was a water-carrier by trade, though very poor, was strictly honest. No privations, not even famine, ever tempted him to sin. The other traveller, however, was quite the reverse. Though clever enough and strong enough to live by honest labour, he would not put his hand to anything but theft and plunder. He would roam about from place to place and rob unwary travellers for the sake of money.

After travelling several miles together, the two men halted near a well, and having refreshed themselves lay down to rest under a tree, hoping to resume their journey a little later in the day, when another traveller, who was passing by, stopped to drink at the well. He looked cautiously about him, but did not catch sight of the two men under the tree. So he put down a bundle that he carried on his head and stooped to draw water. The robber, who had been watching him all the while, crept stealthily up to him, put his foot upon the bundle, and catching hold of the poor fellow by the legs, was about to hurl him in, head foremost, when his companion, the honest water-carrier, suddenly coming up from behind, drew both the robber and his intended victim away from the well at immense risk to his own life. Thus the poor unoffending traveller was saved from certain death, and went his way rejoicing, after thanking his deliverer warmly, and suitably rewarding him for having saved his life.

The robber, in the meantime, had made himself scarce, and the water-carrier, therefore, resumed his journey alone. After a long time, however, he was again joined by the robber, who foamed with rage and cursed him all the way for having, as he said, obstructed him in following what he called his lawful profession, when all of a sudden he tripped against something, and stooping down to see what it was, found it to be a purse full of gold asrafis. He picked it up eagerly, and shewing it exultingly to his companion, said: —

"Here's luck indeed! I was destined to come by gold in some way or other, and I have! Dare you now deprive me of this also?"

So saying, he ran away as fast as his legs could carry him, as if afraid that his companion might claim a share of the treasure.

The poor water-carrier was extremely surprised at this, and walked on, thinking how Allah could have seen fit to bestow so much favour upon such an unworthy individual as his late companion, when suddenly he happened to tread on some brambles, and a large sharp thorn pierced the sole of one of his bare feet.

The poor man whined and groaned with pain, and was, moreover, sorely grieved at heart to think that he, who deserved so much better at the hands of Allah, should be made so very miserable, while he, to whom punishment should really be meted out, should be so miraculously favoured.

"Strange! very strange"! he cried out with indignation; "they are all false who uphold the justice and impartiality of Allah, for had he been just and impartial he would have shewn more consideration towards one who has never all his life so much as uttered a lie or harmed any living being. However severe have been my trials and privations, I have never once yielded to temptation, and still Allah, though he withholds from me all the good things of this earth, gives me my full share of misery. Surely it is of no use to be good or honest in this world."

While he was giving way to his lamentations in this manner, a tall majestic and handsome man with a fine long beard came all unperceived and stood suddenly before him, and

asked him the cause of his grief. The poor man narrated to the stranger all that had happened since he set out on his journey, and then asked him whether or not he was justified in saying that Allah did not deal fairly by all his creatures.

"I cannot agree with you there, my friend," replied the stranger, "though I fully sympathize with you in your sufferings. I am Gabriel, the Angel, deputed by Allah to visit the earth every day and take my own estimate of the good and evil that is wrought there, and am, therefore, in a position to say that Allah is always kind and just to every one, high or low."

But the unhappy water-carrier, who felt himself miserably wronged, was not to be convinced by this. So he said: —

"If you are really the Angel Gabriel, I beseech you to go and ask Allah the reason why he should have thrown that purse of gold in the way of that cruel-hearted robber, while I, who am in every respect a much better man, should have been made miserable by having a thorn thrust into my foot."

The Angel consented, but just as he was about to depart, a faqir, who had come up while the foregoing conversation was going on, stopped him, and prevailed upon him by his entreaties to hear his tale also.

"I, too, am struck with the iniquity of Allah," he cried, "for do I not say my prayers regularly five times a day and exhort others to do likewise, and again, do I not beg only in the name of Allah? And still what does Allah give me? Nothing but a bit of bread and a draught of water, and that too not every day, while others, who scoff at prayers and religion, and who never so much as pronounce the name of Allah even once a day, have a merry time of it, and eat and drink and enjoy themselves all their lives. How am I to understand that?"

"Have patience, my friend," said Gabriel; "I shall state your case to Allah and give you his answer to-morrow." So saying he quickly disappeared.

The water-carrier and the mendicant then began to travel together. The next day as the two were walking side by side, Gabriel joined them and said: —

"Here I am again, my friends; I have seen Allah and given him your messages, and now listen to what he has to say to them: —

"Firstly, you, my friend the water-carrier, thought it unjust of Allah that he should have given a purse of gold to that wicked man, and that, too, at a time when he least deserved it; but listen to what Allah has to say to it: —

"That same man who now so displeases him by his misbehaviour, does not, as you think, enjoy the favour of Allah, but on the contrary has incurred his deepest resentment as you will see. That man was born under such happy auspices that, had he feared Allah and done his will, he would have come to be crowned a king by this time. But as he, from his childhood upwards, preferred a career of guilt and infamy, Allah in his rage held aloof every good thing from him, and gave him just enough to satisfy, only to a meagre extent, the demands of his destiny, which even he cannot avert.

"Thus, yesterday, when he found that purse of gold, he was destined to come by endless wealth; but Allah judges rightly, and he knew how little that wicked man deserved, so he in his wisdom gave him only a few coins of gold, just a semblance of what would have been his had he been honest and good, and still that fellow in his ignorance blesses his fortune, and does not know what he forfeits only for the pleasure of doing ill.

"And now as for yourself," continued Gabriel; "Allah says, he has never been unkind or unjust to you, but has, on the contrary, been very considerate in his dealings with you. You were, says he, born under such an evil star that you would have been much more miserable and unhappy in life than you have already been; but as you have always tried to be good and honest, Allah has helped you to pass through all your trials and troubles

unscathed. You told me yesterday that Allah considered it fit to put a thorn in your way and thus caused you to suffer pain, and you naturally enough thought Allah to be very unkind. What will you say, however, when Allah declares that that very thorn was the means of saving your life, as you will learn presently. At the exact minute that that thorn entered your foot, it was decreed that you should be accused of some great crime which you had never committed, and that your head should be cut off. But seeing that you had been good and dutiful all your life, and had, moreover, just then exerted yourself to save a human being from death, Allah was pleased with you, and he in his mercy substituted the thorn for the headsman's sword, since, as I told you before, it is not in his power to avert a man's destiny, and the few drops of blood that flowed from your foot compensated for the life-blood which, it was ordained, should flow in abundance that very same moment from your neck. Don't you now think that, by thus saving your life, Allah amply rewarded you for all your good acts? Learn, therefore, always to bow to his will, however unintelligible his ways may appear to you at first sight."

The poor good-natured water-carrier was so struck with all that he had heard, and was so overcome with grief and shame at the idea of ever having doubted the justice and wisdom of Allah, that he fell on his knees and prayed loudly to him to forgive him, and then, kissing the feet of Gabriel, he besought him to intercede on his behalf and obtain for him the pardon of Allah.

And now came the faqîr's turn, for he too was impatient to hear why Allah had thought fit to keep him so very poor; so turning to him, Gabriel said:—

"My good man, I am really very sorry for you, as is also Allah himself, for he says you have been destined to remain most miserably poor. In fact, Allah says, he does not see how to keep your body and soul together for the rest of your life, for you have still a good many years to live, and there are only five rupees left now out of what you were destined to earn during the whole term of your existence. You will therefore have to pass the rest of your life in a much poorer and still more miserable condition, than you are in now."

"Is it indeed so?" cried the mendicant in a despairing tone, with tears in his eyes.

"Alas! it is but too true," replied the Angel; "and now detain me no further; for I must go."

But the *faqîr* caught hold of him by the hem of his garment, for an idea had entered his head just then, and said:—

"Gabriel, good Angel, do hear me for a minute more. Wilt thou go once more and ask Allah to send the messenger of death to me at once, so that I may be spared the uneasiness and misery I am destined to suffer? Do pray to him, however, to send me first the five rupees still reserved for me, so that, before I die, I may taste of some at least of the many good things that I constantly see everywhere but have never been fortunate enough to partake of. If you tell Allah all this, good Angel, I am sure he will grant me what I ask."

Gabriel agreed to carry the message to Allah, and quickly disappeared.

The mendicant and the water-carrier soon afterwards parted company and went their respective ways. The faqîr, in due course, arrived at his hut, and after saying his prayers with great devotion in the belief that he was soon to go to the other world, lay down to sleep.

The next day when he opened his eyes, what was his delight to see exactly five rupees lying by his side! He took them up eagerly and hurried with them to the *bâzâr*. There he saw ever so many nice things spread out before him. No end of sweetmeats and fruit and vegetables to eat and beautiful clothes to wear, such as he had never in his whole life dreamt even of touching! But that day he thought himself rich enough to buy anything. As fine clothes, however, possessed no interest for a man who was about to die the next morning, he invested all the five rupees in buying toothsome eatables and delicious *sharbats*, and went back to his hut rejoicing.

There he cooked his food, and after duly saying his prayers, ate and drank till he could do so no more. He then again said his prayers, thanked Allah for the good things he had given him, and laid himself down on his bed with his eyes closed and his lips uttering the name of Allah, expecting every moment the messenger of death to come and bear his soul away.

Instead, however, of that grim visitor, two poor beggars like himself came to the faqîr's door, and asked for alms.

"Come in, friends," said he; "I have no money to give you, but I have some food left in those pots yonder, of which you are welcome to partake in the name of Allah, for it is all his own."

The hungry wayfarers thereupon set to eat, and soon emptied the pots of all their contents. They then thanked the good man for his hospitality, and resumed their journey.

Evening came, and still there was no sign of the messenger of death; so the *faqîr* got up said his prayers, and again quietly settled down to rest and soon fell fast asleep.

When he opened his eyes in the morning, the first thing they lighted upon was five bright new silver coins again! He was very much surprised at this, and could not for the life of him make out how they came to be there again. He, nevertheless, pocketed the money, and ran out of his hut to go in search of Gabriel, and learn from him the meaning of this mystery. The Angel, however, was invisible that day, so the mendicant again wended his way to the *bâzâr* and purchased a good many nice things to eat and drink, thinking that Allah had seen fit to keep him on this earth for one day more.

Going home, he cooked the food as before, and after making a hearty meal of it, he called in the first beggar that happened to pass by his door at the time, and gave away to him, in the name of Allah, all that remained in his pots. Then saying his prayers as usual, he lay down in his bed, fully expecting every moment to be his last, and was soon wrapped in sleep. Strange to say, however, he not only found himself alive and well the next morning, but again saw five bright silver coins lying by his side in the same place as on the two previous days.

Things went on like this for about a week, when one day Gabriel suddenly appeared to the *faqîr*. The latter's first words to the Angel were:—

"Gabriel, you have made some strange mistake! Did you not tell me the other day that five rupees was all that was left for me to live upon for the rest of my life! How is it then that day after day I rise in the morning, and see five bright silver coins by my bedside! I spend them in buying the good things of this earth, and give away what remains to the poor, and go to bed in the belief that the angel of death will take me away from this world during the night. Nevertheless, I find myself alive and well every morning. Really, I cannot understand how Allah has been pleased to be so good and merciful to me?"

"You are a fool," replied Gabriel, "not to see how that is, but you are mortal after all, and mortals are not expected to understand the ways of Allah. You say you give away the remains of your food every night *in the name of Allah*; well then, do you suppose that Allah is so mean as not to return to you whatever you give away in his name? Do you not know that whatever one gives away to the poor he lends to Allah, and Allah not only returns what has been thus lent to him, but returns it with interest. The five rupees that Allah gives you every morning, are credited back to you every evening when you feed the poor in his name, and thus is it that you see five fresh coins by your bed-side every morning. As long, therefore, as you continue to give to the poor in his name, so long will Allah bestow upon you the wherewithal to do such acts of charity.

The faqîr was overjoyed at this, and went home fully determined to be generous and charitable all his life, so that he might for ever earn the favour and protection of Allah.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 7. — The Princess and the Louse.

In a certain country there lived a king who had an only daughter. When the princess was born the king engaged a Negress as a nurse for her, who tended her with all possible care, and the princess grew up to be strong and beautiful.

One day as the nurse was combing her hair, she caught a louse, and was about to kill it. but the princess prevented her from killing it, telling her she wanted it for some purpose. She then ordered the nurse to get her a large bottle with a wide mouth. The nurse fetched a bottle with a wide mouth, and the princess put the louse into it, and every time she took her tea or milk she always poured a spoonful or so in the bottle for the louse. Now drinking tea and milk made the louse attain an incredible size, so much so that, with the exception of the princess and her nurse, no one could detect the louse in it.

A few years rolled away, and the princess, attaining the twelfth year of her age, was considered marriageable. Her parents, the king and the queen, began to think of disposing of her in marriage. When it came to the ears of the princess that her parents were looking out for a suitable husband for her, she objected, saying she would marry only him who would be able to recognise an animal she had. For this purpose she told her father to prepare a grand dinner to which princes and kings from far and near must be invited, when she would produce the animal, and accept in marriage whosoever could tell its proper name. The king, who was passionately fond of his daughter, consented to do as she had proposed.

The king now sent messages to different countries, to kings and princes and nobles, to the effect that any one, who was able to recognise an animal the princess had, would win her in marriage, and that therefore they should come and dine with him on a certain day. Grand preparations were made for the dinner for several days, and on the appointed day, hundreds of kings and princes and nobles, and other persons of wealth and renown, came. Dinner was scarcely served when the princess asked her father to shew the animal to his guests; but the king said: —

"Not yet, my dear daughter, let them first take their dinner, for otherwise, if they cannot recognise the animal, they may all leave the house without their dinner, and all the trouble and expense we have gone to will be wasted. Let them finish eating their dinner, and when we are serving them with *pân sôpâri* (betel-leaf and nut) we will ask them to recognise the animal just as they touch it."

The princess saw that this was a reasonable proposal, and so allowed him to do as he pleased. Dinner was soon served, and the guests did ample justice to the various dishes set before them. When dinner was over *pân sôpârî* was brought out, but the king gave orders that no one should take it up before they recognised the animal in the bottle, which was produced at the same time. The size the louse had attained was too prodigious for an animal of its kind, and no one had the remotest idea of what it was. Consequently the louse remained unrecognised, and all the king's guests left one by one with sorrow at having been foiled in their attempt to win the princess.

Now it happened that a few days before this the princess's nurse, who had, by this time, amassed a large fortune, expressed a desire to leave her service and go home. The king and the princess urged her very much to stay for a few years more, or at least till such time as the princess should be married, but her anxiety to go home was so great that nothing could persuade her to change her mind. The king, therefore, paid her her dues and dismissed her, giving her besides a few presents in the way of jewels, dresses, and such like other things.

The reason that the nurse was anxious to go home before the dinner came off, was that she had a son, whom she wished to be married to the princess if possible. So she went home, and on the day of the dinner told her son to go and stand near the king's palace, and say that he could make out the animal in the bottle, which, his mother told him, was a louse. On the appointed day, therefore, at the dinner hour the nurse's son came and stood near the palace, and, when he saw the kings and others going away one by one, he, pretending ignorance of what was going on in the palace, inquired why so many people had assembled there, and why they were going away one after another. Somebody told him that the people he saw were all princes and nobles, who were invited to guess an animal the princess had, and that the successful person would get the princess in marriage. Upon this the Negro lad said: — "Oh, if that is all, I will recognise the animal; let me see it."

The king was duly informed that a Negro lad, who was waiting outside, offered to guess the animal in the bottle. The king then ordered him in, and, in the presence of all the guests, the boy, after one glance at the bottle, said: — "Oh, its only a louse." The princess' choice fell upon this Negro boy. Her parents and others tried hard to dissuade her from marrying him, but all their attempts were fruitless. She said: —

"I had imposed a condition for the selection of a husband, and as this boy has successfully fulfilled it I am willing to take him for my husband."

The parents were, therefore, obliged to yield, and they appointed a day, a few months later, for the celebration of the marriage.

In due time the appointed day came, and the nurse's son, accompanied by some of his relatives, went to Church, and was there married to the princess. They then all went to the king's palace, where they were treated to a sumptuous dinner. Now, immediately after dinner, the bridegroom sent away all his relatives, saying he would follow them soon with his wife. His relatives therefore, went in advance to his house. When the bride and bridegroom left to go to his house late in the evening, the king wished to send some of his own servants, to escort them, but his son-in-law refused to take any one with him. The king wanted to give his daughter a lot of clothes and jewellery, and asked his son-in-law how it was to be taken without servants, but he said: — "Oh, do not give anything to-day. You can send all that some other day."

Still the king pressed him to take some persons with him, and at last he agreed to take one man, who carried a box with a few clothes. After they had gone some distance the bridegroom sent away this servant also, offering to carry the box himself. The servant, of course, had no alternative but to obey, and he, therefore, went away. The princess already began to repent of her choice, and complained bitterly that she was tired of walking. So her husband told her to sit in the box, which she did, and was carried by her husband. Now when he had walked for some time he had to obey a call of nature, so, putting down the box with its precious contents he went to some distance for that purpose.

In the meanwhile a prince, who had been out hunting, and who had captured two live tiger cubs, passed that way, and seeing a box with no one near it, his curiosity was roused, and, going up to the box saw the beautiful princess, of whom he asked what she was doing there at such a time. The princess related to him her whole story. Upon this the prince asked her if she was willing to go with him, to which she answered in the affirmative. So the prince, taking her out of the box, put in it the two young tigers, and they both went to his house. Meanwhile, the Negro lad returned, and little thinking of what had transpired in his absence, took up the box, and pursued his way. He, however, felt the box heavier, but, though he wondered at it, he paid no heed to it.

He now walked on and on till he reached his house, and, without waiting, went straight into his sleeping apartment, where he deposited his burden. His parents and all his guests and neighbours were all anxious to see the bride, and asked him to fetch her out; but he refused to

do so, on the pretence that she was tired, and also that she might get frightened at the sight of his relatives who, also, were, of course, Negroes. He then told his parents to treat the guests very sumptuously and to make merry, while he himself retired to sleep. He also told them repeatedly not to pay heed to any noise or to anything that might occur in his room. Thus saying, he went into his room, and closed it tightly from within.

Supper was soon laid out, and the guests partook of it freely, after which they began to sing and dance, and made merry. Meanwhile the bridegroom, after he had entered his room, opened the box to take out his royal bride, but he saw instead two young tigers, who, from being locked up so long, grew furious, and, pouncing upon our hero, tore him to pieces. Loud cries and shrieks emanated from the room, but as the bridegroom had given strict injunctions not to pay heed to what would occur therein, the guests all kept up singing till the small hours of the morning, after which each went to his own house.

The following morning the parents of the bridegroom were surprised that their son did not rise from sleep though it was so late; so they went and knocked at the door of the room, telling him to awake, but no answer came from inside. They thought perhaps he was asleep now after the excitement of the previous day; so they let him alone for some time. Two or three hours later they went again and called him out, but still no answer. They knocked and knocked, with all their might, for nearly an hour, but to no use. They, therefore, suspected something wrong, and broke open the door, when, horrors of horrors, they saw their son torn into a thousand pieces, and no bride, but two tigers, who would have made a meal of them also, had it not been for timely aid from their neighbours and a few guests, who were not yet gone. News of this affair was immediately sent to the king. Thus were the knots of happiness suddenly changed into those of sorrow and misery!

To return to our bride, the princess. She was safely escorted by the strange prince to his own house, where every comfort was provided for her. Next day she asked the prince to take her to her father's house. On reaching home, her parents, the king and queen, who were mourning for her, were surprised to see her, and could hardly believe their eyes. She then related to them, how her husband — the husband of her choice — after sending away the servant, put her in the box and carried it himself; how, on the way, he had put the box down; and how the prince, who was now in their presence, rescued her, and protected her through the night.

When they were satisfied that their daughter was alive and safe, out of gratitude to the prince for rescuing her, they gave her to him in marriage, and, having no other children, for this daughter was their only child, the king handed over the reins of government to their son-in-law, who lived happily with his wife to a very old age, and governed the kingdom with benefit to himself and his subjects.

MISCELLANEA.

A NOTE ON AMOGHAVARSHA I.

From a verse quoted by Mr. Haridas Sastri, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 379, we learn that a king named Amôghavarsha, to whom according to one recension the authorship of the *Praśnôttara-Ratnamâlâ* is attributed, "gave up his kingdom, owing to his discriminative knowledge."

Within the last few days, I have found a short but interesting record at Aihoḷe, engraved on the outside of the south wall of a small temple, known as the temple of Râvaṇa, close to the Brâhmaṇical cave, which is doubtless to be applied in this connection, and probably proves that the king whose name is connected with the book in question, is the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I.

The inscription consists of four lines. The first three, which are mostly illegible, mention the names of two persons, either as being priests of the temple, or as having caused it to be built; one of them appears to be Sûryakartârabhaṭâra.[1]

The fourth line is quite perfect, and very legible; and it consists of the words *śrî-Amôghavar-*

[1] The syllables *karttâra* are puzzling; but I cannot read them otherwise. — In this record, *bhaṭâra* occurs twice with the single *t* (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 306, note 7).

shaṁ nava-rājyaṁ-geye, — "while the glorious **Amôghavarsha is reigning again.**"

The characters belong to the time of the first **Amôghavarsha of the Rashṭrakûṭa dynasty.** And this record indicates distinctly a definite **break in his long reign.**

Can anything be gathered, from any literary *Praśasti*, to shew plainly that he voluntarily abdicated for a time? Or is it possible that the verse in the *Praśnôttara-Ratnamâlâ* is euphemistic; and that, in reality, he was overthrown for a time by the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayâditya II., in the course of the twelve years' war that he waged with the Râshṭrakûṭas (see page 101 above)?

A certain date in the fifty-second year of Amôghavarsha I. fell in A. D. 866 and so he began to reign in or about A. D. 815 (see *ante*, Vol. XVII p. 142). We have also a later date for him, in or about A. D. 877-78 (*ante*, Vol. XIII p. 133).

17th February 1891. J. F. FLEET

READINGS FROM THE BAIJNATH PRASASTIS.

Among the rubbings, which were received by Mr. Fleet from Sir A. Cunningham and sent to me for final disposal, are several copies, or portions of copies, of **the two Prasastis in the temple of Siva-Vaidyanâtha at Kiragrâma,** which have been edited by Professor Buhler in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. pp. 97-118. Imperfect as these rubbings are, a careful study of them at the hand of the printed texts has shown me, how well, if I may be permitted to say so, Professor Buhler has performed his very difficult task. But in the case of inscriptions in which, owing to the nature of the characters or to other causes, something always is left to conjecture, opinions occasionally may differ; and even an indifferent rubbing may suggest the correct reading, where the best of impressions have failed to do so. I need, therefore, not apologise for venturing to treat here of several passages in the two Prasastis, regarding the true reading of which I differ from my learned friend, and in one of which the reading adopted by him is avowedly uncertain.

A.

In verse 1 of the first Prasasti, the published text, so far as it is necessary to quote it here, together with its translation, runs thus: —

> Yaddy=apy=ahaṁ Paśupatê kumati[dra] êva
> paryâpta - bhakti - viva[sê]na mayâ
> ta[th=â]pi I
> asyâm stutau . . . .
> . . . . . . Paramêsa nimantritô=si II

"Though, O Paśupati!, I am only running after folly, yet art thou, supreme lord, invoked by me who am subdued by great devotion, . . in this hymn . . ."

And in a note Professor Buhler adds: — "I translate *kumatidra* on the analogy of *madhudra*, 'a bee,' and explain it by *kumatiṁ drâti*. Râma no doubt means to say that he has not yet reached that stage of wisdom which a true devotee of Śiva ought to have, but lives still in the world."

Now, as regards the general meaning of the verse, I believe that it really is identical with the meaning of verse 20; in other words, that the poet, professing his ignorance, trusts to his devotion for inspiring him with the knowledge required to praise the god in due style. I also much doubt that the author, who possessed an excellent knowledge of Sanskrit, would have formed a word like *kumatidra*, simply on the analogy of *madhudra*. Apart, however, from my own opinion, the facts presented by the rubbings before me are: —

(*a*) As regards the word read *kumati[dra]*. — The sign of the vowel *i* is struck out in four rubbings, and the rubbings appear to show clearly that the *akshara ti* has been altered to *ta*: besides, the last *akshara*, it is true, does contain the components *d* and *r*, but its upper portion is so peculiarly formed as to justify our reading it *ndra*; —

(*b*) As regards the word read *viva[sê]na*: — The third *akshara*, which is extant in two rubbings, can there be only read *dhê*; and the second *akshara* contains the sign for *v*, or possibly *b*, but with the lower part formed in such a manner as to suggest the reading *vu*, or *bu*.

Accordingly, I would read and translate the verse thus: —

> Yady=apy=ahaṁ Paśupatê **kumat-indra** êva
> paryâpta-bhakti-**vibudhêna** **mayâ** tath=
> âpi I
> asyâṁ stutau . . . .
> . . . . Paramêśa nimantritô=si II

"Although, O Paśupati!, I am utterly wanting in intelligence, yet (*rendered*) wise by (*my*) intense devotion, I invite thee, O supreme lord, to (*listen to*) this hymn . . . ."

It is hardly necessary to point out that the formation of the word *kumatindra*, 'the leader of those who are of weak intellect,' is justified by *viprendra*, *munîndra*, *kavîndra*, and similar expressions. But, to bring out the full meaning of the verse, I must add one or two remarks. The poet invites Śiva and his consort to listen to his hymn; and it should be noted that, in

employing the term *nimantrita*, he distinctly intimates that his invitation admits of no refusal.[1] But how can he, an ignorant mortal, venture to invite the two great deities to partake of the feast which he is about to provide for them? He can do so, because he is a divine being himself. For he is Indra; and if it be objected that he is only a *kumatîndra*, he certainly is a god (*vibudha*), raised to the rank of the immortals by his intense devotion to Śiva.

B.

In the published version, the second Pâda of verse 6 is —

purêshu n=âsthâm=amarêshu kurvatâm.

My rubbings yield the reading —

surêshu n=âsthâm=aparêshu kurvatâm.

Śiva is able to fulfil the desires of warriors (*raṇâbhilâshiṇâm*), who, having approached the hour of death, put not their trust in other gods. Bhavânî is able to fulfil the desires of those who, having approached the hour of death, not trusting to other gods, seek her protection.

C.

Verse 14 is given thus:—

[Sôbhi]tâ[nâṁ] tribhir=nnêtrair=Mri[ḍâ]-niśaraṇaishiṇâṁ [1]

vapuśśrîmadavidhvaṁsaṁ vidhâtuṁ praja-galbhishê ‖

"Thou, Mṛiḍa, hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who, adorned with three eyes, seek eternal bliss."

"Thou, Mṛiḍânî, hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who, adorned with three eyes, seek thy protection."

The two *aksharas* at the beginning of the verse are particularly difficult to read, and I doubt whether I should have made them out in the rubbing before me. But the fourth *akshara* appears to me to be *râ* (not *nâṁ*); and the upper part of the fifth *akshara* looks as if the *akshara* were *ttri* (not *tri*). I accordingly would read the first half of the verse, —

Sôbhitârât[2] = tribhir = nnêtrair=Mriḍânîsaraṇaishiṇâṁ.

And I would translate —

"O Mṛiḍa!, who art irradiated from close at hand by (*thy*) three eyes!, thou hast been able to grant a glorious, imperishable body to those who are ever eager for battle."

"O Mṛiḍânî!, irradiated from afar by the three eyes (*of Śiva*)!, thou hast been able to destroy the pride, in their beauty of person, of those who seek shelter with thee."

D.

In verse 29 the poet relates that the merchant Manyuka erected a temple of Śiva; and the first Pâda of the verse is, in the published text, given thus: —

Bhakti-[druvâṭê] bhasalêna tê[na]

"by him" (*i.e.* Manyuka), a bee in the park of devotion," (has been erected this temple). Here *druvâṭê*, an otherwise unknown word, is professedly a conjecture and uncertain.

I confess, it has taken me a long time to find the reading —

Bhakti-truṭal-lôbha-malêna têna

"by him, from whom the filth of avarice was breaking away by reason of his devotion."

But, having found it, I can only wonder that I should not have seen at once, that this is the true reading of the original. For, in the rubbings before me, the *aksharas truṭa* and *bhamalêna* are clear at first sight, and a more careful examination of the remaining *akshara* shows that it undoubtedly contains the conjunct *ll*, with the sign of the vowel *ô* (not *ê*) above it.

E.

In verse 37 we are told that the temple was constructed, or that certain figures were carved on it, —

[Sâ]mu-dṛishṭim=anusṛitya

"in accordance with the opinion of Sâmu."

My rubbings furnish the reading, —

śâstra-dṛishṭim=anusṛitya

"in accordance with the teaching of the *Śâstras*."

F.

The rubbings do not enable me to supply, with anything like certainty, the syllables missing in verse 2 of the first Praśasti, and they are quite useless for restoring the missing portion of the first verse of the second Praśasti. But they do supply the three syllables wanted for the second

[1] For the exact meaning of *nimantraṇa*, see the *Mahâbhâshya* on P. III., 3, 161. — Yan=niyôgataḥ kartavyaṁ tan=nimantraṇam | Kiṁ punas=tat | Havyaṁ kavyaṁ vâ | Brâhmaṇêna siddhaṁ bhujyatâm-ity=uktê s dharmaḥ pratyâkhyâtuḥ | . — And for the employment of the locative case *asyâm statau* in connection with *nimantrita*, compare, *e.g.* Manu, III., 188: *nimantritô dvijaḥ pitryê*, "a Brâhmaṇa who has been invited to a (rite) in honour of the manes" (Bühler's Translation).

[2] *i.e.* both *śôbhita ârât* and *śôbhitâ ârât*. *Ârât* means both 'from a near place' and 'from a distant place'.

verse of Praśasti II. In the published text that verse is given thus : —

Sa pâtu vô [Ma]hâdêvô — — — **bhakti-chumbitaḥ** [।]

âtmânaṁ mu[hu]r=îkshantê yat-pâda-nakha-darpaṇê ॥

From the two rubbings before me I would read the first half of the verse, —

Sa pâtu vô Mahâdêvô **Brahm-âdyâ bhakti[m=â]sthitâḥ** [।]

"May that Mahâdêva protect you, in the mirror of whose foot-nails Brahman and the other (*gods*) repeatedly see themselves, when engaged in worshipping him!"

As regards the reading *bhaktim=âsthitâḥ*, I may add that the *akshara tâ* is quite clear in at least one rubbing, and that the sign for *sthi* is like the sign for the first syllable of *sthitvâ* in line 24. The consonant of the *akshara* preceding *sthi* may undoubtedly be read *m*, and I cannot recognize below it the sign for the vowel *u*. For the general idea contained in the verse, I may draw attention to the expression *Hari-Brahm-âdi-dêva-stuta*, applied to Śiva in verse 2 of Praśasti I.

G.

In the place of the word **kṛitajñau** in verse 9 of Praśasti II., my two rubbings give **kṛitârthau**, which no doubt yields a better sense, and with which we may compare *kṛitinau* in verse 23. The *akshara tâ* is clear in both rubbings, and the sign for *rth* is like the sign for the same conjunct in *bhôgârtham* in line 30.

H.

There are other passages in the two poems, where I should feel inclined to alter the text. Thus, for [*ma*]*lâdi-* in verse 8 of Praśasti I., I would suggest the reading *anâdi-*; and for [*bhuvâmpa*]*tir* in verse 35 of the same Praśasti, I would put *gavâmpatir*, 'the sun,' — an alteration which seems to me to be imperatively demanded by the particle *cha* after the word *kômalaruchis* in the same line. But, unable to prove the correctness of these readings from the imperfect materials at my disposal, I would rather conclude these remarks by drawing attention to a difficulty which presents itself to me in verse 7 of the first Praśasti.

In that verse the poet tells us that Śiva surpasses even the god Vishṇu, and that Pârvatî rides on a lion. Both Vishṇu and the lion are denoted by the word *harêḥ*, which is qualified by a compound word, read in the published text, —

Yu[ddha]-kri[ḍ]â-nikṛitt-âsura-**sa[rma]-pa[sya]** —

"who drank the stream (*of blood*) from (*the body of*) the demon slain in a playful fight," or "who drinks the streams of the blood of those slain (*by thee*) in the battle-play."

I never like to see words within brackets which are not clearly suggested by the wording or idiom of the original text. And, in the present passage, I have the further difficulty that I know of no authority for translating *sarma* by 'the stream.' For, according to Ujjvaladatta, *sárma* means *gamana*, 'the act of going (or flowing);' and that meaning appears appropriate in the only passage, in the Ṛig-Vêda, in which the word seems to have been met with hitherto. Turning to my rubbings, I find that the *akshara*, read *rma* (in *sarma-pasya*), does certainly not look like the sign for *rma*, which we have elsewhere in this inscription. Had I to edit the inscription, I should probably read the end of the compound *asura-saṅghapasya*, and should explain this word to mean both 'the leader of the host of demons' and 'the leader of the herd of elephants' (= *gaja-yûthapasya*); but I should not be surprised, if other scholars were to suggest an even more appropriate reading.

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 23.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1889. (*Vol. XLIII.*)

Dr. Max Grünbaum commences the volume with notes on **Firdûsî's Yusuf and Zulaikha.** The article, extending over about thirty pages, takes up the myth of Joseph as given by Firdûsî, and traces the various items to their sources in Talmudic and Koranic literature. The twelfth *sura* of the *Qurân*, although its account differs from that of the Bible in important particulars, says really very little, and Firdûsî has evidently drawn his inspiration from the legends of the Talmud, and those embalmed in Arabic commentators such as Zamahśarî, Baiḍâwî and Ṭabarî. The article, which is really a delightful collection of Joseph-folklore, will not bear compression. It must suffice to point out how the spirit of measure for measure runs through the whole. Jacob suffers through Leah impersonating Rachel on the wedding night, because he impersonated Esau to his father. He sells away the child of a female slave, so he is condemned to have his favourite son sold as a slave. Joseph was proud of his beauty and boasted

that if he were ever sold as a slave he would fetch a great price ; as a consequence he is sold for twenty beggarly silver pieces. He slandered his brethren to his father, and Potiphar's wife brought a false charge against him, and so on through other examples. In conclusion Dr. Grünbaum quotes from an interesting Spanish-Arabic MS. existing at Madrid, probably written in the second half of the fourteenth century. This *Poema de José* closely follows the same legend.

Dr. Paul Horn next contributes translations of **the Pahlavi Vendidâd**. The text is given in Roman characters, and is accompanied by very full critical notes and a literal translation.

Prof. Böhtlingk gives us a solid contribution **on the textual criticism of the Râmâyaṇa**. The article consists of a list of the epic grammatical peculiarities in the first four books of the Bombay Edition. This edition contains a considerably greater number of ancient forms than the Baṅgâlî recension, which has previously been dealt with similarly by Gorresio. At the same time it must not be concluded that all such forms were necessarily really ancient ones. All that is meant is that these forms disappeared in later times, and many are actually new ones made under the influence of analogy, and due to the necessities of metre. The one really certain ancient form found in these books is the augmentless Imperfect, which occurs about eleven or twelve times in the four books. The seventh book, the *Uttarakâṇḍa*, of the *Râmâyaṇa*, is admitted to be a later addition to the original epic. Dr. Böhtlingk has accordingly submitted it to the same process as the first four books, in order to see if its later date is vouched for by its language. The statistics of epic forms shew that no such conclusion is deducible. This book abounds in the same irregularities. There are, for example, about thirty instances of augmentless forms.

The legend of Joseph secures another historian in Dr. Houtsma of Leyden, who describes an old Turkish poem on the subject. This work is of special interest, as helping to fill up the gap in the history of Turkish literature, which has hitherto existed between the fifth and eighth centuries of the Hijra. It was written by one 'Alî in A. H. 630 (1233 A. D.). Dr. Houtsma, in addition to his description, gives the text and translation of the portion referring to the sale of Joseph.

Dr. Vellers gives a description of some **historical works in the Vice-regal Library at Cairo.** The works mentioned are of small interest to Indian students.

The same remark applies to an appendix by Dr. Gottheil to his **list of plants and their properties** from the *Menârath Qudhshê* of Gregorious Bar 'Ebrâyâ.

Dr. Bühler next gives us a valuable paper on **the Shâhbâzgaṛhî version of Asôka's Edicts.** We have here a fresh edition of the text, translation and notes. Dr. Bühler has had the advantage of new and very excellent paper impressions of several of the sets of edicts furnished to him by Dr. Burgess. These impressions enabled him to make minor improvements in the versions of Girnâr and Khâlsî, such as corrections in regard to the quantities of vowels, the sign for *ra* in composition, *anusvâras* and the like. In the Northern versions the gain is much greater. It is now possible to give an almost complete text of that of Shâhbâzgaṛhî, and to read the first eight edicts of Mansahrâ without any difficulty. The greatest interest attaches to Edict XIII. at Shâhbâzgaṛhî, a portion of which has hitherto been very doubtful. Dr. Bühler accordingly now gives three versions of this edict, those of Girnâr, Khâlsî, and Shâhbâzgaṛhî, in parallel columns. The article is preceded by an important dissertation as to the power of certain characters in the North-Indian Alphabet. The following are the principal results arrived at : —

(1) Every letter can have at its lower left end a short stroke going to the left upwards. Thus or *ka*, or *ya*. This stroke has no phonetic meaning, and serves only to mark the end of the line to which it is attached.

(2) The usual form for the cerebral *ṭa* is , but the position of the horizontal strokes is not fixed and we have also and .

(3 and 4) Dr. Bühler reads the sign as *ṭha*, and as *tha*.

(5) The form , or , which Senart, Hoernle and Bhagvânlâl read as *tha* or *ṭha* Dr. Bühler reads as *sta*.

(6) Senart has already recognized as a variant of *ma*. Other forms are and .

(7) A variant of *sa* is the sign .

(8) *Anusvâra* is usually represented by two short strokes meeting in an angle at the end of the vertical line. If the vertical line has any other appendage, the strokes are put in the middle. Thus *haṁ*, and *aṁ*. *Saṁ* is and *yaṁ* . *Kaṁ* is sometimes . *Maṁ* is or . Sometimes a straight horizontal line at the foot of a vertical one is used, thus, *aṭhaṁ*.

(9) *Ra* in composition is represented by, —

(*a*) a small *ra* appended, as in , *savra* (*sarva*);

(*b*) the same *ra* written cursively, as a curved line, *e.g.*, *praja*, (*priya*)*draśi*. In both these words the sign has hitherto been read as *anusvâra*; and

(*c*) more commonly, a short stroke added straightly or obliquely to the base of the vertical line. When the stroke is oblique, and the vertical line has also the left-hand upwards stroke noted in No. 1, it is difficult to decide whether *anusvâra* or *ra* is intended to be read, *e. g.*, *draśanaṁ*, which some have read *daṁśanaṁ*; *vrachaṁti*. Sometimes the *ra*-stroke is curved, *e. g.*, *athrasa*; and sometimes it is appended to the right limb of *ka* and *bha*.

(10 and 11) These refer to compound and double consonants.

(12) It is not very difficult to distinguish between *ta* and *ra*, *da*, *na* and *na*. In the Shâhbâzgaṛhî inscription *ta* is much broader and lower than *ra*, and *da* is much shorter than *na*. *Na* is also shorter than *na*, and the curvature of its head is much more pronounced.

Prof. J. Barth, of Berlin, opens Part II. of the same volume, with a study on **the i-imperfect in North Semitic.** He is followed by Dr. P. Jensen on the nominal prefixes *m* (-*a*, -*i*, -*u*), and *n* (-*a*, -*i*, -*u*) in Assyrian, and by Dr. Bacher on the scientific works of Elija Levita. None of these essays have connexion with Indian literature.

We have next a continuation of **Dr. Bühler's essays on the Asôka Rock Edicts.** In this paper he deals with the Mansahrâ version. As already said, he has had the advantage of consulting some new and very perfect rubbings from Dr. Burgess. Text and translations of the first twelve edicts are given, preceded by a study of the Northern Alphabet, as exemplified in this version. The new points in the last (in addition to the remarks about *tha*, *tha*, and *sta*, which have already been given for Shâhbâzgaṛhî) are —

(1) The letter *ja* has usually the horizontal base which we find in the coins, thus, . The form is especially common in the word *raja*

(2) *Ta* is three times written and once .

(3) *Dha* several times appears as .

(4) The dental nasal, especially in the form *nê*, closely resembles *da*, and is only distinguished from it by the greater length of the vertical stroke.

(5) *Sa* has sometimes an abnormally large head, with a small vertical stroke, and in one instance the latter disappears entirely, so that we have . The form noticed at Shâbhâzgaṛhî also occurs.

(6) *Anusvâra* is more frequently than in Shâhbâzgaṛhî expressed by a straight stroke, usually at the foot of the vertical line, by which it is divided into two equal parts. Sometimes, *e. g.* in *sagraṁ*, it is only on the left-hand side of the vertical stroke, and is then indistinguishable from *u*. If the line has another appendage, the *anusvâra* stroke is usually set above it, thus in *athraṁ*: on the other hand, we have in (*êtayê*)*vaṁ*. Altogether abnormal is *yaṁ* in *iyaṁ*.

(7) *Ra* in composition is mostly represented by a curve turned to the right; all the other forms, however, which have been mentioned under the head of Shâhbâzgaṛhî also occur. Mansahrâ is peculiar in sometimes representing the letter by a high-placed horizontal stroke, *e. g.*, in *vra*.

(8) The following consonantal groups have peculiar forms in the Mansahrâ version, — *bhya*, *mya*, *ṛta*, *vra*, *spa*.

Dr. Bühler's article is followed by **two tales from the Rasavâhini,** edited and translated by Dr. Sten Konow. Spiegel published the first four tales in his *Anecdota Pálica*. The present paper gives the fifth and sixth. The work is a collection of Buddhist legends, originally composed in Singhalese, and translated into Pâli by the monk Raṭṭhapâla, which translation was subsequently revised by one Vêdêhatthêra It contains 103 stories, of which the first forty refer to India and the remaining 63 to Ceylon. The first story given, the *Ahiguṇṭhikassa vatthuṁ*, should be especially interesting to Indian scholars. It narrates how the life of a heretic snake-charmer was saved by his involuntarily ejaculating the name of Buddha. The Hindû story of the wicked Ajamila, who called for his son Nârâyana on his death-bed, and thereby obtained salvation, will be immediately recalled to the mind of the reader.

Prof. Hübschmann follows with a short article on **kinship marriage amongst ancient Persians,** in which he criticises and partly agrees with Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, who maintains, in his *Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Irân*, that the evidence of the Greeks as to the custom is

worthless, and that it is not ordered either by the *Avesta* or by the Pahlavî books.

Dr. Vollers sends a note concerning some **unique MSS. in the library of the Imprimerie Catholique in Bairût.** Next Prof. Franz Prœtorius gives a note on the **Hamitic elements in Ethiopic, and Prof.** Nöldeke on **As-Sabti, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashid.**

The number concludes with **Reviews** of,

(1) Sachau's translation of Alîbêrûnî's *India*, by Dr. Sprenger.

(2) Kautzsch and Socin's *Genesis*, by Prof. Kamphausen.

(3) Dr. Bühler's *Life of Hêmachandra*, by Prof. Leumann.

G. A. GRIERSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

VISHNU COMPARED TO RAGS.

अनन्तगुणसंयुक्तं सहस्राक्षं पुरातनम् ।
आद्यन्तरहितं वन्दे मद्वस्त्रसदृशं हरिम् ॥

A Paṇḍit was once asked by a rich man to **praise Vishṇu**, and did it by the above verse, which means: — "I salute Vishṇu, who resembles my cloth, in having many *guṇas*, and in having a thousand eyes, in being old and in having neither beginning nor end." *Guṇa* means 'qualities' as applied to Vishṇu, and also 'loose threads hanging from a rag.' The 'eyes' in the case of the rag are the holes in it; and owing to wear and tear 'neither the beginning nor the end' of the rag could be distinguished.

The story goes that the rich man rewarded the poor Brâhmaṇ for his wit.

Compare with this, the following slôka from *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ*, Act II.: —

अयं पटः सूत्रदरिद्रतां गतो ह्ययं पटश्छिद्रशतैरलंकृतः ।
अयं पटः प्रावरितुं न शक्यते ह्ययं पटः संवृत एव शोभते ॥

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

BOOK NOTICES.

DIE INDISCHEN GENUSLEHREN, mit dem TEXT DER LINGANUSASANAS DES SAKATAYANA, HARSHAVARDHANA, VARARUCHI, etc. BY DR. R. OTTO FRANKE. Kiel, 1890. 8vo., 156 pages.

The author, to whom we owe already an edition and German translation of Hêmachandra's treatise on the gender of nouns, publishes in his new book the text of three similar, but earlier, Sanskṛit works, with copious notes, and with extracts from two native commentaries. In an able introduction (pages 1 to 63) he discusses in detail the intricate question of the **relative age of various Liṅgânuśâsanas**. One of the most interesting results of his researches is that the double or treble gender ascribed to many Sanskṛit nouns is only partially derived from the language itself, but is for the most part a pure fabrication of native grammarians and lexicographers. Finding that words with double gender gradually become more numerous in later compilations, he ingeniously uses the approximate number of such cases as a criterion for determining the relative age of some *Liṅgânuśâsanas*. The oldest of those now published goes by the name of **Vararuchi**. It is followed by two others, the authors of which bear the well-known names of **Harshavardhana and Śâkaṭâyana.** Dr. Franke adduces good reasons for identifying Harshavardhana with the great **Harsha of Kanauj**, who is the nominal author of other Sanskṛit works. The commentator on Harshavardhana's treatise is a namesake of Śabarasvâmin, the author of the *Mîmâṁsâbhâshya*. Besides the works now made accessible by Dr. Franke, the great compiler, Hêmachandra, used several other *Liṅgânuśâsanas*, two of which have been previously published, *viz.*, one wrongly ascribed to Pâṇini, and one by Vâmana.

E. H.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL CANADIAN INSTITUTE, 1888-89. Toronto, Warwick and Sons, 1889.

This report is mainly taken up with a long account of the archæological investigations undertaken during the past year, and is fresh evidence of the importance that they are assuming in the New World.

A most interesting account is given of the custom of **communal burial** among the Huron Indians, which led to the formation of those **ossuaries**, that now form so important a subject for investigation to North American archæologists.

The reason given for the formation of the ossuaries is that **the soul of the departed was still supposed to inhabit the remains of the corpse.** The actual words may be quoted as bearing an interest extending far beyond the boundaries of North America. "The bones, after being tenderly caressed with tears and lamentations, were wrapped in skins and adorned with pendent robes of fur; in the belief of the mourners

they were sentient and conscious. A soul was thought to still reside in them and to this notion, very general among the Indians, is in no small degree due that extravagant attachment to the remains of the dead which may be said to mark the race."

JOURNAL OF THE CEYLON BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1888, Vol. X. No. 36. Colombo, Government Printer, 1890.

This number contains two important articles on the Moors of Ceylon, one by the Hon. P. Râmanâthan on the *ethnology of the Moors of Ceylon*, and one on the *Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon*, by Ahamadu Bawa.

The first sets out to prove at great length and minuteness of argument that the Moors of Ceylon are really Tamiḻ Muhammadans settled in the country, and got their name from the Portuguese, who gave them the vague name of Moros, simply because they were Muhammadans, and of this Moor is an English translation. The writer of the ethnological article regards the title Mârakar or Marikar, so often found appended to Muhammadan names in Ceylon and South India, as merely the Tamiḻ form of "a man of Marocćo," that is, a Moor.

The Moors are divided into Coast Moors and Ceylon Moors, both being of Tamiḻ origin; and the claim of the latter, or more strictly of a portion of them, to be of Arab descent, is shewn to be shadowy.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that their marriage customs are of Indian origin, and for this reason peculiarly interesting and instructive to the readers of this *Journal*.

Briefly, the Moor marriage commences with overtures from the bride's family, the dowry to be given by the bride being so important a part of the subsequent ceremonies as to lead to the creation of "old maids," whose mode of life unpleasantly resembles that of high-caste Hindu widows In this connection the terms "caste" and "equal caste" so constantly occur in the writer's detailed description of these marriages, as to lead one to wish that they had been precisely defined by him.

It is well worth noting that in seeking a bridegroom sons of the proposed bride's mother's brother or father's sister have almost a right to marry her. The go-between is a notable and elderly person, which reverses Indian custom. The all-important portion of the dowry is the cash included in it, as that goes to the bridegroom in order to meet the cost of the wedding presents and purchase the bride's trousseau; while the real and personal property included in the dowry goes to the bride.

In concluding the betrothal, formerly the bride and bridegroom exchanged rings, but this custom has now died out. Presents are, however, still customary, including "king-kalf" jackets. King-kalf appears to be the familiar kincob, and it would be interesting to trace the presence of the *l* in the Sinhalese variant of the word.

The months for marriage are Zu'lkada. Zu'lhijja and Rajab, and the days of the week are Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Ill-omened anniversaries in the Muhammadan calendar must, however, be avoided. The invitations to the wedding are delivered personally by the bridegroom in procession, at least ten days before it takes place.

The wedding commences by a conventional feasting of the male guests, followed by a similar feasting of the female. In the evening the bridegroom is presented with cash presents from the friends of the family, apparently with the idea of giving him a fair start in life, and after that he is bathed. A start is then made for the bride's house, on approaching which the groom is saluted with persons bearing three plates, containing respectively saffron-water, cocoanut-milk, and betel with small copper coins. The saffron-water and cocoanut milk are waved over the bridegroom's head three times, and he spits into the plate after each waving. The betel and the coppers are thrown over his head among the poor collected. The bride and bridegroom have to acknowledge willingness to marry, and a document is drawn up to prove it, which is, however, left in the hands of the officiating priests, apparently without any safeguards as to its future custody.

The bridegroom is conducted to the bridal-chamber by the bride's father or brother, and the marriage is concluded by clasping a *táli*, which is a necklace, round the bride's neck and in "clothing her," *i. e.* robing her in a veil. This the bridegroom has to do as best he can.

This is followed by a second feasting, and at about two in the morning the bridal pair retire. Early in the morning after daylight they are bathed by the female relatives of the bride: no males being present. They have now to feed each other with three handfuls of rice placed in the mouth.

On the third day, the bridegroom goes to market for the first time, and returns with presents for the bride's female relatives. He usually lives with his bride's family till the first child is born.

RECENTLY DISCOVERED BUDDHIST CAVES AT NADSUR AND NENAVALI IN THE BHOR STATE, BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

BY THE REV. J. E. ABBOTT.

THE portion of **the Bhôr State** which lies in the Koṅkaṇ is, I believe, seldom visited by Europeans, and as a consequence **two series of Buddhist caves** have thus, till recently, remained undiscovered, in the mountains forming its eastern boundary, — the one near the village of Nâḍsûr, Lat. 18° 34′ and Long. 73° 21′; the other near the village of Nenavalî (or Kharsambḷa), Lat. 18° 30′ and Long. 73° 23′.

A study of the location of other known caves among the Western Ghauts drew my attention to the fact that they all seemed to be situated along what must have been, in ancient times, **the highways from the Dekhaṇ above to the sea-port towns of the Koṅkaṇ below.** These highways were doubtless then, as now, narrow foot-paths, descending the upper sources of the Koṅkaṇ rivers, and following these streams to their outlets into the large creeks common along the coast. If Chaul, near the modern Rêvadaṇḍâ, was the important city of ancient times it is supposed to have been, it seemed strange that the highway, along the Kuṇḍalikâ River to this sea-port, should not have, somewhere along its course, the extensive Buddhist monasteries common to many of the other highways to the north and south.

Believing in the possibility of their existence, I had often inquired of the inhabitants of the Rôha Tâlukâ, where my missionary operations largely lie, whether they knew of any such rock caves; but it was not until about a year ago that I received any hint that my conjectures were correct. In December 1889, I was informed that at **Gômâśî**, a village in the Bhôr State, there was a small rock temple dedicated to Ṛishidêva. I visited this cave on the 10th December, and found it to be a plain single cell in the gorge of a hill about half a mile to the south of the village. The cell is about 15′ × 7′, with an image of Buddha in the *bhúmisparśa-mudrá*, placed on a platform at its farther end. I here learned that there were extensive caves, a few miles further up the stream, near the village of **Nenavalî**, which I immediately visited. While examining these caves, I was informed of still others about six miles to the north. Availing myself of an early opportunity to verify this information, I descended the mountains near Khaṇḍâla, and walked southward along the foot of the Sahyâdris until I reached the village of **Nâḍsûr**, making constant enquiries as I went along. Here my search was rewarded by the discovery of a series of twenty caves. I give below a brief description of these two Buddhist *Vihâras*.

The Nâḍsûr Caves.

The village of **Nâḍsûr**, belonging to the Koṅkaṇ portion of the Bhôr State, is in Lat. 18° 34′ and Long. 73° 21′; and the caves, which I first discovered on the 8th January 1890, are to be found to the east of the village about an hour and a half's climb up the mountain. The scarp of rock, in which the caves are cut, runs north and south, and the caves face the west. They are twenty in number, including a natural cave to the north. The caves are, on the whole, in good preservation, although their front portions seem to have fallen away.

The first cave of interest, commencing at the southernmost of the series, is No. III., measuring 34′ × 20′, and containing twelve *dágobás*. Six of these are of solid stone, varying from 4′ to 6′ 6″ in diameter. Two small stone *dágobás* are placed in niches in the walls. Four *dágobás* are structural. Two of the solid stone *dágobás* have their *Tees* remaining on them, one resembling in shape the *Tee* on the *dágobá* of the Kârla *Chaitya* cave. The rail pattern appears on the base of the stone *dágobás*. One of the niches in the wall is perfectly plain, the other is ornamented with the window facade and rail pattern resembling that found at Bêḍsa and Kârla. The structural *dágobás* are more or less ruined, and appear to have been at some time opened with the expectation of finding treasure within. One of these lies a little outside of the cave.

The next cave worthy of mention is No. VII., a large hall 48′ 9″ × 39′ and 11′ high, with cells on the three inner sides. Between each cell is a niche in the wall. The upper part of the

doorways leading into the cells, and the niches between the cells, are ornamented with the façade pattern, including the semicircular bars, almost the exact reproduction of the façades to-be found at Bêḍsa and Kârla. In these façades, below the semicircular bars, and along the upper portion of the walls of nearly the entire cave, are small figures, in *bas relief,* of serpents, bulls, elephants, tigers, men and women, *dágobás,* and the rail and façade pattern. In the centre of the roof is a figure of the lotus. On the north wall is a short inscription in two lines in the ancient cave character and in the Pâli language, which I have not been able to satisfactorily decipher, but which seems to give the name of the donor or excavator. The sculptures are in good preservation and are well executed. Separated from this hall by a thin wall is the *dágobá* shrine, 23′ by 16′, with an arched roof. The base of the *dágobá* is 9′ 6″ in diameter.[1]

The only other cave worthy of mention is No. XV., a room 20′ 6″ × 14′ with two cells. The upper part of the east wall and the doorways of the cells have the rail and façade pattern, similar to that found in the other caves. A narrow outside verandah has at its north end a similarly ornamented niche, now partly broken, a perforated screen window, and a small figure, in bas relief, of a man and woman standing upon what looks like a fish.

No. XX. is a large natural cave, but with benches running east and west. The cisterns are dry, but there is a spring of delicious water, a few rods to the south of the caves, which flows from the rainy season until about the middle of January.

These caves seem to fall into the same group as those at Bhâja, Bêḍsa and Kârla, and were probably excavated at about the same time, or **about 100 B. C.**

The Nenavalî Caves.[2]

This Buddhist *vihâra,* which I discovered on the 10th December 1889, is situated about a mile above the village of **Nenavalî**, in Lat. 18° 30′ and Long. 73° 23′. The caves are cut into a scarp of rock running north and south, and face the east. They are ten in number, excluding those that are now so ruined as to be undistinguishable, and also excluding the natural cave to the south of the series. The rock in which they are cut is friable; hence the caves are all more or less injured by age. Large portions of rock, forming the roof of some, have fallen, completely ruining many of the caves. The rock is not suited for sculpture; there are no inscriptions; and no ornamentation of even the simplest kind.

Commencing at the most southern of the series, No. I. appears at first sight to be a large cave, 56′ × 28′, but a restoration of its ruined walls would shew that it was formerly divided into many rooms.

No. III. is the only cave of this series especially worthy of mention. It is a large hall, 67′ 9″ × 52′, with seventeen cells on the three inner sides. Each cell has a stone bench, and a window opening into the hall. A verandah, 9′ wide, surrounds the hall, leaving a central court. Square holes in the roof of the cave, over the edge of the verandah, shew where wooden posts were once placed at frequent intervals around the central court. The roof is unsupported by pillars. The *dágobá* shrine is placed at the north-west corner of the hall, and consists of a rectangular room, 24′ × 18′, with a circular roof. The *dágobá* is 10½′ high and 9′ in diameter, and has lost its *Tee.*

The remaining caves have nothing of special interest. Many of them are in complete ruin. The two cisterns which I noticed are filled with debris. In many of the cells, large patches of

[1] Since the above was first written, Mr. Cousens of the Archæological Survey has visited these caves and found another inscription on the south wall of this *Chaitya* cave, which also has not yet been deciphered. —[This paper was originally received in February, 1890. It was held over, with the object of publishing plans of the caves with it. The necessary drawings, however, did not come to hand. And Mr. Cousens has since made more detailed measurements, for the publication of complete plans &c elsewhere. — EDITORS.]

[2] Mr. Cousens, in his Government Report, has named them the Kharsambḷa Caves, from a nearer village of that name.

the original plaster, in which rice husks form a large portion, still adhere to the walls, with traces of paint.

The architectural features of these caves, from which their date must be determined, and their close proximity to the Nâḍsûr caves, lead me to the belief that they belong to the same date as the Nâḍsûr caves which with Bêḍsa and Bhâja, belong to a period **a little prior to the Christian era.**

LUCKNOW MUSEUM COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE MAHASAMANTA BALAVARMADEVA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

I edit this grant, which does not appear to have been publicly noticed before, from an excellent ink-impression, made and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. The original plate is in **the Lucknow Museum,** but no information is available as to where it was found, or by whom it was presented.

The **plate** is inscribed on one side only. It measures about $13\frac{3}{8}''$ broad by $8\frac{1}{2}''$ high, not including a projection, about $1\frac{3}{4}''$ broad by $2\frac{3}{4}''$ high and with a square hole in it, on the proper right side of the plate. In a few places the **writing** has suffered slightly from corrosion; but, on the whole, the preservation of the plate is good, so that, with the exception of two *aksharas* of not much importance, in line 9, the actual reading of the text is not at all doubtful. — The **size of the letters** is between $\frac{5}{16}''$ and $\frac{3}{8}''$. — The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. Of essentially the same type as those of the Kaṇaswa inscription of 'Sivagaṇa, published *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 57, they show a further development of the northern alphabet in the direction of the ordinary Nâgarî, and may thus be assigned to about the 9th or 10th century A.D. They include a form of the **numerical symbol** for 20, in line 12, and, in the same line, the ordinary **decimal figure** for 2. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, excepting the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 13-15, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography,** I have only to note that, except, as it would seem, in the words *parama-brahmaṇyas* and *Bala-varmmadêvaḥ*, in line 3, and in *brâhmaṇ-* , in line 4, *b* has been written by the sign for *v*, and that the rules of *saṁdhi* have been occasionally neglected, as will be shown in the notes on the text, below.

The **inscription** is one of **the Mahâsâmanta Balavarmadêva,** who had assumed the *pañcha-mahâśabda*, and who meditated on the feet of **the Mahâsâmanta Pâṇḍuvarmadêva,** the latter being represented as having attained the *pañcha-mahâśabda* through the favour of the god Vaîrêśvarasvâmin, *i.e.* 'Siva (lines 1-3). From (his residence at) **Bṛihadgṛiha** (line 1), **Balavarmadêva** (in lines 4-9) makes known to present and future royal families (*râjakula*) and to the people concerned, that, at the request of the village of merchants (which from the context I understand to be the village granted) headed by the *śrêshṭhin* Dammuka, he, for their and their parents' spiritual benefit, granted the village of **Bhujaṅgikâ on the (river) Vêganandâ** to certain religious students, enumerated by name, who followed the Vâjasanêyi-Mâdhyandina and Kauthuma-Chchhândôga *śâkhâs* and belonged to the Gautama, Aupamanyava, 'Sâṇḍilya, and Vâsishṭha *gôtras*. And (in lines 10-11) he exhorts both the rulers and the inhabitants of the village to make over to the donees all customary dues and taxes. Line 12 contains **the date** — the year 20, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra,' the year of which appears to be a regnal year; and gives the name of the *dûtaka*, Kêlhaṭa, and of the writer, the *Sâṁdhivigrahika* Âdityadatta; and lines 13-15 contain three of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

I have not met the names of the *Mahâsâmantas* **Pâṇḍuvarmadêva and Balavarmadêva** in any other record; and, not knowing where the plate may have been found, I have not attempted to identify the **places** and the **river,** mentioned in this inscription. But I may

perhaps draw attention to the facts that the name **Bṛihadgṛiha** is by Hêmachandra[1] given as a synonym of **Kârûsha,** and that in a quite modern inscription,[2] put up during the rule of the English, the name Kârusha-dêśa apparently is applied to the district of Shahâbâd of the **Patnâ** Division of Bengal.

TEXT.[3]

1 Oṁ[4] svasti [॥*] **Vṛi(bṛi)hadgṛihâd**=bhagavatô dêv-âsura-śirô-mukuṭa-ratna-prabhâ-vichchhurita-pâdapadma-yugalasya tribhuvan-aikapatêr=anêka-

2 sat[t*]va-vara-pradasya [śrî]-Varêśvarasvâminaḥ pâda-mûlâd=avâpta-pañchamahâśa-vda(bda)-mahâsâmanta-śrî-**Pâṇḍuvarmmadêva**-pâdânu-

3 dhyâtaḥ parama-mâhêśvaraḥ parama-[bra]hmaṇyas=samupâttapañchamahâśavda(bda)-mahâsâmanta-śrî-**[Ba]llavarmmadêvaḥ** kuśalî ।[5]

4 **Vêganand-ôpakaṇṭhê Bhujaṅgikâ**-grâmê samupagatâni varttamâna-bhavishyad-râja-kulâny=êtad-grâma-nivâsinaś=cha brâhmaṇ-ôttarâ-

5 n=yath-ârham=mânayati vô(bô)dhayati ch=âstu vô viditam=ayam=uparilikhita-grâmô=smâbhiḥ śrêshṭhi-Dammuka-pramukha-vaṇi-

6 g-grâma-prârthanayâ [tad]îya-mâtâ-pittrôs=tasya cha puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê । êbhyaḥ[6] Gautama-sagôtra-VâjiMâdhyandina-

7 Bhôgasvâmi- ।[7] Aupamanyava-sagôtra-KauthumaChhâ(chchhâ)ndôga-Narasvâmi- ।[8] Sâṇḍilya-sagôtra-KauthumaChhâ(chchhâ)ndôga-Vilâ-

8 sasvâmi- ।[8] V[â]sishṭha-sagôtra-KauthumaChhâ(chchhâ)ndôga-[Bh]îmasvâmi- ।[9] Gautama-sagôtra-KauthumaChhâ(chchhâ)ndôga-Rudrasvâmibhyô[9] savra(bra)hma-

9 châribhyô mu[kta-s][10]aṅga-kara-vishṭir=a-châta-bhaṭa-pravê[śa]ḥ[11] a-kiñchit-pragrâhyaḥ â-chandr-ârka-kshiti-sama-kâla-sthityâ agrahâra-

10 tvêna pratipâditaḥ [।*] Matv=aivam=bhavadbhir=yathâkâl-âdhyâsibhî[12] râjakulais=samanu-mantavyam=êtad-grâma-nivâsibhir=apy=âjñâ-

11 śravaṇa-vidhêyair=bhûtvâ samuchita-dâya-bhâgabhôga-kara-hiraṇy-âdayaḥ pratyâyâs=sarvvê yath-â[ch]âram=amîshâṁ samupa-

12 nêta[vy]â iti ॥ ॥ **Samvat**[13] **20** ।[14] **Chaitra-sudi 2** । Dûtakô=tra śrî-Kêlha[ṭa]ḥ । Likhitaṁ sândhivigrahik-Âdityadattêna ॥

13 Sva[15]-dattâm=para-dattâm[16]=vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ । śva-vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha pachyatê ॥ Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ

14 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ । yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ॥ Shashṭiṁ[17]=varsha-sahasrâṇi svargê

15 môdati bhûmi-daḥ । âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt ॥

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. XIX. p. 374.)

To facilitate the use of the preceding lists, I have compiled the following **general list of Vikrama dates** which gives all the calculated dates in their natural sequence, without

---

1 Hêmachandra's *Abhidhâna-chintâmaṇi*, verse 959.

2 See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. III. p. 70, and Plate xxiv. 4, line 5: — *Aṅgarêja-râjyê varttamânê Kârusha-dê*...

3 From the ink-impression.

4 Expressed by a symbol.

5 This sign of punctuation is unnecessary.

6 Read *°v iddhaya êbhyô.*

7 Read *°svâmy-Aupa°.*

8 These signs of punctuation are unnecessary.

9 Read *°svâmibhyaḥ.*

10 The letters in these brackets are doubtful.

11 Here and at the end of the following words of this line, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

12 This expression occurs, *e.g.*, in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 216, line 14.

13 Read *saṁvat.*

14 This sign of punctuation is unnecessary.

15 Metre of this and the following verses, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

16 Read *-dattâṁ vô.*

17 Read *shashṭiṁ varsha-*.

reference to classification by results. But in this chronological list I have included also a number of other dates, — chiefly dates which do not admit of verification, — because it appeared desirable to collect in one place, especially for the more early times, all trustworthy Vikrama dates which have hitherto become known to us.[1] Dates which have not been previously calculated will here be given in full; for the rest, the principal items of each date only will be repeated, sufficient for identification, together with a reference to the page of Vol. XIX. of this Journal, where the full wording of the date may be found, together with the calculated results.

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF VIKRAMA DATES.

1. — **V. (?) 428.** — *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 253. Bijayagaḍh (in Râjputânâ) stone pillar inscription of **Vishṇuvardhana**: —

(Line 1) . . . Kṛitêshu chaturshu varsha-śatêshv=ashṭâviṁśêshu 400 20 8 Phâlguna(na)-bahulasya pañchadaśśyâm=êtasyâm=pûrvvâyâm [|*]

2. — **V. 480 (?).** — *Ib.* p. 75. Gaṅgdhâr[2] stone inscription of **Viśvavarman**: —

(Line 19) . . . Yâtêshu chatu[r]shu kri(kṛi)têshu śatêshu sausyaishvâ(?shṭhâ)śîta-sôttara-padêshv=iha vatsa[rêshu] ||(|) śuklê trayôdaśa-dinê bhuvi Kârttikasya mâsasya sarvva-jana-chitta-sukh-âvahasya ||

3. — **V. 493 and 529.** — *Ib.* p. 83. Mandasôr[3] stone inscription of **Kumâragupta and Bandhuvarman**: —

(Line 19) . . . **Mâlavânâṁ gaṇasthityâ** yât[ê] śata-chatushṭayê | trinavaty-adhikê=bdânâm=ri(ṛi)tau sêvya-ghana-stanê || Sahasya-mâsa-śuklasya praśastê=hni trayôdaśê |

(Line 21) . . . Vatsara-śatêshu paṁchasu viśaṁty[4]-adhikêshu navasu ch=âbdêshu | yâtêshv=abhiramya-Tapasya-mâsa-śukla-dvitîyâyâṁ ||

4. — **V. 589.** — *Ib.* p. 154. Mandasôr stone inscription of **Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhana**: —

(Line 21) . . . Pañchasu śatêshu śaradâṁ yâtêshv=ekânnanavati-sahitêshu | **Mâlava-gaṇasthiti**-vaśât=kâla-jñânâya likhitêshu ||

5. — **V. 746.** — *ante*, Vol. V. p. 181. Jhâlrâpâṭan stone inscription of **Durgagaṇa** :—

(Line 16). . . Saṁvatsara-śatêshu saptasu shaṭchatvâriṁśad-adhikêshu [|*]

6. — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 369, No. 190. — **Vikrama 794,** Kârttika-vadi 15, Âditya-vârê, a solar eclipse. Dhiniki copper-plate inscription of **Jâikadêva.**

7. — **V. 795.** — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p 59. Kaṇaswa stone inscription of **Śivagaṇa** : —

(Line 14) . . . Saṁvatsara-śatair=yâtaiḥ sa-paṁcha-navaty-arggalaiḥ [|*] saptabhir=**Mmâlav-êśânâṁ** . . .

8. — P. 373, No. 196.[5] — **V. 811 (?),** Mâgha-śudi 5, Bṛihaspati-vârê. Inscription at Chitôr in Râjputânâ.

9. — **V. 879 (?).** — *ante*, Vol. XIV. pp. 46 and 351. Kôṭâ Buddhist inscription of the *Sâmanta* **Dêvadatta** :—

(Line 20) . . . Samvat 800 70 9 Mâgha-śudi 20 (?).

---

[1] The list will be found to contain all Vikrama dates of the inscriptions published in this Journal, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in Mr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, and all important dates from the facsimiles in the *Reports of the Archæol. Survey of India*, and from such impressions and rubbings as are in my possession. Some early dates from inscriptions in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* have not been included in the list, because their readings appeared to me uncertain. Such are, *e. g.*, the dates in the Shêkhavatî inscription (V. 1018 and 1030) in Vol. IV. p. 382, and the dates of an inscription 'from a Baolee at Bussuntgarh' (V. 1099 and apparently the year Chitrabhânu) and of an inscription from the neighbourhood of Mount Âbû (V. 1053 and 973 (?)) in Vol. X. pp. 673 and 819.

[2] According to Mr. Fleet, a village about 52 miles south-west of Jhâlrâpâtan, the chief town of the Jhâlâwâḍ State in the Western Mâlwa division of Central India.

[3] In the Western Mâlwa division of Central India.

[4] Read *viṁśaty-*.

[5] The references by page and number, here and in a similar manner under other dates, are all to Vol. XIX. of this Journal.

10. — P. 35, No. 57. — **Vikrama 898**, Vaiśâkha-śudi 2, Ravi-vârê. **Dhôlpur stone inscription** of the Châhumâna **Chaṇḍamahâsêna.**

11. — P. 28, No. 30. — **V. 919** ('Saka 784), Aśvayuja-śudi 14, Bṛihaspati-dinê. **Dêôgaḍh** stone inscription of **Bhôjadêva** of Kanauj.

12. — **V. 932.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 157. Gwâlior stone inscription of **Srîmad-Âdivarâha (Bhôjadêva)** of Kanauj : —

(Line 7) . . . Navasu śatêshv=avdânâṁ dvâttriṁnśat-saṁyutêshu Vaiśâkhê ।

13. — **V. 933.** — *Ib.* p. 159. Gwâlior stone inscription of **Bhôjadêva** of Kanauj : —

(Line 1) . . . Samvatsara-śatêshu navasu ttrayastriṁśad-adhikêshu Mâgha-śukla-dvitîyâyâṁ saṁ 933 Mâgha-śudi 2 ady=êha śrî-Gôpagirau svâmini paramêśvara-śrî-Bhôjadêvê . . .

(Line 5) . . . asminn=êva samvatsarê Phâlguna-vahula-paksha-pratipadi . . .

(Line 11) . . . asminn=êva samvatsarê Phâlguna-vahula-paksha-navamyâṁ . . .

14. — **V. 936.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. p. 33, and Plate xi. Fragmentary stone inscription at Gyârispur : —

. . . **Mâlava-kâlâch**=chharadâṁ shaṭtriṁśat-saṁyutêshv=atîtêshu । navasu śatêshu . . .

15. — P. 173. No. 110. — **V. 960**, Bhâdrapada-vadi 4, 'Sanau. Têrahi stone inscription of the *Mahâsâmantâdhipatis* **Guṇarâja and Undabhaṭa.**

16. — **V. 960.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 173. Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription ; date of the reign of **Mahêndrapâladêva** of Kanauj : —

(Line 1) . . . [ma*]hârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-[Ma*]hêndrapâladêva-pâdânâṁ mahî-pravarddhamâna-kalyâṇavijaya[râ*]jyê saṁ[vatsa*]ra-satêshu nava-sata shashṭy-adhikêshu Srâva- . . . . samvat 960 'Srâvaṇa . . .

17. — P. 35, No. 58. — **V. 962**, Jyêshṭha-śudi 5, Guru-dinê. Date in a MS. of Siddharshi's *Upamitibhava-prapañchâ Kathâ.*

18. — **V. 964.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 173. Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription ; date of the reign of **Mahêndrapâladêva** of Kanauj, and of the *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* **Undabhaṭa** : —

(Line 4) . . . Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsvara-śrî-Bhôjadêva-pâdânudhyâta-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Mahêndrapâladêva-pâdânâṁ mahî-pravarddhamâna-kaly[â*]ṇavijayarâjyê samvatsara-satêshu nava-sata [sha*]shṭy-adhikêshu chaturanvitêshu Mârggasira-mâsa-vahula-paksha-tṛitîyâyâṁ samvat 964 Mârgga-vadi 3 ady=êha Sîyaḍôṇi- . . .

19. — **V. 965.** — *Ib.* p. 174. Date in the Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription : —

(Line 8) . . . samvatsara-satêshu nava-sata pañchashashṭy-adhikêshu **Aśvina-mâsê pratipadâyâṁ** samvat 965 Aśvina-sudi 1 . . .

20. — **V. 967.** — *Ib.* p. 174. Date in the Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription : —

(Line 11) . . . saṁvatsara-satêshu nava-sata sapta[sha*]shṭy-adhikêshu **Phâlguna-mâsa** amâvâsyâṁ samvat 967 Phâlguna-vadi 15 . . .

21. — **V. 969.** — *Ib.* p. 175. Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription ; date of the ***Mahârâjâdhirâja*** **Dhûrbhaṭa** : —

(Line 18) . . . samvatsara-nava-satêshu êkônasaptaty-adhikêshu Mâgha-mâsê pañchamyâṁ samvat 969 Mâgha-śudi 5 ady=êha śrîmat-Sîyaḍôṇyâṁ mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Dhû[rbha]ṭaḥ[6]-paribhujyamânê . . .

22. — **V. 974.** — *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 174. Asnî stone inscription of **Mahîpâladêva** of Kanauj: —

(Line 1) . . . Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâj[â*]dhirâja-pramêśvara-śr[î]-Mahi[ndra]pâlad[ê*]va-pâdânudhyât[a*]-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Mahîp[â*]ladêva-pâdâ-

[6] Read *-Dhûrbhaṭa-*.

n[âṁ*] mahi(hî)-pravarddhamâna-kalyâṇavijâ(ja)yarâjy[ê*] saṁmvatsara-satêsu(shu) navashu-(su) chatu[ḥ*]saptaty-adhikêsu(shu) Mâgha-mâsa-śûklapakshya[7]-saptamyâṁm=êvaṁ saṁmvat 974 Mâgha-vadi 7 . . .

23. — **V. 981.** — *ante,* Vol. XIII. p. 252 ; and a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Date of a stone inscription in the British Museum : —

(From the rubbing, line 9) : Samvat 981[8] Kârttika-sudi 13 niḥpanam=iti ||

24. — **V. 983.** — *ante,* Vol. XIII. p. 251 ; and a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. Date of another stone inscription in the British Museum : —

(From the rubbing, line 16) . . . Samvat 983[9] Chaittra-sudi-paṁchamyâḥ niḥpanam=iti |

25. — **V. 991.** — *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 177. Date in the Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription : —

(Line 33). . . sa[ṁvat] 991 Mâgha-śudi 10.

26. — P. 181, No. 133. — **V. 994,** Vaiśâkha-vadi 5, saṁkrântau. Date in the Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription.

27. — **V. 1005.** — *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 177. Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription ; date of the reign of **Dêvapâladêva** of Kanauj, and of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Nishkalaṅka** : —

(Line 28) . . . Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsvara-śrî-Kshitipâladêva-pâdânu-dhyâtaḥ[10]-paramabhaṭṭâra[ka*]-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêsvara-śrî-Dêvapâla-pâdânâṁ mahî-pra-varddhamâna-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê samvatsarâṇâṁ sahasr-aikaṁ pañch-ôttaraṁ Mâgha-mâsa-śuklapaksha-pañchamyâṁ samvat 1005 Mâgha-śudi 5 ady=êha śrîmat-Sîyaḍôṇî-pattanê mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Nishkalaṅkaḥ[11]-paribhujya[mâ*]nê . . .

28. — **V. 1005** (?). — In the *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. I. p. 284, Charles Wilkins has published a translation of a Sanskṛit inscription (copied by Mr. Wilmot in A. D. 1785 from a stone at Buddha-Gayâ), the date of which he has rendered thus : —

"On Friday, the fourth day of the new moon in the month of *Madhoo,* when in the seventh or mansion of *Ganisa,* and in the year of the *Era of Veekramâdeetya* 1005."[12]

29. — **V. 1008.** — *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 177. — Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription ; date of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Nishkalaṅka** : —

(Line 30)... samvat 1008 Mâgha-śudi 11 ady=êha Sîyaḍôṇi-pattanê mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Nishkalaṅkas=** . . .

30. — P. 35, No. 59. — **V. 1011,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 7, Sôma-dinê. Khajurâhô Jain temple inscription of the Chandêlla **Dhaṅga** (?).

31. — P. 174, No. 111. — **V. 1011,** Bhâdrapada-vadi 11, Śukra-dinê. Stone inscription at **Ambêr** in **Râjputânâ.**

32. — **V. 1011.** — *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 129. Khajurâhô stone inscription of the **Chandêllas Yaśôvarman and Dhaṅga** :—

(Line 28) . . . samvatsara-daśa-śatêshu êkâdaś-âdhikêshu samvat 1011 . . .

33. — P. 22, No. 3. — **V. 1016,** Mâgha-śudi 13, Sanau. Râjôrgaḍh copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Mathanadêva;** of the reign of **Vijayapâladêva,** the successor of **Kshitipâladêva.**

34. — **V. 1025.** — *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 178. Sîyaḍôṇî stone inscription ; date of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Nishkalaṅka** : —

(Line 36) . . . Samvat 1025 Mâgha-vadi 9 ady=êha Sîyaḍôṇi-pattanê mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Nishkalaṅka-paribhujyamânê . . .

---

7 Read *-mâs-âśuklapaksha-*(?). 8 The published version has 781. 9 The published version has 783.

10 Read *-pâdânudhyâta-* . 11 Read *-Nishkalaṅka-*

12 Supposing the date of the original to have been *V.* 1005, *Chaitra-śudi* 4, *Sukrê,* the corresponding date, for northern V. 1005, expired, would be Friday, 17th March, A. D. 948.

35. — **V. 1031.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 51. Copper-plate inscription of the **Paramâra Vâkpatirâja** of Dhârâ:—

(Line 13) . . . êkatrimśa-sâhasrika-samvatsarê=smin Bhâdrapada-śukla-chaturddasyâm pavitraka-parvvaṇi śrîmad-Ujjayanî-samâvâsitaiḥ . . .

(Line 32) . . . sam 1031 Bhâdrapada-śudi 14 . . .

36. — P. 23, No. 4. — **V. 1036,** Kârttika-śudi 15, a lunar eclipse. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra **Vâkpatirâja** of Dhârâ.

37. — P. 29, No. 31. — **V. 1042,** Bhâdrapada-śudi 15, Budhê. Date of **Pârśvanâga's** *Âtmânuśâsana.*

38. — P. 166, No. 83. — **V. 1043,** Mâgha-vadi 15, Ravau, a solar eclipse. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Mûlarâja.**

39. — P. 364, No. 177. — **V. 1049,** Mârga-vadi 7, Guru-dinê. Dêwal stone inscription of **Lalla** the Chhinda.

40. — P. 361, No. 168. — **Vikrama 1050,** Pausha-śudi 5, (Budhê). Date of Amitagati's *Subhâshita-ratna-saṁdôha*, of the reign of the Paramâra **Muñja** of Dhârâ.

41. — P. 23, No. 5. — **V. 1055,** Kârttika-śudi 15, Ravau, a lunar eclipse. Nanyaurâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandêlla **Dhaṅgadêva.**

42. — **V. 1058.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 150. Khajurâhô stone inscription of **Kôkkala**: —

(Line 22) . . . Saṁvat 1058 Kârttikyâṁ.

43. — **V. 1059.** — *Ib.* p. 147. Khajurâhô stone inscription of the Chandêlla **Dhaṅgadêva**: —

(Line 32) . . . Saṁvat 1059 śrî-Kharjjûravâ[ha]kê râja-śrî-[Dhaṁ]gadêva-râjyê . . .

44. — P. 361, No. 169. — **V. 1078,** Mâgha-vadi 3, Ravau, udagayana-parvaṇi. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra **Bhôjadêva** of Dhârâ.

45. — **V. 1083.** — *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 140. Sârnâth stone inscription of the Gauḍa **Mahîpâla**: —

(Line 3) . . . Samvat 1083 Pausha-dinê 11 [॥*].

46. — P. 174, No. 112. — **V. 1084,** Śrâvaṇa-vadi 4, dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrântau. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Trilôchanapâladêva.**

47. — **V. 1086.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 193. Râdhanpur copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva I.**: —

(Line 1) . . . **Vikrama-samvat** 1086 Kârttika-śudi 15 ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê . . .

(Line 5) . . . adya Kârttikî-parvvaṇi . . .

48. — **V. 1093.** — *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 432; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V. p. 731; Colebrooke's *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 278. 'Kurrah' stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Yaśaḥpâla**: —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1093 Âshâḍha-śudi 1 ady=êha śrîmat-Katê mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Yaśaḥpâlaḥ Kauśâmba-maṇḍalê . . .

49. — **V. 1093.** — *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 185 (Vol. XIV. p. 352). Date in the Udayagiri Amṛita cave inscription: —

(Line 4). — Saṁvat 1093.

50. — P. 181, No. 134. — **V. 1100,** (adhika-)Bhâdra-vadi 2, Chandrê. Byânâ stone inscription of **Vijayâdhirâja.**

51. — P. 364, No. 178. — **V. 1107,** Vaiśâkha-vadi 3, Sôma-dinê. Nanyaurâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandêlla **Dêvavarmadêva.**

52. — **V. 1136.** — From a rough copy, supplied to me by Dr. Hoernle. Arthûnâ inscription of the Paramâra **Châmuṇḍarâja** (the son of Maṇḍanadêva) :[13] —

(Line 53) . . . Saṁvat 1136 Phâlguna-sudi 7 Sukrê . . .

53. — **V. 1137.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of the Paramâra **Udayâditya** of Mâlava : —

(Line 5) . . . Saṁvat 1137 Vaisâ(śâ)kha-sudi 7.

54. — P. 36, No. 60. — **Vikrama 1139,** Jyêshṭha-śudi 3, Sômê. Date of Guruchandragaṇi's *Srîvîra-charitra.*

55. — P. 361, No. 170. — **V. 1145,** Bhâdrapada-śudi 3, Sôma-dinê. 'Dubkund' (south-west of Gwâlior) stone inscription of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Vikramasiṁha** (?).

56. — **V. 1145.** — My *Report on Sanskṛit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 22. Date of a MS. of the *Niśîthasûtra-chûrṇi* of the time of the Chaulukya **Karṇadêva** : —

Saṁvat 1145 Jyêshṭha-vadi 14 . . . . . . mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Karna(rṇa)dêva-râjyê ||

57. — **V. 1148.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 317. Sûnak copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Karṇadêva** :[14] —

(Line 1) . . . **Vikrama-samvat** 1148 Vaiśâkha-śudi 15 Sômê | ady=êha śrîmad-Aṇahilapâṭakê . . .

(Line 6) . . . Adya sômagrahaṇa-parvaṇi . . .

58. — **V. 1150,** — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 41. Gwâlior Sâsbahû temple inscription of **Mahîpâla** : —

(Line 40) . . . Êkâdaśasv=atîtêshu saṁvatsara-śatêshu cha | êkôna-pañchâsa(śa)ti cha gatêshv=advê(bdê)shu **Vikramât** || Pañchâsê(śê) ch=Âsvi(śvi)nê mâsê krishṇa-pakshê . . . . . aṁkatô=pi 1150 || Âsvi(śvi)na-va(ba)hula-paṁchamyâṁ [||*]

59. — **V. 1152.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 102, and Plate xxii. Inscription on pillar of temple at 'Dubkund': —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1152 Vaiśâsha(kha)-sudi-paṁchamyâṁ |

60. — P. 36, No. 61. — **V. 1154,** Chaitra-śudi 2, Ravau. Dêôgaḍh rock inscription of the Chandêlla **Kîrtivarmadêva.**

61. — P. 371, No. 191. — **V. 1154,** Mâgha-śudi 3, Sômê, uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântau. Copper-plate inscription of **Chandradêva and Madanapâladêva** of Kanauj.

62. — P. 363, No. 176. — **V. 1161,** Pausha-śudi 5, Ravau, uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântau. Basâhi copper-plate inscription of (the *Mahârâja-putra*) **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

63. — **V. 1161.** — *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 203. Gwâlior stone inscription (of the successor of Mahîpâla, 58, above) : —

(Line 9) . . . **Srî-Vikramârkkanṛipa-kâl-âtîta**-samvatsarâṇâṁm=êkashashṭy-adhikâyâm=**êkâdaśa-śatyâṁ** Mâgha-śukla-shashṭhyâm . . .

64. — **V. 1161.** — *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morg.*, Vol. VII. p. 306. Nâgpur stone inscription of the Paramâra **Naravarmadêva** : —

Saṁvat 1161.

65. — **V. 1164.** — In the *Transactions of the Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 226, Colonel Tod has given the "substance of an inscription from Madhucara-ghar, in Harouta," apparently of

[13] The 7th of the bright half of Phâlguna of V. 1136, expired, would correspond to Friday, 31 January, A. D. 1080.

[14] The 15th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of northern V. 1148, expired, would correspond to Monday, 5 May, A. D. 1091, when there was a lunar eclipse, 22 h. 23 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 21 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

the reign of the Paramâra **Naravarman**, which is said to mention an eclipse of the sun (!), and the date of which is rendered :[15] —

"On the full moon of Pausha, Samvat 1164."

66. — P. 371, No. 192. — **V. 1166,** Pausha-vadi 15, Ravau, a solar eclipse. Copper-plate inscription of **Madanapâla and Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

67. — P. 362, No. 171. — **V. 1173,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 3, 'Sukrê. Date of the renewal, by the Chandêlla **Jayavarmadêva**, of the Khajurâhô inscription of Dhaṅgadêva (43, above).

68. — P. 367, No. 183. — **V. 1174,** Phâlguna-vadi 3, 'Sukrê. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

69. — P. 167, No. 84. — **V. 1177,** Kârttika-vadi 15, Ravi-dinê. Copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Vîrasiṁhadêva.**

70. — **V. 1177.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXXI. p. 124. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj, regarding a transfer of land which had been previously granted by (the Kalachuri ?) **Yaśaḥkarṇadêva** : —

Saṁvat 1177 Kârttika-śukla-chaturdaśyâṁ . . .

71. — **V. [117]9.** — My *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1880-81, p. 25. Date of a MS. of the *Pañchavastuka*, of the time of the Chaulukya **Jayasiṁhadêva** :—

Saṁvat [117]9[16] Phâguṇa-vadi 12 Ravau || samasta-râjâvalî-virâjita-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmat-Tribhuvanagaṁḍa-śrî-Jayasiṁghadêva-ka[lyâṇa]vijayarâjyê . . .

72. — P. 357, No. 160. — **V. 1181,** Bhâdrapada-śudi [4?], Gurau. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

73. — P. 365, No. 179. — **V. 1182,** Mâgha-vadi 6, 'Sukrê. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

74. — P. 362, No. 172. — **V. 1185,** Chaitra-śudi 15, 'Sukrê, manvâdau. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

75. — **V. 1186.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 34, and Plate x., A. Kâlañjar stone pillar inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva** : —

(Line 3). . . Saṁ 1186 mahârâjâ śrî-Madanavarmmadêva ||

76. — P. 372, No. 193. — **V. 1187,** Mârga-śudi 15, Sôma-dinê, saṁkrântau. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj.

77. — **V. 1187.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 34, and Plate x., B. Kâlañjar stone pillar inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva** : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1187 Jyêshṭha-sudi 9 śrîmad-Madanavarmmadêva ||

78. — P. 23, No. 6. — **V. 1188,** Kârttika-śudi 8, Sanau. Kâlañjar rock inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva.**

79. — **V. 1188.** — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 252. Rên copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj :[17] —

Saṁvad=ashṭâśîty-adhikê êkâdasa(śa)-śatê Kârtika-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ tithau 'Sukra-dinê=ṅkatô=pi saṁ 1188 Kârtika-sudi 15 Sukrê ||

80. — P. 368, No. 187. — **1190,** Mâgha-śudi 15, Sômê. Bândâ copper-plate inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva.**

[15] Pausha-śudi 15 of V. 1164, expired, would correspond to the 31st December, A. D 1107, when there was *a lunar eclipse*, 16 h. 21 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 15 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise. And there was *a solar eclipse*, visible in India, on the 16th December, A. D. 1107, 6 h. 18 m. Greenwich time, or, at Ujjain, 5 h. 21 m. after mean sunrise, corresponding to the pûrṇimânta Pausha-vadi 15 of V. 1164 expired.

[16] A continuation of the same MS , *ib.* No. 42, is clearly dated in Saṁvat 1179.

[17] The date corresponds, for V. 1188 expired, to Friday, 6 November, A. D. 1131, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h 56 m. after mean sunrise.

81. — **V. 1190.** — *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 55. Ingnôḍa stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Vijayapâladêva** :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvatsara-śatêshv=êkâdaśasu navaty-adhikêshu Âshâḍha-śuklapaksh-aikâdaśyâṁ saṁvat 1190 Âśâ(shâ)ḍha-śudi 11 ady=êha Iṁgaṇapaṭê . . . . . =mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Vijayapâladêvêna . . .

(Line 6) . . . Âśâ(shâ)ḍha-śuklapaksh-ê(ai)kâdaśyâṁ parvvaṇi . . .

82. — **V. 1191.** — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 353. Date of the Paramâra **Yaśôvarmadêva,** in the copper-plate inscription of the *Mahâkumâra* Lakshmîvarmadêva (89, below) :—

(Line 6) . . . śrîmad-Dhârâyâṁ mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Yaśôvarmmadêvêna **śrî-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta**-samvatsar-aikanavaty-adhika-śat-aikâdaśêshu Kârttika-śudi ashṭamyâṁ saṁjâta-mahârâja-śrî-Naravarmmadêva-sâmvatsarikê . . .

83. — P. 178, No. 125. — **V. 1192,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 9, **Ravau.** Rock inscription at Kâlañjar.

84. — **V. 1192.** — *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 349. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra **Yaśôvarmadêva** :—

(Line 12) . . . Samvat 1192 Mâ[rgga]-vadi 3 [॥*]

85. — P. 174, No. 113. — **V. 1194,** Chaitra-vadi 5, **Gurau.** Inscription in cell near Nîlakaṇṭha temple at Kâlañjar.

86. — **V. 1196.** — *ante*, Vol. X. p. 159. Dôhad stone inscription of the Chaulukya **Jayasiṁhadêva**(?) : —

(Line 8) . . . **Śrî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat** 1196.

87. — P. 23, No. 7. — **V. 1199,** Phâlguna-śudi 11, Śanau. 'Gagahâ' copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** and (the *Mahârâja-putra*) **Râjyapâladêva** of Kanauj.

88. — **V. 1199.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. pp. 58-60, and Plate xxi. Inscriptions on temple pillars at Gaḍhwâ, dated : — Saṁvat 1199 ; saṁ 1199 ; and 1199.

89. — P. 40, No. 80. — **V. 1200,** Srâvaṇa-śudi 15, a lunar eclipse. Ujjain copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra *Mahâkumâra* **Lakshmîvarmadêva.**

90. — P. 172, No. 108. — **Vikrama 1202** (Siṁha 32), Âśvina-vadi 13, Sômê. Mângrol stone inscription of the Chaulukya **Kumârapâladêva.**

91. — P. 354, No. 151. — **V. 1207,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 11, Ravau. Inscription on pedestal of boar at Chândpur.

92. — **V. 1207.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XX. p. 46, and Plate x. ; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 293. Mahâban stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* [A?]**jayapâladêva** : —

(Line 29) . . . Saṁvat 1207 Kâ . . paurṇṇamâsyâṁ mahârâjâdhirâja- . . . jayapâladêva-vijayarâjyê . . .

93. — **V. 1207.** — In *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. I. p. 96, Sir A. Cunningham mentions an inscription at 'Hathiya-dah' of the time of '**Gôsalladêvi,**' the queen of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj, which, he says, is dated :[18]—

"on Thursday, the 5th of the waning moon of Âshâḍha, in Samvat 1207."

94. — P. 167, No. 85. — **V. 1208,** Mârga-vadi 15, Sanau. Ajaygaḍh inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva.**

95. — P. 367, No. 184. — **V. 1208,** Kârttika-śudi 15, Bhaumê. Copper-plate inscription of **Gôvindachandradêva** of Kanauj and the *Mahârâjñî* **Gôsaladêvî.**

18 The 5th of the dark half of the amânta Âshâḍha of southern V. 1207, expired, would correspond to Thursday, July, A. D. 1151.

96. — **V. 1208.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 300. Date of the Vaḍnagar Praśasti of the reign of the Chaulukya **Kumârapâladêva** :—

(Line 43) . . . Śrîpâla-nâmâ kavi-chakravarttî praśastim=êtâm=akarôt=praśastâṁ ‖ Saṁvata(t) 1208 varshê Âśvina-śudi[5?] Gurau likhitam . . .

97. — P. 166, No. 81. — **V. 1209,** Kârttika-vadi 12, Sômê. Date of a MS. of the *Piṇḍa-niryukti*.

98. — **V. 1210.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Date of the Ajmere stone-inscription containing **Vigraharâjadêva's** *Harakêli-nâṭaka* :[19] —

Saṁvat 1210 Mârgga-śudi 5 Âditya-dinê Śravaṇa-nakshatrê । Makara-sthê chaṁdrê । Harshaṇa-yôgê । Vâ(bâ)lava-karaṇê ‖ Harakêli-nâṭakaṁ samâptaṁ ‖

99. — **V. 1211.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. XXI. p. 73, and Plate xxiii., D. Mahôba image inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva** : —

(Line 2). — Śrîman-Madanavarmmadêva-râjyê saṁ 1211 Âshâḍha-sudi 3 Sa(śa)nau (?).

100. — P. 29, No. 32. — **V. 1215,** Chaitra-śudi 8, Ravau. Girnâr stone inscription.

101. — **V. 1215.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 153. Khajurâhô image inscription of the Chandêlla **Madanavarmadêva** :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1215 Mâgha-sudi 5 śrîman-Madanavarmmadêva-pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjyê ‖

102. — P. 29, No. 33. — **V. 1216,** Bhâdra-śudi 1, Ravau. Alha-ghâṭ stone inscription of the Kalachuri (Chêdi) **Narasiṁhadêva.**

103. — P. 29, No. 34. — **V. 1218,** dvi°Âshâḍha-śudi 5, Gurau. Date of a MS. of the *Kalpachûrṇi*, of the time of the Chaulukya **Kumârapâladêva.**

104. — P. 30, No. 35. — **V. 1218,** Śrâvaṇa-śudi 14, Ravau, mahâchaturdaśî-parvaṇi. Nadôl copper-plate inscription of the Châhumâna **Âlhaṇadêva.**

105. — P. 36, No. 62. — **Vikrama 1220,** Vaiśâkha-śuti 15, Gurau. Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscription of the Châhumâna **Vîsaladêva** of Śâkambharî.

106. — P. 357, No. 161. — [**V. 1220,** Pau]sha-śudi 15, Gurau, a lunar eclipse. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of the Chaulukya **Kumârapâladêva.**

107. — P. 36, No. 63 — **V. 1222,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 3, Sômê, akshaya-tṛitîyâ-parvaṇi. Stone pillar inscription from Udaypur (in Gwâlior).

108. — P. 36, No. 64. — **V. 1224,** Âshâḍha-śudi 2, Ravau. Mahôba image inscription of the Chandêlla **Paramardidêva.**

109. — **V. 1224.** — In the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. pp. 443-446, is a translation, by Captain E. Fell, of an inscription from Hânsî, apparently of the reign of (the Châhumâna) **Pṛithvîrâja,** the date of which is given thus :[20] —

" In the year of Sumbut 1224 (A. D. 1168), on Saturday, the seventh of the white fortnight of the month Mâgha."

110. — P. 179, No. 126. — **V. 1225,** Vaiśâkha-vadi 12, Gurau. Phulwariya (?) stone inscription of the Jâpilîya *Nâyaka* **Pratâpadhavala.**

111. — P. 182, No. 135. — **V. 1225,** Chaitra-vadi 5, Budhê, Jaunpur stone pillar inscription of **Vijayachandradêva** of Kanauj (?).

[19] The 5th of the bright half of Mârgaśira of V. 1210, expired, would correspond to Sunday, 22 November, A.D. 1153. On that day, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half and the *karaṇa* Bâlava ended 9 h. 17 m., and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa up to 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise; the *yôga* Harshaṇa began 9 h. 47 m. after mean sunrise.

[20] Compare also *Transactions, Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. I. p. 154. — The above date does not work out satisfactorily for, Mâgha-śudi 7 would correspond, for V. 1224 current, to Sunday, 20 January, A. D. 1167; and for V. 1224 expired, to Friday, 19 January, A. D. 1168.

112. — P. 184, No. 143. — **V. 1225,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 3, Budhê. Târâchândî rock inscription of the *Mahânâyaka* **Pratâpadhavaladêva,** containing a reference to **Vijayachandradêva** of Kanauj.

113. — **V. 1225.** — *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 8. Copper-plate inscription of **Vijayachandradêva and Jayachchandradêva** of Kanauj :—

(Line 17) . . . paṁchaviṁśaty-adhika-dvâdaśa-[śa*]ta-saṁvatsarê=ṁkê=pi saṁ 1225 Mâghî-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ . . .

114. — **V. 1226.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. Bijhôlî rock inscription of the Châhumâna **Sômêśvara** :[21] —

(Line 27) . . . Prasiddhim=agamad=dêva(!)**kâlê Vikrama-bhâsvataḥ** shaḍviṁśa-dvâdaśa-śatê Phâlgunê kṛishṇa-pakshakê ॥ 91 ॥ Tṛitîyâyâṁ tithau vârê Gurau târê cha Hastakê Vṛiddhi-nâmani yôgê cha karaṇê Taitalê tathâ ॥ 92 ॥ Saṁvat 1226 Phâlguna-vadi 3 . . .

115. — **V. 1226.** — *Ib.* p. 46. Mênâlgaḍh stone pillar inscription of the Châhumâna **Pṛithvîrâja** :—

Mâlavêśa-gata-vatsara-śataiḥ dvâdaśaiś=cha shaṭviṁśa-pûrvakaiḥ . . .

116. — P. 357, No. 162. — **V. 1227** (?), Âshâḍha-śudi 2, Sômê. Stone inscription at Ajaygaḍh.

117. — P. 171, No. 103. — **V. 1229,** Mârga-vadi 9, Sômê. Date of a MS. of Dharmôtta-'râchârya's *Nyâyavindu-ṭîkâ.*

118. — P. 362, No. 173. — **V. 1229,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 3, Sômê, akshayatṛitîyâ-yugâdi-parvaṇi. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of the Chaulukya **Ajayapâladêva.**

119. — P. 365, No. 180. — **Vikrama 1231,** Kârttika-śudi 11, Sômê, Kârttikôdyâpana-parvaṇi ; and Kârttika-śudi 13, Budhê. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Ajayapâla-dêva.**

120.—**V. 1231.**—*Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. VI. Plate xxi. Inscription in temple at Vîsalpur : —

(Line 7) . . . Saṁ 1231 Pausha-su 15.

121. — P. 30, No. 36.—**Vikrama 1232,** Chaitra-śudi 1, Bhaumê. Date of Narapati's *Narapati-jayacharyâ,* of the time of the Chaulukya **Ajayapâladêva.**

122. — P. 30, No. 37. — **V. 1232,** Bhâdra-śudi 13, Ravau. Copper-plate inscription of **Jayachchandradêva** of Kanauj.

123. — P. 358, No. 163. — **V. 1232** (Vikâri-saṁvatsarê), Âśvina-śudi 5. Gayâ image inscription of the Gauḍa **Gôvindapâladêva.**

124. — P. 37, No. 65. — **V. 1233,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 10, 'Sanau. Copper-plate inscription of **Jayachchandradêva** of Kanauj.

125. — P. 363, No. 174. — **V. 1234,** Pausha-śudi 4, Ravau, uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrântau. Copper-plate inscription of **Jayachchandradêva** of Kanauj.

126. — **V. 1235 and 1236.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. VII. p. 737. Copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra *Mahâkumâra* **Hariśchandradêva** :—

Śrî-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta-1235-pañchatriṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśaśâta-saṁvatsar-ântaḥpâti-Pausha-vadi amâvâsyâyâṁ saṁjâta-sûrya-parvaṇi[22] . . . tathâ 1236 shaṭtriṁśad-adhika-dvâdaśaśata-saṁvatsar-ântaḥpâti-Vaiśâkha-mâsi paurṇamâsyâṁ.

127. — P. 37, No. 66. — **V. 1236,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 15, 'Sukrê. Copper-plate inscription of **Jayachchandradêva** of Kanauj.

---

[21] The 3rd of the dark half of the pûrṇimânta Phâlguna of V. 1226, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 5 February, A. D. 1170.

[22] There was no solar eclipse on Pausha-vadi 15, pûrṇimânta or amânta, of V. 1235, current or expired.

128. — **V. 1239.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X. Plate xxxii. 9 and 10, and Vol. XXI. pp. 173 and 174. Madanpur inscription on the defeat of the Chandêlla **Paramardidêva** by the Châhumâna **Prithvîrâja** : —

(10, line 4) . . . Saṁ 1239.

129. — P. 37, No. 67. — **V. 1240,** Vaiśakha-śudi 14, Gurau. Kâlañjar rock inscription of the Chandêlla **Paramardidêva.**

130. — P. 179, No. 127. — **Sâhasâṅka 1240,** Âshâḍha-vadi 9, Sômê. Stone inscription from Mahôba.

131. — P. 37, No. 68. — **V. 1243,** Jyêshṭha-śudi 11, Budhê. Inscription at Ajaygaḍh.

132. — P. 37, No. 69. — **V. 1243,** Âshâḍha-śudi 7, Ravau. Copper-plate inscription of **Jayachchandradêva** of Kanauj.

133. — P. 373, No. 197. — **V. 1244,** Jyêshṭha-śudi 15, Gurau. Stone pillar inscription at Tahangaḍh.

134. — **V. 1244.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. VI. p. 156, and Plate xxi. Vîsalpur stone pillar inscription of the Châhumâna **Prithvîrâja** : —

(Line 1) . . . Samasta-râjâvalî-sa[ma]laṁkṛita-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramê-[śva]ra-śrî-Prithvîrâjadêva-râjyê tatra tasmin kâlê saṁvat 1244 . . .

135. — **V. 1247 (?).** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 49. Ratnapur stone inscription of the Kalachuri (Chêdi) **Prithvidêva** : —

(Line 24) . . . Saṁvat 1247 (?).

136. — P. 23, No. 8. — **Vikrama 1251,** Kârttika-śudi 12, Śukrê. Date of a MS. of Hêmachandra's *Yôgaśâstra*, of the time of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

137. — P. 30, No. 38. — **Vikrama 1252,** Âśvina-śudi 5, vâsarê Vâsarêśituḥ (Ravau). Baṭêśvar stone inscription of the Chandêlla **Paramardidêva.**

138. — P. 38, No. 70. — **V. 1253,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 11, Bhaumê. Bêlkhara stone pillar inscription of one of the rulers of Kanauj (?).

139. — P. 171, No. 104. — **V. 1253,** Mârga-vadi 7, Śukrê. Rêwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâṇaka* **Salakhaṇavarmadêva,** of the time of the Kalachuri (Chêdi) **Vijayadêva.**

140. — P. 38, No. 71. — **Vikrama 1256,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 15, Ravau. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra *Mahâkumâra* **Udayavarmadêva.**

141. — P. 173, No. 109. — **Vikrama 1256,** Bhâdrapada-vadi 15, Bhaumê. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

142. — P. 354, No. 152. — **V. 1258,** Kârttika-śudi 10, Sômê. Kâlañjar stone inscription of the Chandêlla **Paramardidêva.**

143. — P. 182, No. 136. — **Vikrama 1260,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 5, (Gurau). Date of Malayaprabhasûri's commentary on Mânatuṅgasûri's *Siddhajayantî-charitra.*

144. — P. 177, No. 122. — **Vikrama 1261,** Âśvina-vadi 7, Ravau Date of a MS. of Mânatuṅgasûri's *Siddhajayantî-charitra*, of the time of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

145. — P. 30, No. 39. — **Vikrama 1263,** Śrâvaṇa-śudi 2, Ravau. vyatîpâta-parvaṇi. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

146. — P. 358, No. 164. — **V. 1264,** Âshâḍha-śudi [2 ?], Sômê. Copper-plate inscription of the time of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

147. — P. 38, No. 72. — **V. 1265,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 15, Bhaumê. Mount Âbû stone inscription of the reign of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

148. — P. 24, No. 9. — **Vikrama 1266** (Siṁha 96), Mârga-śudi 14, Gurau. Copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

149. — P. 24, No. 10. — **V. 1267,** Phâlguna-śudi 10, Gurau, abhishêka-parvaṇi. Pipliâ-nagar copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra **Arjunavarmadêva.**

150. — **V. 1269.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XXI. p. 50, and Plate xii., D. Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the Chandêlla **Trailôkyavarmadêva** :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1269 Phâlguna-vadi . . . . 'Sanau râja-śrî-Trailôkyavarmmadêva-vijayarâjyê . . .

151. — **P.** 175, No. 114. — **V. 1270,** Vaiśâkha-vadi 15, Sômê, a solar eclipse. Bhôpâl copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra **Arjunavarmadêva.**

152. — P. 31, No. 40. — **V. 1272,** Bhâdrapada-śudi 15, Budhê, a lunar eclipse. Bhôpâ copper-plate inscription of the Paramâra **Arjunavarmadêva.**

153. — P. 24, No. 11. — **V. 1275** (Chitrabhânu-saṁvatsarê), Mârga-śudi 5, 'Sanau. Harsaudâ (or Chârwâ) stone inscription of **Dêvapâladêva** of Dhârâ.

154. — **V. 1276.** — *ante,* Vol. XVII. p. 63. Buddhist stone inscription from 'Srâvastî, with references to the rulers of Kanauj **Gôpâla and Madana** :—

(Line 18). — Saṁvat 1276 [॥*]

155. — P. 25, No. 12. — **V. 1280,** Pausha-śudi 3, Bhaumê, uttarâyaṇa-parvaṇi. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Jayantasiṁha.**

156. — P. 25. No. 13. — **Vikrama 1283,** Kârttika-śudi 15, Gurau. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

157. — P. 167, No. 86. — **V. 1284,** Phâlguna-vadi 15, Sômê. Date of a MS. of the *Daśavaikâlika-sûtra,* etc., of the reign of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Jaitrasiṁhadêva.**

158. — **V. 1286.** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of **Dêvapâladêva** of Dhârâ : —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1286 varshê Kârtti[ka*]-śudi . . Su(śu)krê . . . . . . śrî-**Dêvapâla**-[dêva]-kalyâṇavijayarâjyê . . .

159. — P. 369, No. 188. — **Vikrama 1287,** Âshâḍha-śudi 8, 'Sukrê. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

160. — P. 25, No. 14. — **Vikrama 1288,** Phâlguna-śudi 10, Budhê. Girnâr stone inscription of **Jayantasiṁha,** the son of Vastupâla.

161. — P. 366, No. 181. — **Vikrama 1288,** Bhâdrapada-śudi 1, Sômê. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

162. — P. 358, No. 165. — **Vikrama 1288 or 1289 (?),** Âśvina-vadi 15, Sômê. Stone inscription from Girnâr.

163. — **V. 128[9 ?].** — From Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Dêvapâladêva** of Dhârâ :[23] —

(Line 1). . . Saṁvat 128[9 ?]varshê Mârga-vadi 3 Gurau . . .

164. — P. 25, No. 15. — **V. 1292,** Kârttika-śudi 8, Ravau. Date of a MS. of a *Yôgaśâstra-vṛitti.*

165. — P. 368, No. 185. — **Vikrama 1295,** Mârga-śudi 14, Gurau. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

166. — P. 166, No. 82. — **Vikrama 1296,** Mârga-vadi 14, Ravau. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Bhîmadêva II.**

[23] The 3rd of the dark half of the amânta Mârgaśira of V. 1289, expired, would correspond to Thursday, December, A. D. 1232.

167. — P. 167, No. 87. — **V. 1296,** Phâlguna-vadi 5, Ravau. Inscription in the temple of Vaidyanâtha at Kîragrâma.

168. — **V. 1297.** — *ante,* Vol. XVII. p. 233. Rêwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâṇaka* **Kumârapâladêva,** of the time of (the Chandêlla) **Trailôkyavarmadêva** : —

(Line 35). . . saptanavaty-adhikê dvâdaśa-śata-saṁvatsarê aṁkê=pi 1297 Kârttikyâ[ṁ] . . .

169. — P. 183, No. 137. — **V. 1298,** dvitîya-Bhâdrapada-vadi 7, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana.*

170. — **V. 1298.** — *ante,* Vol. XVII. p. 236. Rêwah copper-plate inscription of the *Mahârâṇaka* **Harirâjadêva,** of the time of (the Chandêlla) **Trailôkyamalla** : —

(Line 36). . . Saṁvata(t) 1298 Mâghê mâsi . . .

171. — P. 372, No. 194. — **Vikrama 1299,** Chaitra-śudi 6, Sômê, (and a solar eclipse on the preceding Phâlguna-vadi 15). Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Chaulukya **Tribhuvanapâladêva.**

172. — P. 170, No. 97. — **V. 1303,** Mârga-vadi 12, Gurau. Date of a MS. of the *Âchârâṅgasûtra,* of the reign of the Vâghêla **Vîsaladêva.**

173. — P. 22, No. 1. — **V. 1304,** Pausha-śudi 15, Śaśi-vâsarê. Date of Udayasâgara's *Snâtripañchâśikâ.*

174. — P. 175, No. 115. — **V. 1306,** Bhâdra-vadi 6, Ravau. Date of a MS. of Râmachandra's *Nirbhayabhîma-vyâyôga,* of the reign of **Udayasiṁhadêva.**

175. — P. 28, No. 27. — **V. 1311,** Jyêshṭha-śudi 15, Budhê. Dabhoi stone inscription of the time of the Vâghêla **Vîsaladêva.**

176. — **V. 1312.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. X. p. 31; and Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Rahatgaḍh stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Jaya[siṁha]dêva** of Dhârâ :[24] —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1312 varshê Bhâdrapada-su 7 [Sô]ma . . śrîmad-Dhârâyâṁ mahârâjâdhirâja-śrîmaj-Jaya[siṁha]-vijayarâjyê . . .

177. — P. 170, No. 98. — **V. 1315,** Phâlguna-vadi 7, Śanau. Stone inscription at Śiyâl Bêt.

178. — P. 185, No. 145. — **V. 1315,** Chaitra-vadi 4, Budhê. Date of a MS. of Hêmachandra's *Śabdânuśâsana-laghuvṛitti.*

179. — P. 183, No. 138. — **Vikrama 1317,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 4, Gurau. Kaḍî copper-plate inscription of the Vâghêla **Vîsaladêva.**

180. — P. 373, No. 198. — **Vikrama 1317,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 13, Gurau. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the Chandêlla **Vîravarman.**

181. — P. 179, No. 128. — **V. 1318,** Śrâvaṇa-vadi 2, Budhê. Stone inscription from the fort of Jhânsî.

182. — P. 180, No. 129. — **Vikrama 1320** (Mahammada 662, Valabhî 945, Siṁha 151), Âshâḍha-vadi 13, Ravau. Verâval stone inscription of the Vâghêla **Arjunadêva.**

183. — P. 170, No. 99. — **V. 1322,** Kârttika-vadi 8, Chandrê. Date of a MS. of Âsaḍa's *Vivêkamañjarî.*

184. — **V. 1324.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 46. Chitôr stone inscription of the reign of **Têjaḥsiṁha** of Mêwâḍ : —

Saṁvat 1324 varshê . . .

[24] The 7th of the bright half of Bhâdrapada of southern V. 1312, expired, would correspond to Monday, 28 August, A. D. 1256.

185. — **V. 1325.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XXI. p. 51, and Plate xiv., F. Ajaygadh stone inscription of the reign of the Chandella **Vîravarman** :—

(Line 2) . . . Vîravarma-[râjyê] saṁvat 1325.

186. — **V. 1325.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. III. p. 127, and Plate xxxviii., 23. Gayâ stone inscription of **Vanarâjadêva** (?) of the time of **Giyâs-ud-dîn Balban** (?) :[35] —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1325 Phâlguna-śudi 1 Ravau ॥

187. — P. 183, No. 139. — **V. 1327,** Bhâdrapada-vadi 2, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the *Sugaḍâṁga-vṛitti.*

188. — P. 185, No. 146. — **V. 1332,** Vaiśâkha-vadi 3, Śanau. Date of a MS. of the *Uttarâdhyayana-sûtra.*

189. — **V. 1335.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 48. Chitôrgaḍh stone inscription of the reign of **Samarasiṁha** of Mêwâḍ :[36] —

Saṁvat 1335 varshê Vaiśâkha-śudi 5 Gurau.

190. — **V. 1335.** — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Dr. Burgess. British Museum stone inscription of the Vâghêla **Sârangadêva** :[37] —

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvat 1335 varshê Vaiśâsha(kha)-śudi 5 Sômê ṣdy=êha śrîmad-Aṇahillavâṭak-âdhishṭhita- . . . . -Sâraṁgadêva-kalyâṇa-vijayarâjyê. . .

191. — P. 25, No. 16. — **V. 1337,** Mâgha-śudi 13, Sômê. Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of the reign of the Chandêlla **Vîravarmadêva (?).**

192. — P. 186, No. 147. — **Vikrama 1337,** Srâvaṇa-vadi 13, Budhê. 'Pâlam Bâolî' stone inscription of the time of **Giyâs-ud-dîn Balban.**

193. — P. 31, No. 41. — **V. 1340,** Chaitra-śudi 3, Budhê. Stone inscription at Kâlañjar.

194. — **V. 1342.** — *ante,* Vol. XVI. p. 351. Mount Âbû stone inscription of **Samarasiṁha** of Mêwâḍ: —

(Line 48) . . . Saṁ 134[2] varshê Mârgga-śudi [1].

195. — **V. 1343.** — *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I. p. 287. Date of the Cintra Praśasti, of the reign of the Vâghêla **Sârangadêva** :[38] —

(Line 66) . . . **Srî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁ** 1343 varshê Mâgha-śudi 5 Sômê . . .

196. — **V. 1344.** — *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 19. Udaypur stone pillar inscription of the reign of **Samarasiṁha** of Mêwâḍ: —

(Line 1). — Saṁvat 1344 Vaiśâkha-śudi 3 adya śrî-Chitrakûṭê samasta-mahâ-Râvala-(?) kula-śrî-Samarasiṁhadêva-kalyâ[ṇa]vijayarâjy[ê*] . . .

197. — **V. 1345.** — *Ib.* Vol. VI. p. 884. Ajaygaḍh stone inscription (apparently) of the time of the Chandêlla **Bhôjavarman**: —

Kshaṇad-êśêkshaṇa-gata-śruti-bhûta-samanvitê । saṁvatsarê śubhê=lêkhi Vaiśâkha-mâsa-sad-dinê ॥ aṅkê=pi 1345 samayê Vaiśâ[khê*].

198. — P. 178, No. 123. — **V. 1350,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 3, Ravau. Date of Jayanta's *Kâvyaprakâśa-dîpikâ,* of the reign of the Vâghêla **Sârangadêva.**

199. — P. 31, No. 42. — **V. 1353** (Plava-vatsarê), Jyêshṭha-śudi 12, Budhê. Stone inscription at Jaunpur.

---

[35] The 1st of the bright half of Phâlguna of V. 1325, expired, would correspond to Sunday, 3 February, A. D. 1269.

[36] The 5th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of northern V. 1335, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 28 April, A. D. 1278.

[37] The 5th of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of southern V. 1335, expired, would correspond to Monday, 17 April, A. D. 1279.

[38] The 5th of the bright half of Mâgha of V. 1343, expired, would correspond to Monday, 20 January, A. D. 1287.

200. — P. 172, No. 105. — **V. 1359**, Mârga-vadi 5, Sômê. Date of a MS. of Jinadâsagaṇi's *Visêsanisîha-chuṇṇi.*

201. — P. 26, No. 17. — **Vikrama 1365**, Pausha-śudi 9, Ravau. Date of Jinaprabha's *Bhayaharastava-vṛitti.*

202. — P. 354, No. 153. — **Vikrama 1365**, Pausha-vadi 2, Sômê. Date of Jinaprabha's *Ajitaśântistava-vṛitti.*

203. — **V. 1366.** — Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Udaypur (in Gwâlior) stone inscription of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Jayasiṁhadêva** [of Dhârâ ?] :—

(Line 1) . . . [Saṁ] 1366 Śrâvaṇa-vadi 12 [Śukrê ?] Udayapu[rê] samasta-râjâvalî mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Jayasiṁghadêva-râjyê . . .

204. — P. 168, No. 88. — **V. 1372**, Pausha-vadi 10, Śanau. Inscription at Ajaygaḍh.

205. — P. 28, No. 28. — **V. 1380**, Bhâdra-śudi 3, **Sômê. Stone inscription at Udaypur** (in Gwâlior).

206. — P. 26, No. 18. — **Vikrama 1384**, Phâlguna-śudi 5, Bhaumê. Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of **Muhammad bin Tughlak.**

207. — **V. 1384.** — *Proceedings, Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLII. pp. 105-106. Another Delhi Museum stone inscription of the time of **Muhammad bin Tughlak** :[29] —

Kṛitir=Madanadêvasya turyy-âshṭ-âgni-niśâkarê ı
Vikram-âbdê śsitê Bhâdrê tṛitîyâyâṁ Gurôr=dinê ॥ 17 ॥
Saṁvat 1384 miti Bhâdra-vadi 3 Guru-dinê . . .

208. — P. 359, No. 166. — **V. 13[8]6** (Bhâvê saṁvatsarê pûrṇê), **Ashâḍha 7, Sômê.** Hathasṇî stone inscription of the Mêhara chief **Ṭhêpaka.**

209. — P. 175, No. 110. — **V. 1390**, Bhâdra-vadi 4, Śanau. Inscription on pillar at 'Kevati-Kuṇḍ.'

210. — P. 185, No. 144. — **V. 1390**, Bhâdra-vadi 5, Gurau. Stone inscription from the Fort of Chunar.

211. — P. 355, No. 154. — **V. 1394**, Mâgha-vadi 1, Budhê. Stone inscriptions at Udaypur (in Gwâlior).

212. — P. 22, No. 2. — **V. 1397**, Mâgha-śudi 4, Sômê. Inscriptions on pillars at 'Kevati-Kuṇḍ,' of the reign of the *Mahârâja* **Hamîradêva.**

213. — P. 356, No. 159. — **V. 1404**, Kârttika-śudi 14, Gurau. Stone inscription at the Fort of Marpha.

214. — **V. 1412.** — *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. IX. Plate ii., 3. 'Kâri-Tâlai' stone inscription of the *Mahârâja* **Vîrarâmadêva** :—

(Line 1) . . . Saṁvatu 1412 samaê ॥ Uchahaḍa-nagara-mahârâ[ja]-śrî-Vîrarâmadêva-râjyê . . .

215. — **V. 1429.** — From a rubbing, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet. Compare *Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. III. p. 128; and *ante*, Vol. X. p. 341. Gayâ stone inscription of the reign of **Sultân Fîrûz Shâh** :[30]—

(Line 6) . . . **Paramabhaṭṭârak-êtyâdi-râjâvalî pûrvvavat śrîmad-Vikramâdityadêva-nṛipatêr**=atît-âvdê(bdê) saṁvata(t) 1429 Mâgha-kṛishṇa-trayôdaśyâṁ tithau Śanivâsar-ânvitâyâṁ . . . . . pâśchâtya-suratrâṇa-śrî-Piyarôjasâhâ-râjyê . . .

[29] The 3rd of the dark half of the pûrṇimânta Bhâdrapada of northern V. 1384, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 6 August, A. D. 1327.

[30] The 13th of the dark half of the pûrṇimânta Mâgha of V. 1429, expired, would correspond to Saturday, 22 January A. D. 1373.

216. — P. 172, No. 106. — **V. 1432**, Mârga-vadi 9, Sômê. Date of a MS. of Prajñânânanda's *Tattvâlôka-ṭîkâ*.

217. — P. 186, No. 148. — **V. 1437**, Âshâḍha-vadi 6, Sanau. Stone inscription at Dhâmlej.

218. — P. 31, No. 43. — **Vikrama 1439** (Saka 1304), Vaiśâkha-śudi 6, Ravau. Mâchâḍî (near Alwar) stone inscription of the reign of **Sultân Fîrûz Shâh**.

219. — P. 26, No. 19. — **V. 1445**, Phâlguna-śudi 5, Sômê. Stone inscription at Vanthalî in Junâgaḍh.

220. — P. 32, No. 44. — **V. 1445** (Bhâva-saṁvatsarê), Âśvina-śudi 13, Sômê. Satî pillar inscription at 'Boram-Deo.'

221. — P. 168, No. 89. — **V. 1451**, Phâlguna-vadi 12, Budhê. Date of a MS. of the *Kammapayaḍi*.

222. — P. 355, No. 155. — **V. 1452**, Vaiśâkha-vadi 15, Ravau. Mângrol stone inscription of the time of **Nusrat Shâh**.

223. — P. 26, No. 20. — **V. 1458** (Saka 1322, Sarvajit-saṁvatsarê), Phâlguna-śudi 8, Sukrê. Râypur stone inscription of **Brahmadêva**.

224. — P. 186, No. 149. — **V. 1464** (Manmatha-saṁvatsarê), Âshâḍha-vadi 3, Budhê. Date of a MS. of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*.

225. — P. 355, No. 156. — **V. 1466**, Chaitra-śudi 7, Sanau. Stone inscription at Râsin.

226. — P. 168, No. 90. — **Vikrama 1479**, Mârga-vadi 14, Sukrê. Date of a MS. of Durgasiṁha's *Liṅgakârikâ-vṛitti*.

227. — P. 32, No. 45. — **Vikrama 1481** (Saka 1346), Vaiśâkha-śudi 15, Gurau. **Dêôgaḍh** stone inscription.

228. — P. 183, No. 140. — **V. 1485**, Vaiśâkha-vadi 9, Budhê. Date of a MS. of Jinadêvasûri's *Kriyâkalâpa*.

229. — P. 356, No. 157. — **V. 1489**, dvitîya-Srâvaṇa-śudi 6. Date of a MS. of an *Avachûrṇi* on Hêmachandra's *Liṅgânuśâsana-vṛitti*.

230. — P. 26, No. 21. — **Vikrama 1490**, Mâgha-śudi 14, **Ravau**. Date of Râmachandra's *Pañchadaṇḍâtapachchhattrabandha*.

231. — P. 180, No. 130. — **V. 1490**, Vaiśâkha-vadi 9, Sanau. Date of a MS. of Halâyudha's *Abhidhânaratnamâlâ*, of the reign of **Sultân Ahmad**.

232. — P. 366, No. 182. — **Vikrama 1491**, Chaitra-vadi 5, Budhê. Date of Sîlaratnasûri's commentary on Mêrutuṅga's *Mêghadûta*.

233. — P. 32, No. 46. — **Vikrama 1496**, Vaiśâkha-śudi 3, Gurau. Umgâ (in Bihâr) stone inscription of **Bhairavêndra**.

234. — P. 38, No. 73. — **Vikrama 1500** (Prajâpati-saṁvatsarê), Vaiśâkha-śudi 5, Gurau. Stone inscription at Mahuva in Barôda (?).

235. — P. 168, No. 91. — **V. 1503**, Phâlguna-vadi 10, Sukrê. Stone inscription at Udaypur (in Gwâlior).

236. — P. 180, No. 131. — **Vikrama 1503**, **Bhâdra-vadi 13, Budhê**. **Date of a MS. of the** *Kâlachakra-tantra*.

237. — P. 184, No. 141. — **V. 1510**, **Bhâdra-vadi 14, Sanau**. Date of a MS. of an *Avachûrikâ* on Hêmachandra's *Sabdânuśâsana-vṛitti*.

238. — P. 374, No. 199. — **V. 1510**, **Mâgha-śudi 8, Sômê**. **Gwâlior stone inscription of the** *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Ḍuṅgarêndradêva**.

239. — P. 368, No. 186. — **V. 1512,** Phâlguna-śudi 1, Bhaumê. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Ashṭâṅgahṛidaya.*

240. — P. 39, No. 74. — **V. 1516,** Chaitra-śudi 5, Gurau, Mêsha-saṁkrântau. Inscription in temple of Gayâsurî Dêvî at Gayâ.

241. — P. 184, No. 142. — **V. 1526,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 11, Śanau. Date of a MS. of Môkshêśvara's *Kṛidvṛitti.*

242. — P. 27, No. 22. — **V. 1531** (Śaka 1396, Subhakṛit-saṁvatsarê), Kârttika-śudi 9, Budhê. Date of a MS. of the *Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa.*

243. — P. 32, No. 47. — **Âshâḍhâdi V. 1534,** Śrâvaṇa-śudi 5, Bhaumê. Date of a MS. of the *Prabhâsakshêtra-tîrthayâtrânukrama*, of the time of **Sultân Mahmûd Bigarha.**

244. — P. 39, No. 75. — **V. 1534,** prathama-Śrâvaṇa-śudi 8, Bhaumê. Date of a MS. of the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî.*

245. — P. 172, No. 107. — **V. 1535,** Pausha-vadi 13, Budhê. Date of a MS. of the *Tâṇḍya-brâhmaṇa.*

246. — P. 170, No. 100. — **V. 1536,** Mâgha-vadi 11, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the commentary *Prasâda* on the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî.*

247. — P. 181, No. 132. — **V. 1538,** Śrâvaṇa-vadi 1, Sômê. Date of a MS. of an *Âkhyâtâvachûri* on the *Haima-vyâkaraṇa.*

248. — P. 178, No. 124. — **V. 1553,** Śrâvaṇa-vadi 13, Ravau. Stone inscription at Borsad step-well, Khêḍâ (Kaira).

249. — P. 27, No. 23. — **Âshâḍhâdi Vikrama 1555** (Śaka 1420), Mâgha-śudi 5, Budhê, Stone inscription at Aḍâlij well near Ahmadâbâd, of the time of **Sultân Mahmûd Bigarha.**

250. — P. 33, No. 48. — **V. 1555** (Śaka 1420, Kshayakṛit-saṁvatsarê), Âśvina-śudi 5. Vâkpati-vârê (Gurau). Date of a MS. of the *Viyâha-pannatti*, of the time of **Sultân Ghiâsu'd-dîn** of Mâlvâ.

251. — P. 187, No. 150. — **V. 1570,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 7, Budhê. Date of a MS. of Amarasiṁha's *Nâmaliṅgânuśâsana.*

252. — P. 33, No. 49. — **V. 1580,** Jyêshṭha-śudi 15, Bhṛigu-vârê. Date of a MS. of the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî.*

253. — P. 176, No. 117.—**V. 1581,** Chaitra-vadi 13, Bhaumê. Inscription on pillar at Delhi.

254. — P. 360, No. 167. — **Âshâḍhâdi V. [15]83,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 2, Bhaumê. Date of a MS. of the *Tâṇḍya-brâhmaṇa.*

255. — P. 28, No. 29. — **V. 1587,** Vaiśâkha-śudi 1, Śukrê. Date of a MS. of the *Âraṇyagâna.*

256. — P. 373, No. 195. — **Vikrama 1597,** Phâlguna-śudi 13, Ravau. Date of Pârśvachandra's *Vârttika* on Vîrabhadrasâdhu's *Chatuḥśaraṇa-prakîrṇaka.*

257. — P. 33, No. 50. — **V. 1630,** prathama-Âshâḍha-śudi 3, Maṅgala-vârê. Date of a MS. of the *Âyâraṁgasutta.*

258. — P. 39, No. 76. — **V. 1645,** Madhu-(Chaitra-)śudi 10. Bhâskarê (Ravau). Date of Puṇyasâgara's *Jambûdvîpaprajñapti-vṛitti.*

259. — P. 33, No. 51. — **V. 1650** (Subhakṛit-saṁvatsarê), Bhâdrapada-śudi 15, Bhṛigu-vâsarê. Date of a MS. of the *Kâṇḍânukramaṇikâ-vivaraṇa.*

260. — **V. 1651.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 323. Date in the Praśasti of the temple of Vâḍîpura-Pârśvanâtha at Aṇhilwaḍ, of the reign of the emperor **Akbar** :[31] —

(Line 3) . . . Pâtisâhi-śrî-Akabbara-râjyê | **Srî-Vikrama-nṛipa-samayât-samvati 1651** Mârggaśîrsha-sita-navamî-dinê Sôma-vârê | Pûrva-bhadrapada-nakshatrê|

261. — **V. 1652.** — *Ib.* p. 324. Another date in the same :[32] —

(Line 47) . . . Kara-karaṇa-kâya-ku-pramita-saṁvat **Allâi** 41 varshê | Vaiśâsha(kha)-vadi dvâdaśî-vâsarê Guru-vârê Rêvatî-nakshatrê |

262. — P. 176, No. 118. — **V. 1652,** Âśvina-vadi 10, Gurau. Date of Dêvavijayagaṇi's *Râma-charitra*, of the reign of the emperor **Akbar.**

263. — P. 39, No. 77. — **Vikrama 1654,** Âshâḍha-śudi 2, Gabhasti-vârê (Ravau). Date of Jñânavimalagaṇi's commentary on Mahêśvara's *Sabdaprabhêda.*

264. — P. 34, No. 52. — **V. 1664,** Mâdhava-(Vaiśâkha-)śudi 7, Gurau. Date of Râmarshi's *Nalôdaya-ṭîkâ*, of the time of **Sultân Shâh Salem (Jehangir).**

265. — P. 27, No. 24. — **V. 1681,** Kârttika-śudi 13, Jîvê (Gurau). Date of Îśvarakṛishṇa's *Puṇyachandrôdaya-purâṇa.*

266. — P. 34, No. 53. — **V. 1686** (Bahudhânya-saṁvatsarê), Srâvaṇa-śudi 7, Gurau. Date of a MS. of an *Agnishṭôma-paddhati.*

267. — **V. 1689.** — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., p. 301. Date of the renewal of the Vaḍnagar Praśasti[33] (96, above) : —

(Line) 45) . . . Chaitra-mâsê śubhrê pakshê pratipad-Guruvâsarê | Naṁd-âshṭa-nṛipê 1689 varshê praśasti[r*]=likhitâ punaḥ ||

268. — P. 168, No. 92. — **V. 1693,** Mâgha-vadi 1, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the *Prauḍhamanôramâ.*

269. — P. 171, No. 101. — **Âshâḍhâdi V. 1699,** Phâlguna-vadi 11, Sômê. Date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Sôbhana-stutayaḥ.*

270. — P. 27, No. 25. — **V. 1707** (Saka 1572, Vikâri-saṁvatsarê), Kârttika-śudi 3, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Saṁkara's *Sârîrakamîmâṁsâ-bhâshya.*

271. — P. 169, No. 93. — **V. 1715,** Kârttika-vadi 4, Bhaumê. Date of a MS. of the *Suparṇâdhyâya.*

272. — P. 169, No. 94. — **Vikrama 1717** (Saptarshi 36), Pausha-vati 3, Ravau. Date of a MS. of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti.*

273. — P. 176, No. 119. — **Vikrama 1717** (Saka 1582, Saptarshi 36), Vaiśâkha-vadi 13, Budhê, Mêsha-saṁkrântau. Stone inscription at Chambâ.

274. — P. 40, No. 78. — **V. 1724,** prathama-Âshâḍha-śudi 7, Sanau. Date of a MS. of the *Sâṅkhâyana-śrautasûtra.*

275. — P. 369, No. 189. — **V. 1724,** Jyêshṭha-śudi 11, Sukrê. Râmnagar stone inscription of the kings of Maṇḍala.

276. — P. 28, No. 26. — **V. 1729,** Mârga-śudi 9, Sômê. Date of a MS. of Chandrakîrti's *Sârasvata-dîpikâ.*

[31] The 9th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha of V. 1651, expired, would correspond to Monday, 11 November, A.D. 1594, when the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 12h. 15m., and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pûrva-bhadrapadâ up to 19h. after mean sunrise.

[32] The 12th of the dark half of the amânta Vaiśâkha of southern V. 1652, expired, would correspond to Thursday, 13 May, A.D. 1596, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19h. 8m., and the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rêvatî up to 2h. 38m. after mean sunrise.

[33] The date in all probability corresponds, for southern V. 1689 expired, to Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1633, though by the Tables the 1st *tithi* of the bright half ended 0 h. 17m. after mean sunrise of the following day.

277. — P. 171, No. 102. — **V. 1738,** Phâlguna-vadi 9, Sômê. Date of a MS. of the *Rishi-brâhmaṇa.*

278. — P. 40, No. 79. — **V. 1746,** prathama-Vaiśâkha-śudi 12, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Jinêndrabuddhi's *Kâśikâvivaraṇa-pañchikâ.*

279. — P. 169, No. 95. — **V. 1747,** Phâlguna-vadi 8, Kuja-vâsarê (Bhaumê). Date of a MS. of Vinayarâma's commentary on the *Kirâtârjunîya.*

280. — P. 356, No. 158. — **V. 1747,** prathama-Vâiśâkha-vadi dvitîya-chaturthî-dinê, Budhê. Date of a MS. of the *Sârasvatî-prakriyâ.*

281. — P. 34, No. 54. — **V. 1779,** Madhu-(Chaitra-)śudi 13, Sômê. Date of Bhîmasêna's *Sukhôdadhi.*

282. — P. 34, No. 55. — **V. 1785** (Kâlayukta-saṁvatsarê), Âśvina-śudi 9, Sômê. Date of Bhâskararâya's *Saubhâgya-bhâskara.*

283. — P. 374, No. 200. — **V. 1814** (Saka 1679, Îśvara-saṁvatsarê), Kârttika-śudi 6, Gurau. Date of a MS. of Chiraṁjîva-bhaṭṭa's *Kâvyavilâsa.*

284. — P. 35, No. 56. — **Vikrama 1874,** Suchi-(Âshâḍha-)śudi 9, Sômê. Nêpâl stone inscription of **Lalitatripurasundarî.**

285. — P. 176, No. 120. — **V. 1874,** Bhâdra-vadi 9, Sukrê. Nêpâl stone inscription of **Lalitatripurasundarî.**

286. — P. 169, No. 96. — **V. 1875,** Mârga-vadi 5, Budhê. Nêpâl stone inscription of **Lalitatripurasundarî.**

287. — P. 177, No. 121. — **V. 1877,** Jyêshṭha-vadi 10, Ravau. Nêpâl stone inscription of **Lalitatripurasundarî.**

288. — P. 363, No. 175. — **V. 1877** (Khara-saṁvatsarê), adhika-Jyêshṭha-śudi 7, Gurau. Date of a MS. of the *Vâraha-purâṇa.*

(To be continued.)

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 8. — Bâpkhâdî, the Salsette Cinderella.

There once lived a *gôsâvî*,[1] who had a wife and six daughters. He used to beg in his neighbourhood from house to house, but could not collect more than one *sêr* of rice daily, on which he dragged on an existence with his family. One day he took it into his head to go and beg outside his own village, and it happened that a woman poured into his hands some rice boiling hot from the cauldron, which made a big blister on his thumb. So when he got home he asked his wife to take a needle and break the blister; but as soon as she applied the needle to the blister, she heard a voice saying: —

"*Bâwâ, phôriśil tê astê phôr*, father, if you break, break it carefully."

The good couple were at a loss to understand what it could mean. The wife made two or three attempts to open the blister, but every time she tried she heard the same words repeated: —

"*Bâwâ, phôriśil tê astê phôr*, father, if you break, break it slowly."[2]

At last she opened it with the utmost care, when lo! a little girl came out of it, and began to walk about. The poor *gôsâvî* began to curse his fortune, thinking to himself: —

"I have already six daughters, whom I am hardly able to maintain, and here there is a

---

[1] An ascetic who goes about begging, smeared with ashes.

[2] Or "carefully."

seventh! Where shall I get the means wherewith to support her? However, I must submit to fate."

One day the *gôsâṅvî* said to his wife: — "Wife, make us some pôlê."[3]

The wife asked: — "How many *pôlê* will one *sêr* of rice make? At any rate, they will hardly be ready before our girls will eat them up."

Upon this the *gôsâṅvî* said: — "Shut them all up in a room while you make the *pôlê* quietly, and then we can eat them together."

So saying to his wife he went away on his daily vocation of begging. The wife, as instructed, shut up all the girls in a room, ground the rice and *mêthiâ*, and some time afterwards began to make the *pôlê*. As soon as the sound of the cooking of a *pôlâ* reached the ears of the girls, one of them called out to her mother, saying she must come out for a certain purpose. The mother let her come out, but the girl made straight for the kitchen and ate up the first pôlâ. The same thing occurred with the second and with the third, and in fact with all the *pôlê*, for the dough could only just make up seven *pôlê*.

Now the mother did not know what to say to her husband on his return, much less what to give him to eat. So she took some ashes and made two pôlê, one for herself and the other for her husband. Some time after this the *gôsâṅvî* returned after begging, and husband and wife sat down to their meal. At the first morsel the *gôsâṅvî* became enraged and asked his wife to explain what sort of *pôlê* she had made, and what it all meant. The poor wife told him everything: how she shut the girls up in the first place; how she made the seven *pôlê*; how the girls came and ate them all; and how she was compelled to make two of ashes for themselves.

Upon this the *gôsâṅvî* said: — "This will never do. I will take the girls and leave them in a forest, whence they cannot return, and they shall no more be a burden upon us."

His wife had no alternative but to agree without saying a word. So the same evening he got the girls together, and said: — "Come girls, your maternal uncle has asked me to bring you to his house. Be sharp, and dress yourselves quickly."

On being told that they were called by their maternal uncle, though they had never before heard of him, much less seen him, the girls were in a hurry to be off, and got themselves dressed with what rags they could afford, and set out immediately with their father.

The father led them on through a forest for many hours, and, whenever the girls asked him how much further off their uncle's house was, he would answer: — "A long way further yet." And so they walked on and on for several hours, till the lord of darkness overtook them, and then their father said: —

"Girls, your uncle's house is a long way off yet, and so we must sleep to-night in this forest."

The poor girls little thought of their father's trick, and so went to sleep. Now it happened that the youngest daughter of the *gôsâṅvî*, the one that popped out of the blister, was in the habit of sucking her father's thumb when going to sleep, and as soon as the thumb was removed she would awake. Of course the object of the *gôsâṅvî* in bringing his daughters into the forest was to leave them there and go away, but the difficulty was how to manage the youngest daughter. He managed this, however, by cutting off his thumb, and leaving it in the little girl's mouth! In this way the gôsâṅvî left them all asleep.

---

[3] *Pôlê*, singular *pôlâ*, are made in the following way: — Ordinary rice and a little quantity of another grain (*mêthî*, plural *mêthiâ*) are ground together. The flour is made into dough with toddy and water, and allowed to remain for a few hours. After this an earthen *tâwâ* (platter) is placed on the oven, a little oil rubbed on it (usually with a stick of the plantain leaf after beating it into the shape of a brush), and a little of the dough poured on it, which in a short time makes a *pôlâ*.

In the morning, when the girls awoke, they were surprised to see their father gone, or rather, they did not know what had become of him. They, however, soon observed the thumb in their youngest sister's mouth, and concluded that she had eaten their father,[4] and henceforth named her Bâpkhâdî.[5] They pulled it out of her mouth and thus awoke her, and severely reprimanded her; and, telling her, at the same time, that they intended to leave her to herself, they started off for another country. But Bâpkhâdî followed them, till they found a large house with seven rooms in it, all vacant. Each of the seven sisters took to a room, and lived there, finding in it plenty of food and clothes and other necessities; but Bâpkhâdî's room was the best of all, for in it were found clothes and furniture of matchless beauty, and there was a stable attached to it. Bâpkhâdî, however, never said a word to her sisters about it, but always remained in the rags in which she had come.

On Sunday mornings the six sisters dressed in their best to go to Church to attend Mass. Before going they always called out to Bâpkhâdî, asking her if she was coming, but she answered never a word. Nevertheless, she quickly dressed up in rich silks with golden slippers and went to Church on horse-back, so that she got there before her sisters. So, too, after Mass she would get home before every one, and stand as usual at her door, clothed in rags. Her sisters, of course, saw a girl at Church in a very grand dress with golden slippers and saw her get on her horse, but it never occurred to them that she was Bâpkhâdî, for did they not see her before and after Church clothed in rags at her own door?

When they returned from Church, they used to say to her: — "What have you been doing at home? If you had come to Church, you would have seen a beautiful girl, beautifully dressed, with golden slippers, on horse-back! Oh! you have lost a good chance!"

Now, one day, it happened that, while Bâpkhâdî was returning from Church, she lost one of her slippers, and it attracted the attention of the king's son, who happened to pass by. The prince took it up, and went and threw himself down in his father's stables, thinking of the owner of the slipper, and where and how he could find her; and then he gave up eating and drinking! The king searched for him throughout his palace and all through the village round it without success, but during the day the king's maid-servants went to the stables to feed the horses. Now they never expected that the prince would be there, and as usual, they ate the grain, and they threw the husks to the horses! On seeing this the prince called out from his hiding place: — "Oh ho! is this how you feed the horses? No wonder they are getting leaner day by day, while I see you growing stouter."

As soon as the maid-servants heard the prince's voice they flew like lightning to the king and said: — "Sire, what shall we say to thee? Shall we tell thee one, or shall we tell thee two?"

The king replied: — "Come, come; say what you have to say at once. You may tell me one, or you may tell me two."

So they told him what they had seen and heard in the stables, and he immediately went with them to the stables, and thus spoke to the prince: —

"*Kâ kartêi tûlâ? Kâ khuṭlaṁ tûlâ? Sâṅg mûlâ, kônîṅ hât túkilaśêl, tiâchâ hât jhêin. Kônîṅ pâiṅ tûkilaśêl, tiâchâ pâiṅ jhêin. Kônîṅ ḍôlâ kêlaśêl, tiâchâ ḍôlâ jhêin*[6]; What ails you, my son? Tell me what you lack. Has any one lifted up his hands to strike you? Tell me, and I will take his hands. Has any one threatened to kick you? Tell me, and I will take his legs. Has any one cast his eyes on you? Tell me, and I will take his eyes."

Thus spoke the king, upon which the prince answered: — "Sire, nothing ails thy son, nor has any one done him any harm. He is grieved because he has found a golden slipper,

---

[4] *i. e.* as an ogress.

[5] *Bâpkhâdî* means literally 'eater of the father.'

[6] The literal meaning of the original is 'What is becoming to you? What is wanting to you? Tell me: if, any one has lifted his hands, I will take his hands. If any one has lifted his legs, I will take his legs. If any one has cast his eyes, I will take his eyes.'

and does not know how and where to find the owner in order to marry her; and unless this is accomplished he will not touch any food or drink, but will kill himself through grief."

Upon this the king said: — "Be of good cheer, my son, for what do we lack? I will at once send men in all directions and find the owner; and, in the meanwhile, you must come home, and take food."

The prince then went home with the king and took his food as usual. Meanwhile the king had at once sent messengers in all directions with the slipper to find the owner, and to arrange at once for her marriage with the prince. Now, in order to find the owner, the messengers agreed that the girl in whose foot the slipper fitted must be the owner, and none else. With this idea they went throughout the country for several days, but with little success. At length they came to the house where Bâpkhâdî lived with her sisters. They tried the slipper on the feet of the six sisters, but it fitted none of them. The sisters for once thought of Bâpkhâdî, and told the men to try it on her feet, when lo! it fitted exactly! Of course it did, for did it not belong to her?

So arrangements were then and there made for her marriage with the prince, and a day was appointed for the celebration of the auspicious occasion. Grand preparations were made on both sides for several days, and on the appointed day Bâpkhâdî was duly married to the king's son with great rejoicings.

The sisters of Bâpkhâdî were also invited to come and live in the palace, but they were made to wait on her as her maids. This, of course, naturally awoke a spirit of jealousy in them, but they saw no alternative except to submit.

They continued to live in this way for some time, until Bâpkhâdî became pregnant. Meanwhile, her husband made up his mind to go on a distant voyage, and got a ship fitted out for the purpose; but before taking leave of Bâpkhâdî, he called the sisters together, and said to them: —

"My wife is pregnant, and I shall soon be gone on a distant voyage. I recommend her to your care. Tend her carefully until she is confined. Should a son be born to me a shower of gold will fall on my ship, but if a daughter is born there will be a shower of silver."[7]

Thus saying he bid Bâpkhâdî a loving adieu. In due time Bâpkhâdî was confined of a son, but her sisters bound up her eyes and took the child and buried him alive under a Sâyâ tree, and substituted in his place an ôrônṭâ.[8] Poor Bâpkhâdî little knew of the trick her sisters had played, and remained silent.

About this time there fell a shower of gold on the prince's ship, upon which he made sure that a son was born to him, and in his joy distributed sugar and other presents to the crew; and made all possible haste to return home. When he reached his palace he asked to be shewn the son that was born to him, but was highly disappointed when Bâpkhâdî's sisters produced the *ôrônṭâ*. Grieved to the heart he remained silent.

Two or three years afterwards Bâpkhâdî again became pregnant; and again her husband, the prince, set out on a distant voyage. As before he called the six sisters and advised them to take more care this time of Bâpkhâdî, and went away saying: — "If a son be born to me there will be a shower of gold, but if a daughter there will be a shower of silver." Her time of pregnancy over, Bâpkhâdî was again confined of a second son, and this time too, her sisters bound her eyes, took away the child and buried it alive under an âṅbâ tree, substituting for it a bôvâtrâ.[9] The prince witnessed a second shower of gold, and again distributed sugar and other presents, and returned home with all possible speed, only to be disappointed

[7] The literal meaning of the words used in the story are 'golden water' and 'silver water.'

[8] A round stone used for grinding spices.

[9] A broom made out of the reeds of the cocoanut palm-leaf. It is ordinarily known as the "Goa broom."

and disheartened; for, when he asked to see the child, he was shewn the *bôvâtrâ*. But as there was nothing to be done he remained silent.

Another two or three years elapsed, and Bâpkhâdî became pregnant for the third time; and for the third time her husband set out on a voyage. Before going he called together the six sisters and told them to exercise great care, and use every imaginable precaution to ensure a successful delivery. He then bade a loving adieu to Bâpkhâdî, and went away, saying for the third time: — "If a son be born there will be a shower of gold, but if a daughter there will be a shower of silver." In due time Bâpkhâdî was delivered of a daughter, and this child also her sisters took and buried alive in the Church, and put in its place a *môvâlî*.[10] This time there came pouring a heavy shower of silver. The prince at once understood that a daughter was born to him, and for the third time he distributed sugar and other presents, and returned home. When he arrived and asked to see his daughter, the six sisters produced the *môvâlî*, and also told a lot of tales against Bâpkhâdî. On seeing the *môvâlî* and hearing all the tales he was much enraged, and, casting Bâpkhâdî in a dark dungeon, took to himself the six sisters as his wives. Bâpkhâdî was also deprived of all her clothes and jewellery. For her food she was thrown the remains of fish[11] and such things after every one else had eaten. Matters continued like this for several years.

Let us now turn to the children. The hand of the Almighty saved the three children of Bâpkhâdî, and they grew to be from ten to fifteen years old, and lived by begging. In their begging excursions they were wont to say: —

"*Sâyâbûrchiâ Sâyâ dâdâ, Âṅśâbûrchiâ Âṅśâ dâdâ, dêulânchê gô Dêukû bâyê, hiâ gâṅvâchâ râzâ vêrâ, sâtzanî bâikâ kêliâ, tôs âmchâ bâp*; Brother Sâyâ from under the *sâyâ* tree, brother Âṅśâ from under the *âṅśâ* tree, sister Dêukû from the Church, the king[12] of this country is mad, he married seven wives; he is our father." From house to house they used to go repeating these words, and at last, reached the palace, and repeated the words there. When the prince heard them he could not understand what they meant, and asked them to repeat the words again. Upon this the children began: —

"*Sâyâbûrchiâ Sâyâ dâdâ, Âṅśâbûrchiâ Âṅśâ dâdâ, dêulânchê gô Dêukû bâyê, hiâ gâṅvâchâ râzâ vêrâ, sâtzanî bâikâ kêliâ, tôs âmchâ bâp*; Brother Sâyâ from under the *sâyâ* tree, brother Âṅśâ from under the *âṅśâ* tree, sister Dêukû from the Church, the king of this country is mad, he married seven wives; he is our father."

The prince made them repeat the words over and over again several times, and then told one of the six sisters to give them something in alms. The six sisters, of course, at once concluded that these three children must be those that had been born of Bâpkhâdî and whom they had buried alive under the *sâyâ* and *âṅśâ* trees, and in the Church. They, however, pretended not to know them, and one of them offered them alms, but the children refused to take any. Each one of the six sisters in turn offered alms, but the children refused to take anything from any one of them. The prince was puzzled at their behaviour, and asked them to explain why they did not take the alms. Upon this they said: —

"Let your seventh wife, who is in the dungeon, come out. Place seven curtains between her and us, then watch what occurs, after which you will come to know everything."

The prince did as directed. He ordered out Bâpkhâdî from the dungeon, and placed seven curtains between her and the children, and eagerly watched the result, when lo! three streams of milk burst from Bâpkhâdî's breasts, and penetrating the seven curtains ran into the mouths of the children. The prince was dumbfounded at this occurrence, and

---

[10] A *môvâlî* is another sort of broom made of the date palm-leaf.

[11] It should be remembered that the Salsette Christians are fish-eaters. They very seldom eat meat, except perhaps on Sundays and feast-days.

[12] By "the king" is here meant "the prince" of the tale.

thought there must be some connection with Bâpkhâdî and the children, and **ordered the six sisters to explain it.** They at first hesitated to disclose the facts, but, when they saw that the prince was determined, **they revealed the whole story:** — How when the first son was born they shut Bâpkhâdî's eyes and took and buried the child alive under a *sâyâ* tree, and substituted in its place an *ôrôṇṭâ*; how when the second son was born they substituted a *bôvâtrâ*, and buried the child alive under an *âṅśâ* tree; and lastly, how when the daughter was born she was buried alive in the Church, and in her place a *môvâlî* was put. Upon this the prince embraced the children and also Bâpkhâdî, and asked her why she did not tell this story long ago, even though she was thrown into a dungeon. Bâpkhâdî said that as her eyes used to be bandaged at her confinement she knew nothing and hence her silence. The prince acknowledged the three children as his own, ordered them at once to be bathed, and afterwards got them handsomely dressed. Bâpkhâdî, also, was restored to her former position, and was again clothed and covered with jewellery.

For **the six sisters** of Bâpkhâdî the anger of **the prince** knew no bounds. Having dispossessed them of all their handsome clothes and jewellery, he **ordered their hair and noses to be cut off, and having seated them on donkeys, banished them from the country.** The donkeys galloped on and on for several hours, when the sisters said: — "*Gâḍwâ, gâḍwâ, kônśî vâṭ*; Donkey, donkey, which way?"

The donkeys replied: — "*Chalâ athâṁ, tumchê kartaṁ âmchi bhôgâṭ*; On, on, for your wrongs we have to suffer!"

After this the prince and, Bâpkhâdî, and their children lived very happily to a very old age, even after he had succeeded his father as king.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

COLD RICE.

The children's breakfast in Southern India consists usually of cold rice, being the remains of the supper overnight soaked by the lady of the house, or a servant, in good drinking-water. Rice thus treated will keep good for three or four days.

The first thing the Hindu child does after getting up, is to wash its teeth and face, and, if a Brâhmaṇ, to repeat the *prâtaḥ-sandhyâ-vandana*, or morning ablution prayer, and then to eat the cold rice breakfast, rendered palatable with ginger, pepper, lime, oranges, green chillies and other condiments. This style of breakfast is said to tend to good health, and is kept up usually till 15 or 16 years of age; but many continue throughout life the taste thus acquired.

Children generally sit round their mother or some female elder of the house, with palms stretched out to receive the welcome ball of rice, and are not uncommonly joined by older members of the family.

The morning rice is generally prepared in one vessel for soaking, and transferred to another before use, and then mixed with salt and sometimes spices.

Many verses exist in South India in praise of the morning rice. Here is one comparing cold rice to Vishnu: —

जले शयानं जगदेकवन्द्यं
विशेषतः प्रातरुपासनीयं ।
अलभ्यदातारमनिन्द्यकीर्तिं
पुरातनं पुण्यकृतो लभन्ते ॥

This may be freely translated thus: — "It is only the meritorious that obtain the boon of **Purâtana**, who sleeps on the water, who is worshipped by the whole world, who is specially to be attended to in the early morning, who is the giver of the unobtainable, and who is of unspotted fame."

There are puns and allusions here. **Purâtana** means Vishṇu (the ancient one) as well as cold rice, and he is specially worshipped in the morning.

Another runs as follows: —

विशालकदलीदले विलसदग्रभागे स्थितं
निरन्तरदधिप्लुतं लिकुचनीरसम्पार्दकम् ।
वराङ्गि तव केलिजश्रमनिवृत्तये कारणं
पुरातनमुपास्महे जलजबान्धवस्योदये ॥

A free translation would be: —

"O lady, I go to my cold rice, which is served in the front half of the plantain-leaf, and mixed

well with curds and with pickled ginger served in lemon juice."

In this case the cold rice has been served on a plantain-leaf, and not into the palm of the hand.

S. M. Natesa Sastri.

SACRIFICES IN PERSIA.

It is the custom, whenever a house, garden or kiln is constructed, to sacrifice a sheep, and to imprint on the door a right hand steeped in the blood. The sheep is distributed amongst the poor. This custom is said to be a propitiation of Fate, to avoid bloodshed within the building in future. For a bath, a cow is sacrificed, and the hand steeped in its blood is imprinted on the door.

There is a custom amongst the Persians of sacrificing and distributing the remains of a sheep to the poor, on the safe return home of any member of a household after a journey. The custom is that, just as you get down from your horse, the animal's neck is cut before you.

When any member of a household in Persia is very ill, it is the custom to kill a sheep in order to propitiate Fate and to avert danger from the sick person. Should a goat or any animal die during the illness of any member of a household, it is held as a sure sign of the recovery of the patient, as it is thought that Fate has been satisfied by the substitution of the goat or other animal in the place of the patient.

Tehrân. S. J. A. Churchill.

BOOK NOTICE.

Proceedings of the American Oriental Society. New York, 30th and 31st October 1889.

Prof. Whitney sets himself to answer the question whether roots in Sanskṛit that contain a ṛ in their weaker forms should be written and named as roots with ṛ or with *ar*. He thinks that the ṛ form is preferable and likely to increase in prevalence of usage.

Prof. Bloomfield discourses on the etymology of the particle ôṁ. He would divest it of all sanctity, and make it a mere introductory word like the Greek *αὖ* (*αὖ-τι*, *αὖ-τις*, *αὖ-θις*) Lat. *au-t*, *au-tem*, Goth. *au-k*, and so on, with the meaning of 'now then, well now.' The *ṁ* he would regard as due to the utterance of the vowel with *pluti*.

He also discusses the Vedic instrumental paḍbhis. It occurs six times in the *Ṛig-Vêda*. In these cases, RV. v. 64,7 *cd*, RV. x. 99,12 and RV. x. 79,2, he would render it by 'quickly, nimbly, briskly,' etc. In RV. iv. 2,12 and 14 he would render it 'with the eyes,' and in the remaining passage RV. iv. 38,3 by 'with his feet.' This, of course, gives two separate words from two separate roots *pâd* and *paś*.

Mr. Hatfield of the Johns Hopkins University follows with an attempt at the satisfactory numbering of the Pariśishṭas of the Atharva Vêda, which he hopes may prove permanent.

Prof. Hopkins gives an interpretation of *Mahâbhârata* iii 42, 5, and a not very clear note on "female divinities in India."

Dr. Williams Jackson sends an abstract of an exceedingly interesting paper on the sense of colour in the Avesta, and argues that we are not justified in assuming any ignorance or lack of the colour perception in the people whose civilization it represents.

He also adds four notes on Avestan grammar: (1), on a genuine instance of a *sish*-aorist in the *Avesta* (*Yasht* iii. 2); (2), on a case of Avestan 3rd dual middle in *-aitê;* (3) several instances of difference in gender between Avestan and Sanskṛit in the same word; (4), on the rendering of the Avestan *eredvō dôṅhanem* in *Vendidad*, v. 11.

An article by Dr. Cyrus Adler on the Shofar, its use and origin is of general interest. This word is rendered in the Bible by 'cornet,' though it is usually made of a ram's horn, straightened and flattened by heat. After a lengthy enquiry into the origin of the instrument, Dr. Adler concludes by saying that the following deductions would seem to be legitimate: —

(1) The oldest wind instrument used by inland peoples was the horn of an animal with a natural cavity, and a mouth-piece formed by cutting off the end. Horns which required hollowing came later.

(2) These horns were originally used as signals in time of danger and for making announcements in general.

(3) Many of the more important announcements had a religious character. The antiquity of the instrument caused its permanent adoption for sacred purposes.

(4) The *shofar*, speaking especially of the instrument of that name, was originally a wind instrument, made of the horn of a wild goat. No sacred character may be connected with the sacrificial use made of the goat.

(5) The etymology of the word is to be sought in the Assyrian *śappar*, a species of wild goat: *śapparta* (fem.) meant originally the horn of a *śappar*, and it may afterwards have been used for horn in general.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this:—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍa
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क and ख	—	ẖ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प and फ	—	ḫ	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
			—	ಱ	ṟa
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ	ल	ಲ	la
Anunâsika	—	m̐	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
क	ಕ	ka	—	ೞ	ḻa
ख	ಖ	kha	व	ವ	va
ग	ಗ	ga	श	ಶ	śa
घ	ಘ	gha	ष	ಷ	sha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	स	ಸ	sa
च	ಚ	cha	ह	ಹ	ha
छ	ಛ	chha			

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line: intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgari sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgari marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshar* or syllable.

A NOTE ON THE SAPTARSHI ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

IN the Chambers Collection of MSS. of the Berlin Library[1] is a worm-eaten roll of paper, about 9′ 3″ long by 6½″ broad, which contains a calendar for the time from Wednesday, the 13th March, A. D. 1793, to Monday, the 31st March, A. D. 1794; or, to use the terms of the original, from *Chaitra-śuti*[2] *pra. Vu., i.e.*, Budhavâra, the first of the bright half of Chaitra, to *Chaitra-vati am. Chaṁ., i.e.*, Chandravâra, the new-moon day of the dark half of Chaitra, — of a year which will be described below. The characters employed in this MS. calendar are the peculiar Nâgarî of some of the MSS. purchased by Professor Bühler on his Kaśmîr tour, and shew therefore that the calendar was written in the very north of India, if not actually in Kaśmîr.

From the last day of the year, the new-moon day in the dark half of the month Chaitra, it will be seen that the year of this calendar is a so-called northern year, with the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of the months. As in ordinary Pañchâṅgas, the year is divided into lunar fortnights which here follow each other from the top to the bottom of the roll. And since, in the specified period, Vaiśâkha was an intercalary month, we have here altogether 26 lunar fortnights, headed —

Chaitra-śuti, *i. e.*, Chaitra-śukla-pakshaḥ;
Vai vati, *i. e.*, Vaiśâkha-krishṇa-pakshaḥ;
Dvi[3] Vai śuti, *i. e.*, dvitîya-Vaiśâkha-śukla-pakshaḥ;
Dvi Vai vati, *i. e.*, dvitîya-Vaiśâkha-krishṇa-pakshaḥ;
Vai śuti, *i. e.*, Vaiśâkha-śukla-pakshaḥ;
Jyê vati; Jyê śuti; Âshâḍha-vati; Âshâḍha-śuti; Srâ vati; Srâ śuti; Bhâ vati; Bhâ śuti;

and so on up to —

Chaitra-vati, *i. e.*, Chaitra-krishṇa-pakshaḥ.

Under each lunar fortnight, we have from the left to the right four principal columns.[4] The first column gives the name of the weekday (Â., Chaṁ., Bhau., etc.) and the *nakshatra* (A., Bha., Kri., Rô., etc.): the second the number of the day in the lunar half (pra., dvi., tri., cha., etc., up to either pû. or am.); the third the *yôga* (Vi., Prî., Â., Sau., etc.); and the last contains remarks about festivals, etc. But, besides, the calendar also gives, before the first column of the lunar fortnight, the number of each day according to the Muhammadan calendar, sometimes preceded by the name of the Muhammadan month. Thus, in a line with Vai. śuti Â. dvi. (*i. e.*, Sunday, the 2nd of the bright half of Vaiśâkha, corresponding to the 12th May, A. D. 1793) we have *Samvâl* 1; before Âshâḍha-śuti Vu. dvi. (*i. e.*, Wednesday, the 2nd of the bright half of Âshâḍha, corresponding to the 10th July, A. D. 1793), *Jyêl hijya* 1; before Srâ. śuti Su tri. (*i. e.*, Friday, the 3rd of the bright half of Srâvaṇa, corresponding to the 9th August,

[1] See Professor Weber's *Catalogue*, Vol. I. No. 846.

[2] From the above it will be seen that in this calendar the śukla-paksha or bright fortnight and the krishṇa-paksha or dark fortnight of a month are throughout denoted by the terms *śuti* and *vati*. On this usage, which is quite common in Śârada MSS., see *ante*, Vol. XIX., p. 217.

[3] It will be observed that of the intercalary month Vaiśâkha the first and last of the four fortnights are called simply *Vaiśâkha*, while the second and third fortnights are described as *dvitîya-Vaiśâkha*, 'the second Vaiśâkha.' In a MS. calendar of the Berlin Library for the expired northern Vikrama year 1833, in which Bhâdrapada was intercalary, and in another MS. calendar of the same Library for the expired northern Vikrama year 1855, in which Śrâvaṇa was intercalary, the first and last fortnights of the intercalary months are likewise called simply *Bhâdrapada* and *Srâvaṇa*, but the second and third fortnights are described as *adhika-Bhâdrapada* and *adhika-Srâvaṇa*. And in a MS. calendar of the same Library, for the expired northern Vikrama year 1852 in which Bhâdrapada was intercalary, the first and last fortnights are called *śuddha-Bhâdra*, and the second and third *adhika-Bhâdra*.

[4] It may be of some interest to state here that the results (as regards *tithis*, *nakshatras*, and *yôgas*), obtained from Professor Jacobi's Tables in Vol. XVII. of this Journal, for the large number of days for which I have made the necessary calculations, entirely agree with the actual statements of this calendar.

A. D. 1793), *Mahram* 1; and before Bhâ. śuti Â. tṛi. (*i. e.*, Sunday, the 3rd of the bright half of Bhâdrapada, corresponding to the 8th September, A. D. 1793), *Saphar* 1.[5]

In the introductory remarks at the top of the roll, the year for which this calendar is intended is described thus:—

Srî-Saptarshi-châr-ânumatêna saṁvat 4869 tathâ cha **saṁvat** 69 Chaitra-śuti **1 śrî Sâkâḥ** 1715 karaṇa-gat-âvdâ(bdâ)ḥ 1128 dina-gaṇaḥ 412 010 **śrî-Vikramâditya-saṁvat** 1850 Kalpa-gat-âvdâ(bdâ)ḥ 1 972 948 894[6] śêsh-âvdâ(bdâ)ḥ 2 347 051 106 . . . . **Kalêr=gata-varshâṇi** 4894 śêsha-varshâṇi 427 106.

Accordingly, the year with which we are here concerned is the **luni-solar year** 4894 of the Kaliyuga, distinctly described as an expired year, and, consequently, the expired northern Vikrama year 1850 and the expired Saka year 1715, called simply the Vikrama year 1850 and the Saka year 1715, respectively. The number of years, elapsed since the epoch of the Karaṇa up to the commencement of the calendar-year, is stated to be 1128, which for the epoch of the Karaṇa gives us Saka 587 expired, the epoch-year of the *Khaṇḍakhâdya*. And the number of days, elapsed since the same epoch, is put down as 412 010. By Dr. Schram's Tables the luni-solar Saka year 1715 current ended on the day of the Julian period 2376 011, and Saka 587 current ended on the day of the Julian period 1964 001; and deducting the latter set of figures from the former, we obtain a remainder of 412 010, being the number of days of the 1128 luni-solar years elapsed since the epoch of the Karaṇa, exactly as given in the calendar. But for my present purpose the interesting part of the introductory statement is this, that the year of the calendar is primarily described as **"the year 4869, in agreement with the course of the Saptarshayaḥ, and therefore the year 69,"** as I take it, of ordinary usage. For this shews us that our calendar, in the first instance, was intended for people who followed the Saptarshi era.[7]

The Saptarshi era has been treated of by Sir A. Cunningham in the *Book of Indian Eras*, and its epoch has been incidentally discussed by Professor Bühler in his *Kaśmîr Report*[8] and by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar in his *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84.[9] But little attention has as yet been paid to dates recorded in that era. Starting from the *data* which are furnished by the calendar described above, I propose therefore to collect here those Saptarshi dates of inscriptions and MSS. which have come hitherto under my observation. The number of these dates is small, and all belong to comparatively modern times. But I hope that, by publishing what has been ready for some time, I may induce scholars in India to make known other Saptarshi dates, or to furnish me with reliable materials for enlarging this list.

From our calendar, which makes the Saptarshi year 4869 equivalent to Kaliyuga 4894 expired, it is clear that, assuming the Saptarshi years to be current years, and to commence with the month Chaitra, Saptarshi 0 = Kaliyuga 25 expired, Saptarshi 1 current = Kaliyuga 26 expired, Saptarshi 2 current = Kaliyuga 27 expired, and so on; and generally, that by the addition of 25 a current Saptarshi year is converted into the corresponding expired year of the Kaliyuga. Thus the current Saptarshi year 4300 would be the expired year 4325 of

5 According to Wüstenfeld's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen der Muhammed. und Christl. Zeitrechnung*, these equivalents are correct.

6 The original has 19729488 at the end of one line, and at the commencement of the next line 894, *i. e.* 19 729 488 894. clearly a mistake of the writer.

7 Long after the above was first written, I received, through the kindness of Dr. Stein, from Paṇḍit Gôvinda Kaul a MS. Pañchâṅga (or Nakshatrapattra) for the year which ended on the 20th March, A. D. 1890, which is very similar to the calendar of the Berlin Library, but gives also (often wrongly) the days of the European calendar. In this calendar the year treated of is described thus: — Śrî-Saptarshi-châr-ânumatêna saṁvat 1965 (clearly a mistake for 4965) śrî-râjâdhirâja-Pratâpasiṁha-râjyâbhishêkât=saṁvat 3 tathâ cha sphuta-prakârêṇa śrî-śubha-saṁvat 65 Chaitra-śuti 1 śrî-Śâkaḥ 1811 karaṇa-gat-âbdâḥ 1224 dina-gaṇaḥ 447 063 (according to my calculations a mistake for 447 092) śrî-Vikramâditya-saṁvat 1946 Kalpa-gat-âbdâḥ 1972 948 990 śêsh-âbdâḥ 2347 051 011 (wrongly for 2347 051 010) . . . . Kalêr=gata-varshâṇi 4991 (wrongly for 4990) śêsha-varshâṇi 427 010.

8 Page 60. 9 Page 84

the Kaliyuga, and Saptarshi 4951 current would be Kaliyuga 4976 expired. So far, matters would be simple enough. But writers who, in recording their dates, follow the Saptarshi era, generally omit the hundreds from the years of the date, and put down only the years within the century.[10] To make up for this deficiency, they sometimes add the corresponding year of some other well-known era; but sometimes they neglect doing so. However this may be, it follows from the above, that, disregarding the hundreds, we must add to the Saptarshi year of a date —

25, to find the corresponding expired year within one of the centuries of the Kaliyuga ;

46, to find similarly the corresponding expired 'Saka year ;

81, to find the corresponding expired northern Vikrama year ; and

24/25, to find the corresponding year of one of the centuries of our own era.

Thus, a current Saptarshi year 36 would, disregarding the hundreds, correspond to an expired year (36 + 25 =) 61 of the Kaliyuga; to an expired 'Saka year (36 + 46 =) 82 ; to an expired northern Vikrama year (36 + 81 = 117 =) 17 ; and to a year (36 + 24/25 =) 60/61 of our own era.

All this is well known ; and using the several equations for verifying individual dates, we obtain the following results : —

1. — Dr. Stein has informed me that a much damaged Bhûrjapattra MS. written in Sârada characters, — apparently the oldest MS. of the kind hitherto discovered, — is dated —

Saṁvat 4300 Âśva-vati 13 **Sanau** tra śê 6 44 cha śê 11 53 pra 11 3 . . . .[11]

Referring the year of this date to the Saptarshi era, we find that the corresponding date, for Kaliyuga (4300 + 25 =) 4325 expired and the *amânta* Âśvina, is **Saturday,** the 12th October, A. D. 1224, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise (for Ujjain).

2. — The Deccan College MS. of the *Dhvanyâlôka* is dated —

Saptarshiḥ-saṁvat[12] 4951 Âśva[yu*]ja-krishṇa-saptamî **Maṁgalaṁ vâsaram.**[13]

The corresponding date, for Kaliyuga (4951 + 25 =) 4976 expired and the *pûrṇimânta* Âśvina, is **Tuesday,** the 21st September, A. D. 1875, when the 7th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 14 m. after mean sunrise.

3. — According to Dr. Hultzsch in *Zeitschrift Deutsch. Morg. Ges.,* Vol. XL. p. 9, a MS. of his collection is dated —

Saṁvat 24 Kârtika-vati trayôdaśyâṁ **Budhê** ‖ **Srî-Sâkaḥ** 1570 ‖

Here a Saptarshi year 24 is put down as equivalent to a 'Saka year (24 + 46 =) 70; and the corresponding date, for Saka 1570 expired and the *pûrṇimânta* Kârttika, is **Wednesday,** the 4th October, A. D. 1648, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise.

4. — A Deccan College MS. of the *Kâtantra-vṛitti Bâlabôdhinî* is dated—

Srî-Sâkaḥ 1591 **saṁvatsaraḥ** 45 Bhâdrapada-mâsaḥ pakshas=sitêtaraḥ tithir=dvâdaśî **vârô(raḥ) Kavyasy=êti** ‖

Here a Saptarshi year 45 is put down as equivalent to a 'Saka year (45 + 46 =) 91; and the corresponding date, for Saka 1591 expired and the *pûrṇimânta* Bhâdrapada, is **Friday,** the

[10] As regards centenary years, I am informed by Paṇḍit Gôvinda Kaul that, at the present day, some people would simply say *saṁ* 100, but that it is more common to say *samvat* 4800, *saṁvat* 4900, etc.

[11] The reading of the above date has been carefully verified, and there can be no doubt as to its correctness. But I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of the terms *tra śê* 6 44 *cha śê* 11 53 *pra* 11 3, which follow the word *Sanau*.

[12] Read *Saptarshi-saṁvat*.

[13] Read *Maṁgala-vâsarê*.

13th August, A. D. 1669, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half ended 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.

5. — The Deccan College Sarada MS. of the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti* is dated—

Srî-nṛipa-Vikramâditya-râjyasya gat-âbdâḥ 1717 **srî-Saptarshi-matê saṁvat** 36 Pau [va]ti 3 **Ravau Tishya-nakshatrê.**

Here a Saptarshi year 36 is put down as equivalent to an expired Vikrama year (36 + 81 = 117 =) 17; and the corresponding date, for Vikrama 1717 expired and the *pûrṇimânta* Pausha, is **Sunday,** the 9th December, A.D. 1660, when the third *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Tishya** up to 17 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

6. — The Chambâ stone inscription, mentioned in *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XXI. p. 136, bears the date—

Sriman-nṛipati-Vikramâditya-saṁvatsarê 1717 **srî-Sâlivâhana-sakê** 1582 **srî-Sâstra-saṁvatsarê** 36 Vaiśâsha(kha)-vadi trayôdaśyâṁ **Vu(bu)dha-vâsarê ।** **Mêshê=rka-saṁkr[â]-ṁtau . . .**

The Saptarshi year (which in this date and in the dates under 8, below, is described as the *Sástra*-year) 36 is here put down as equivalent to a Vikrama year (36 + 81 = 117 =) 17, and to a 'Saka year (36 + 46 =) 82. And the corresponding date, for the expired northern Vikrama year 1717, or the expired 'Saka year 1582, and the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha, is **Wednesday,** the 28th March, A. D. 1660, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 21 h. 37 m., and the **Mêsha-saṁkrânti** took place 13 h. 1 m. after mean sunrise.

7. — According to a communication received from Professor Bühler, the Sârada MS. of the *Karmakâṇḍa* (or *Ṛichaka*) *of* the Vienna Library is dated —

Srî-Vikramâdi[tya*]-sâ[kâ]ḥ 1732 **srîmach-Chhâlivâhana-sâkâḥ** 1597 śrîmad-Auraṅga-śâha-śâkaḥ[14] 18 **srî-Saptarshi-châra-matêna Saṁvat** 51 Vai śuti 10 **Sanau.**

Here a Saptarshi year 51 is put down as equivalent to a Vikrama year (51 + 81 = 132 =) 32, and to a Saka year (51 + 46 =) 97; and the corresponding date, for the expired northern Vikrama year 1732, or the expired Saka year 1597, is **Saturday,** the 24th April, A. D. 1675, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h. after mean sunrise.

8. — In connection with the preceding dates I may be permitted to give here also the dates contained in the Chambâ copper-plate inscription which is mentioned in *Archæol. Surv. of India,* Vol. XXI. pp. 136 and 137, and of which Sir A. Cunningham's rubbings have been sent to me by Mr. Fleet. In that inscription we read : —

(L. 1) . . . **srîmad-Vikramâ[rka]-saṁvatsarê** 191[5] **srî-Sâstra-saṁvatsarê** 34;

(L. 7) . . . **srîmad-Vikramâditya-saṁvatsarê** 1917 **Sâstra-saṁvatsarê** 36;

(L. 8) . . . **Vikramâditya-saṁvat** 1915 **srî-Sâstra-saṁvat** 34;

(L. 18) . . . **Vikramâditya-saṁvat** 1917 **Sâstra-saṁvat** 36.

These dates, of course, do not admit of verification, but, disregarding the hundreds, the difference between the Saptarshi years and the corresponding Vikrama years is again, what we have found it to be elsewhere, 81.

In the case of Saptarshi dates, from which the corresponding years of other eras as well as the hundreds of the Saptarshi years have been omitted, extraneous circumstances may sometimes enable us to calculate the proper European equivalents with certainty; in the absence of such circumstances to guide us, we must rest satisfied with a greater or less degree of probability. This may be seen from the two following dates : —

[14] Aurangzîb caused himself to be proclaimed emperor on the 20th August, A. D. 1658. See Elphinstone's *History of India,* ed. Cowell, p. 599.

9. — In *Zeitschrift Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XL. p. 9, Dr. Hultzsch informs us that at Hariparvat there is an inscription, dated —

Saṁ 60 'Srâ vati pra **Sukrê | Mahammada-sâha-râjyê ||**

i. e., 'in the year 60, on the first of the dark half of Srâvaṇa, on a **Friday**; in the reign of Muhammad Shâh.'

According to Dr. Hultzsch, Muhammad Shâh is said to have ruled from A. D. 1487 to 1537. Assuming this to be approximately correct, the Saptarshi year 60 of this date should correspond to A. D. 1484-85, or 'Saka 1406 expired, and the presumption is that Saka 1406 is really the year of the date, and that Muhammad Shâh reigned a few years before A. D. 1487. And calculating for Saka 1406 expired, we find that the first of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Srâvaṇa of that year corresponds to the 9th July, A. D. 1484, which *was* a **Friday**,[15] as required, and is undoubtedly the proper equivalent of the date of the inscription.

10. — Dr. Stein has kindly informed me that a Sârada MS. of the *Ratnâvalî-nâṭikâ* is dated —

Saṁvat 69, Chaitra-vati êkâdaśyâṁ **Chandra-vâsarê Sravaṇa-nakshatrê** —

i. e., 'in the year 69, on the eleventh (lunar day) of the dark half of Chaitra, on a **Monday**, (the moon being) in the *nakshatra* **Sravaṇa.**'

A Saptarshi year 69 should correspond to an expired Saka year (69 + 46 = 115 =) 15, and, the MS. being apparently an old one, we shall probably find the proper equivalent of the date in one of the expired Saka years 1615, 1515, or 1415. Calculations for 1615 and 1515 yield no satisfactory results; but in Saka 1415 expired the 11th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra fell on **Monday**, the 3rd March, A. D. 1494, when the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 19 h. 33 m., and when the moon was in the *nakshatra* **Sravaṇa** from 5 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise. Here it is highly probable that Monday, the 3rd March, A. D. 1494, *is* the proper equivalent of the date. But, if the MS. were unusually old, an equally good result would be obtained for 'Saka 1215 expired. For in that year the 11th of the dark half of the *pûrṇimânta* Chaitra fell on **Monday**, the 22nd February, A. D. 1294, when the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 13 m., and when the moon also was in the *nakshatra* **Sravaṇa** from 7 h. 53 m. after mean sunrise. — I am indebted to Dr. Stein for several other dates of this description, which it would serve no purpose to examine here.

It is clear, then, that all the above dates work out satisfactorily with the equations with which we have started. Besides, the dates prove that, since Saptarshi 4300 = A. D. 1224, **the Saptarshi year has always,** like the 'Saka year, **commenced with the month Chaitra.** And from the dates 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9, which fall within about the last four hundred years, we see that **the scheme of the lunar months during that time has been invariably the pûrṇimânta scheme.** On the other hand, the date 1, which falls in A. D. 1224, works out properly only with the *amânta* scheme; and further research must show whether this is a **solitary instance of the employment of the amânta scheme,** or whether that arrangement of the lunar fortnights was followed generally in more remote times.

We have assumed above that the Saptarshi or, as they are more commonly called, **laukika years**[16] **are current years.** To us it would indeed seem only natural that in a popular mode of reckoning this should be so; but we are not left altogether to our own guidance. Professor Bhâṇḍârkar[17] has drawn attention to certain passages in a Sanskrit work connected with the *Khaṇḍakhâdya*, in which a rule and examples are given for converting *laukika* into Saka years. The main part of the rule is, that 47 should be taken as a constant, to which the number of passed *laukika* years should be added, to find the Saka year corresponding to the

[15] On that day, the first *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

[16] See also the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, I. 52, and *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 213.

[17] *Report on Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84, pp. 83 and 369.

laukika year current. And one of the examples is, that, by putting down 'Saka 1547 and adding 17, the number of passed *laukika* years, we obtain 'Saka 1564, as the equivalent of the current *laukika* year 18. Here the writer distinctly intimates that in his time the *laukika* years were really regarded as current years; and, as the 'Saka year spoken of by him must in accordance with ordinary usage be an expired year, his rule is equivalent to our own, by which we take 46 as a constant and add the number of the current *laukika* year.

At the same time, I am not prepared to maintain *à priori* that, for a Hindu writer to quote a passed *laukika* year in a date, would be an utter impossibility. And in connection with this question I would draw attention to the following verse[18] which occurs at the end of Kayyaṭa's commentary on the *Dêvîśataka*:—

Vasu-muni-gagan-ôdadhi-sama-kâlê yâtê Kalês=**tathâ lôkê** |
dvâpañchâśê varshê rachit=êyaṁ Bhîmagupta-nṛipê ||

The author here tells us that he composed his commentary under the king Bhîmagupta, in Kaliyuga 4078 expired, *tathâ lôkê dvâpañchâśê varshê*. Now Kaliyuga 4078 expired should correspond to a *laukika* year 53 current, and, assuming the statement contained in the verse to be correct, we cannot, it would seem, help assuming that the 52nd *laukika* year has really been quoted by the author as an expired year. Here, too, we want other old dates to show us what the practice may have been in earlier times.

I have omitted from the above the difficult date of the first Baijnâth Praśasti, which has been already commented on by Professor Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I. p. 103. In my opinion, the most important question to be answered in connection with that date is, whether the first figure of the Saka year in the date of the second Praśasti is 7 or not. Sir A. Cunningham and Professor Bühler say that it is; and if they are right, the *laukika* year 80 of the date of the first Praśasti should, according to what we know at present of the Saptarshi era, no doubt correspond to 'Saka 726 expired. But the first of the bright half of Jyaishṭha did not fall on a Sunday, the week-day given in the date, in 'Saka 726 expired,[19] nor in fact in any of the eight years from Saka 722 to 729 expired.[20] If, on the other hand, we were not restricted by the date of the second Praśasti to any particular century of the 'Saka era, I would say that the *laukika* year 80 of the first Praśasti must correspond to Saka 1126 expired, because, of all the expired 26th years of the centuries of the 'Saka era from Saka 626 to 'Saka 1426, only the year 1126 yields the desired Sunday (the 2nd May, A.D. 1204). And I should not be prevented by anything in the contents of the inscription and the language of the author, or in the alphabet employed, from assigning the inscription to so late a period.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from Vol.* XIX. *p.* 102).

CHAPTER III.; continued.

THE DETACHED ROCK EDICTS.

2. THE EDICTS OF SAHASARAM, RUPNATH, AND BAIRAT.

These inscriptions, without being identical, have too many points of analogy to allow of their interpretations being dealt with separately. Moreover, in certain difficult passages they throw light on one another, and hence their simultaneous consideration is specially necessary. It is well

---

[18] This verse first became known to me through an extract from the work sent to me by Dr. Stein; it is published in the *Kâvyamâlâ*, in the note on the heading of the *Vakrôktipañchâśikâ*.

[19] In Śaka 726 expired the first of the bright half of Vaiśâkha did fall on a Sunday (the 14th April, A. D. 804), but there is no reason to assume that the writer put down a wrong month in the date.

[20] In Śaka 730 expired the first of the bright half of Jyaishṭha *was* a Sunday, — the 30th April, A. D. 808.

known that, of all our edicts, these are those which have been most recently published. Discovered by different persons (cf. *Corpus*, p. 2), they owed their reproduction for the first time to the labours of General Cunningham. The copies and rubbings were sent to Dr. Bühler, who published them, and was the first to interpret them, in 1877. The facsimiles which he has given of the first two, form as yet the best complement for their study which we possess, but, though superior to the reproductions of the *Corpus*, they are, unfortunately, still unsatisfactory. We now know too well how generally imperfect are the reproductions prepared for the *Corpus*. In the present case the numerous and serious divergencies to which Dr. Bühler calls attention, may perhaps be explained by the condition of the rock; but they at any rate justify a certain amount of distrust in the corrections which several passages demand. Fortunately, we may be almost sure that, however desirable it may be to have a revision of the text of these monuments undertaken by a competent hand, it will be of much more use from the point of view of philological detail, than from that of understanding the general sense of the whole.

I must express here my thanks to Dr. Bühler, who has been kind enough to furnish me with the photograph of the Sahasarâm inscription, to which he refers in his first article as having been sent to him by General Cunningham. I refer to this photograph under the abbreviation Ph. B.

TEXT.

SAHASARAM.[1]

1 Dêvânampiyê hêvaṁ â —— iyâni[1] savachhalâni ı aṁ upâsakê sumi ı na cha bâḍhaṁ palakaṁtê [.]

2 saviṁchhalê sâdhikê ı aṁ —— tê[2] êtêna cha aṁtalêna ı jaṁbudîpasi ı aṁmisaṁ dêvâ ? saṁ ta

3 munisâ misaṁdêva kaṭâ[3] ı [.] pala —— iyaṁ phalê . ô —— yaṁ mahatatâ va chakiyê pâvatavê[4] ı [.] khudakêna pi pala-

4 kamamînênâ vipulê pi suagakiyê âlâ —— v.[5] ı [.] sê êtâyê aṭhâyê iyaṁ sâvânê[6] ı [.] khudakâ cha uḍâlâ châ pa-

5 lakamaṁtu aṁtâ pi chaṁ jânaṁtu[7] ı chilaṭhitîkê châ palakamê hôtu ı iyaṁ cha aṭhê vaḍhisati ı vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati

6 dîyâḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyênâ diyaḍhiyaṁ[8] vaḍhisati ı [.] iyaṁ cha savanê vivuthêna [.] duvê sapaṁnâlâti

7 satâ vivuthâ ti[9] 256 [.] ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatêsu likhâpayâthâ ya . vâ a-

8 thi hêtâ silâthaṁbhâ tata pi likhâpayatha yi[10] [.]

Notes on Dr. Bühler's Readings.

l. 2. B. dêvâ husaṁ ta: l. 4. B. suag[ê] [sa]kiyê â-: Judging from the *facsimile* neither is there any trace of the character *sa*, nor is there the necessary room for it. l. 5. pi chaṁ, I can discover no trace of the anusvâra in Ph. B. l. 8. B. thi hêtê si-.

RUPNATH.

1 Dêvânaṁpiyê hêvaṁ âhâ [.] sâti(lê)kâni aḍhitiyâni vasa sumi pâkâ . . . kê nô cha bâḍhi pakatê sâtilêkê chu chhavachharê ya sumi hâkâ —— pitê

2 bâḍhiṁ cha pakatê[11] [.] yâ imâya kâlâya jaṁbudipasi amisâdêvâ husu tê dâni misaṁkaṭâ [.] pakamasi hi êsa phalê nô cha êsâ mahatatâ pâpôtavê [.] khudakêna hi ka

3 pi[12] pakamamânênâ sakiyê pipulê pi svagê ârôdhêvê [.] êtiya aṭhâya cha sâvanê kaṭê khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pakamaṁtu[13] ti aṁtâ pi cha jânaṁtu [.] iyaṁ pakarâ va

[1] I give the text as it seems to me to appear in the *facsimile* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 155. Dr. Bühler's variants are given in notes.

4 kiti chirathitikê siyâ[14] iya hi athê vadhi vadhisiti vipula cha vadhisiti apaladhiyênâ diyadhiya vadhisata [.] iya cha athê pavatisa lêkhâpêta vâ lata hadha[15] cha atha

5 silâthabhê silâthambhasi lâkhâpêtavaya ta [.] êtinâ[16] cha vayajanênâ yâvataka tupaka ahâlê savara vivasêtaviya ti vyathênâ sâvanê katê [.] 256 sa-

6 tavivâsâ ta[17] [.]

Notes on Dr. Bühler's Readings.

l. 1. B. sâtirakêkâni adhitisâni; sumi pâkâ sa[va]ki nô; sumi haka samghapapitê l. 2. B. bâdhi cha; yi imâya; dâni masâkatâ; khudakênâ hi, according to Dr. Bühler it is possible that there was a letter between *hi* and *ka*, but he is inclined to see only accidental scratches in the traces of the *facsimile*; l. 3. B. pi parumaminênâ; ârôdhavê; pakârê cha; l. 4. B. diyadhiyam vadhisati; hadha cha athi; l. 5. B. silâthubhê; vivasêtavâya ti vyuthênâ.

BAIRAT.

1 Dêvânampiyê âhâ [.] sati ——

2 vasânam ya paka upâsakê —— bâdha ——

3 am mamayâ samghê papayâ atê . dhi cha ——

4 jambudipasi amisânam dêva hi —— vi —— mâsi êsa . lê ——

5 hâhi êsê mapâtanê vachakayê —— ? maminênâ ya —— pa

6 vipulê pi svamgikiyê âlôdhêtayê —— kâ chê udâlâ châ palakamata ti

7 amtâ pi cha jânamtu ti chilathiti —— pulam pi vadhisati

8 diyadhiyam vadhisati [.] —— 56

Notes on Dr. Bühler's Readings.

l. 1. B. sâti; l. 2. B. ya haka upâsakê n[ô] cha bâdham cha ——; l. 3. B. samghê papayitê bâdham cha ——; l. 4. B. —— kamasi êsa . lê ——; l. 5. B. [n]ô hi êsê mahatanê; l. 6. B. svamgê [sa]kyê alâdhêtavê —— kâ cha udâlâ cha palakamatu ti; l. 7. B. amtê pi janamtu; l. 8. 56. According to B., these figures do not appear in the rubbing, and he has doubts as to their existence.

Bühler, *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 149 ff., Vol. VIII. pp. 141 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Academy*, 14th July 1877, p. 37; Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, New Ed., part 6, pp. 57 and ff.; Pischel, *Academy*, 11th August 1877, p. 145; Oldenberg, *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* XXXV. pp. 470 and ff.

NOTES.

SAHASARAM.

1. I cannot but agree with the decisive remarks of Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahâvagga*, I. xxxviii., and *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, *loc. cit.*), in favour of the reading *[adha]tiyâni* both here and at Rûpnâth. It is true that at Rûpnâth the apparent reading is *adhitiyâni*, but I have just now warned my readers as to the prudent mistrust with which our *facsimiles* are to be regarded. Even in this very passage we have *savi[m]chhalê*, which, there can be no doubt, should certainly be *sa[m]vachhalê* and at Rûpnâth (l. 4) we have twice over *vadhisiti*, although the correct reading must be *vadhisati*. Again, in line 2 of that edict, with the same letter ɖ, we read *bâdhim*, where the original stone assuredly has, or had, *bâdham*. This reading must be translated 'two years and a half.' Judging from the *facsimile*, the *lacuna* represents only seven characters, and I would complete it by *â[ha sâdhikâni adha]tiyâni* rather than by *sâtilêkâni*. It will be seen that, a little further on, our text gives us *savimchhalê sâdhikê*, as against *sâtilêkê chhavachharê* at Rûpnâth. With regard to the other details there is nothing to add to the remarks of Dr. Bühler; I may only observe that, if we translate literally 'I am an *upâsaka* (Buddhist layman) for two years and a half, and have not made great efforts,' we shall give a wrong idea of the real mean-

ing, as the remainder of the sentence clearly shews. What the king means is 'I have been an *upâsaka* for two and a half years without making great efforts; and it is now more than a year since,' &c.

2. It is clear that we must complete the *lacuna* either by *aṁ[sumi bâḍhaṁ palakaṁ]tê*, or by *aṁ[sumi saṁghapâpi]te* (cf. the note to the corresponding passage in Rûpnâth). Dr. Bühler proposes the former restoration, and, as a matter of fact, the *lacuna* seems to be one of about seven characters. The meaning, in any case, would remain identical in substance. In dealing with the sixth Columnar Edict (note 1), I have had occasion to point out how the chronological data which we find here, combined with the indications which we find in the 10th Edict of Khâlsi, put it beyond any doubt that the present text does actually emanate from the same author as he who engraved the columnar edicts. These *data* permit us to fix the time of our inscriptions, Piyadasi, according to his own statements, having been converted in the ninth year, say eight years and three months, after his coronation, we must first add to these figures two years and a half and a fraction, say two years and seven months, and again a year and a fraction, say a year and three months, which sum places these inscriptions, as well as those on the Barâbar caves which we shall shortly examine, in the thirteenth year after his coronation. This is not the place to enter into the general historical question, and I shall content myself with one remark. The *Mahâvaṁsa* (p. 22, l. 2; p. 23, l. 3) places the conversion of Aśôka in the fourth year following his coronation, which disagrees with the evidence of Khâlsi; but it places the king's coronation in the fifth year after his coming to the throne, which gives for his conversion the ninth year of his effective rule. There is, therefore, in this partial agreement between authentic documents, the trace of an exact tradition. We need not decide here as to what cause can be assigned for the mistake; whether the coronation has been arbitrarily separated from the coming to the throne, or whether the epoch from which the nine years were counted has been unduly moved back by the Sinhalese annals from the coronation to the coming to the throne of the king.

3. In my opinion this is one of the most difficult sentences of the edict. In the first place, it presents a little uncertainty as to the reading of the character which follows *dêvâ*. Dr. Bühler reads *hu*, which gives *husaṁ*, corresponding to the *husu* (Pâli *ahuṁsu*) of Rûpnâth. But Rûpnâth gives a correlative *yâ* to the pronoun *tê*, which we could scarcely do without, and which is wanting here. Moreover, to judge from the traces of the facsimile, the character *hu* must have taken the form [illegible] instead of the [illegible] of the ordinary method of writing. Under these conditions, I think that in the vertical mark I we can only recognize the sign of separation, common both in our present text and in that of Khâlsi, and that the two horizontal marks are only two accidental scratches on the rock. Moreover, an inspection of Ph. B. appears to me to do away with all uncertainty on this point. I accordingly take *saṁta* for *saṁtê*, as equivalent to *santaḥ*, the nominative plural of the participle *sat*. At the same time, it is clear that the choice between the two alternatives is not of a nature to influence the general interpretation of the phrase. It is the meaning, which it is most important to determine. Dr. Bühler translates: 'During this interval, the gods that were [held to be] true gods in Jambudvîpa, have been made (*to be regarded as*) men and as false.' I should have been much surprised had not Dr. Bühler, with his vast experience of the turn of Hindu thought and expression, been himself taken aback by such a manner of speaking. He adds, in a note, 'this phrase probably alludes to the Buddhist belief that the Dêvas also have shorter or longer terms of existence, after which they die, and are born again in other stages of existence, according to their *karma*.' But this belief, as a whole, is quite as much Brâhmaṇical as Buddhist, and Piyadasi, if he preached it, would have said nothing new. Besides, such an expression would be extremely inexact and insufficient: it is not only as men, but as animals, as dwellers in the infernal regions, &c., that the Dêvas, like other living beings, are liable to be born again. On the other hand, how could we admit that a Buddhist should characterise his conversion by saying that he had reduced the Brâhmaṇical Dêvas to the rank of false gods. 'True gods' and

'False gods' are phrases not only strange to what we know of both Buddhist and Hindu phraseology, but directly contradictory to all that we know of the Buddhist writings and teachings. We never find in them any polemics against the popular deities. They have their recognised place in the cosmological system, and in the legends are put into continual connexion with Buddha and his disciples. It was the Dêvas, Indra and Brahmâ, who received Buddha at his birth; it was to the fellowship of the Dêvas that the mother of Buddha was raised when she died: and it was from among the Dêvas Tushitas that, according to all schools of tradition, Śâkyamuni descended to become incarnate; his future successor is, pending the hour of his mission, the very Chief of the Dêvas. Without doubt, these Dêvas play but a subordinate part in the general system of Buddhism; but that is as much the case in those systems of philosophy reputed the most orthodox. I may add, with the reserve which an argument of this nature demands, that it would be singular for the king to thus pride himself on having waged a war of extermination against the Dêvas, while he thought it proper, in this same inscription to call himself *dêvânâṁpriya.* This is not a real name, a personal or family name, which could not be arbitrarily changed, and of which the exact meaning might have been obliterated or worn out by use; but a surname, a title chosen freely, and of which the meaning 'dear unto the Dêvas' was evident to every mind. Evidently Dr. Bühler's translation is but a last resource, and cannot be held to be satisfactory. So far, we can venture to be certain; but it is not so easy to shew what alternative explanation is to be given. We cannot turn to the parallel phrase at Rûpnâth, for it is less explicit than the present one, and it rather requires to borrow light from it, than is able to lend any of its own. I may add that I cannot but agree with Dr. Bühler so far as regards the analysis of each single word of the sentence, especially of the words *misâ* (or *misaṁ*) and *amisâ* (or *amisaṁ*), which are the only ones about which there can be any doubt. Like him, I consider them as equivalent to the Sanskrit *mrishâ* and *amrishâ.* An initial difficulty arises as to the syntactic part played by *munisâ,* — whether we should take it as a subject or as an attribute. If I am right in reading *saṁtê,* the present participle, the mere position of the words places the matter beyond doubt, and we must take *munisâ* as the subject: the reading *husaṁ tê,* although it would not make this conclusion so certain, would certainly not exclude it; even in that case it would be the more natural one. It is on the other hand, indirectly confirmed by the absence of the word at Rûpnâth. The king could not omit a word which was characteristic of the work which he boasts of having accomplished; while he could very easily do so, if the word were merely a general designation of the people to whom it is applied. I consider, therefore, that we must translate, 'the men who were really the Dêvas (or the gods) have been rendered falsely gods,' or in other words, 'have been dispossessed of their rank.'[2] The king, therefore, had here in view a category of men who, while they were all the time mere men, were in reality gods. Who are these men, gods of Jambudvîpa? It appears to me that we can have no hesitation in recognising them as the Brâhmaṇs. To call a witness who is beyond suspicion, I cite the St. Petersburg Dictionary, which, in the article *dêva,* has a special paragraph for the case, in which the word means 'a god upon the earth,' who is, says Dr. Böhtlingk, properly the Brâhmaṇ. We meet, moreover, in a similar sense, the synonyms *kshitidêva, bhûdêva, bhûsura,* all of which mean literally a 'terrestrial god,' and which commonly mean 'Brâhmaṇ.' I will only refer to that passage, quoted by Aufrecht,[3] of the *Saṁkshêpaśaṁkarajaya,* in which the author refers to Brâhmaṇs and Buddhists by the expression *bhûsura-saugatâḥ,* "the terrestrial gods, and the disciples of the Sugata." That the expression is a very customary and very old one, may be seen from numerous passages. It will suffice to refer to Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X. pp. 35 and ff., and H. Zimmer, *Altind. Leben,* p. 205. But there is more than this, — we have some historical confirmation of the interpretation here

[2] We could, however, even with taking *munisâ* as subject, get a translation, not very different from that of Dr. Bühler's, provided we considered *misâdêvâ,* and *amisâdêvâ* as *bahuvrihis.* But, besides this translation having against it the same objections as those which appear to me to condemn Dr. Buhler's rendering, it will suffice, in order to exclude it from consideration, to point out that R. has not *amisâdêvâ kaṭâ* but *amisâkaṭâ.*

[3] *Catal. Bodl.* p. 254, 3.

proposed. How does the *Mahâvaṁsa* characterise the conversion of Aśôka ? It is by the fact that he dismissed the sixty thousand Brâhmaṇs whom, according to the custom of his father, he had fed every day, and substituted for them sixty thousand Buddhist *Sramaṇas*. It characterises the conversion, therefore, by an evident manifestation of the disfavour with which he regarded Brâhmaṇs. By this conduct, by this example, he could indeed flatter himself with having inflicted a deep wound on their prestige. Tradition, therefore, comes positively to our aid, and has moreover the advantage of replying beforehand to an objection, feeble enough in itself, which we might be tempted to found upon the tone with which the king generally speaks of Brâhmaṇs, continually associating them with *Sramaṇas*. We must evidently see in this fact only the results of the spirit of tolerance which animates his edicts : but surely, it is not more difficult to reconcile this tolerance with our translation of the present sentence, than with the tradition handed down by the Sinhalese annalist.[4]

4. There is no doubt as to the characters required to complete the two *lacunas* ; *pala-[kamasi hi] iyaṁ* and *phalê [n]ô [cha i]yaṁ*. The words which follow present greater difficulties. Dr. Bühler translates *nô cha iyaṁ* &c., by 'and it ought not to be said to be an effect of (*my*) greatness.' It is quite possible that *pâvatavê* should correspond to a Sanskṛit *pravaktavyaṁ*, although it must at least be admitted that the *â* long is out of place. But it is a pity that Dr. Bühler has not been more explicit as to the supposed phrase *mahatatâvachakiyê*, the analysis of which is far from clear. He himself states his doubts as to the derivation of *vachakiya*, from *vâchaka* + the suffix *iya*. I fancy that what has induced Dr. Bühler to adhere to this analysis of the text, is the apparently nearly concordant reading of Bairât, *mahâtanê vachakayê* ; but that inscription has suffered so greatly, and is so fragmentary, and the reproduction of it is so plainly incomplete, that it appears to me to be very unwise to take it as a point of departure : on the contrary, it is much more probable that the reading of Sahasarâm has had an influence on its decipherment. Under these circumstances, I cannot but incline towards another analysis ; I read *sakiyê* for *chakiyê*, which gives us *nô cha iyaṁ mahatatâ va sakiyê pâvatavê*. This closely approaches the turn of the sentence at Rûpnâth, about which there can be no doubt. Dr. Bühler has correctly recognised the *pâpôtavê* of that inscription as corresponding to the Sanskṛit *prâptavyaḥ*. We have the same root here in *pâvatavê*, which, transcribed according to the rules of Sanskṛit orthography, would be *prâptavê*. The *v* stands for *p* as elsewhere, — *e. g.* lower down in this same inscription we have *avaladhiyêna* for *apaladhi*° : the substitution of the infinitive is rendered necessary to the sentence by the addition of *śakyaṁ*, 'and this [fruit] cannot be obtained by mere power alone.'

5. We shall have exactly the same construction in this sentence as in the preceding one, if we (following Dr. Bühler's example) add the syllable *sa* after *svagê* and before *kiyê*, both here and at Bairât. Judging from the facsimiles, it does not appear to be likely that the stone has really ever had the character; but, even if it has not been inadvertently omitted, Dr. Bühler, who has had more of the original documents in his hands than we have, is the best judge of these possibilities. Moreover, Rûpnâth certainly confirms this conjecture, and I think that, for the present, it is best to adhere to it. As regards the form *palakamamînênâ*, which also seems to occur at Bairât, and perhaps, too, at Rûpnâth, see above, note 19 to the first Dhauli detached edict. We know that *vipulê* is in antithesis to *khudakêna*, 'even the small can conquer *svarga*, however great it may be,' that is to say, however great the recompense may be.

6. It is important to fix accurately, before we proceed further, the exact meaning of the word *sâvanê*. I do not here refer to the literal meaning of 'proclamation,' 'promulgation,' which need not form the subject of any discussion. We have already met it twice in the 7th

4 I have indicated the reasons which appear to me to demand that *munisâ* should be taken as a subject. It is almost useless to remark expressly that, if it is preferred to take it as an attribute, my explanation would not be essentially modified. We should then translate 'the people who were in reality the gods in Jambudvîpa. I have reduced to [become simply] men, and usurpers of the title of Dêva.'

(l. 20) and in the 8th (l. 1) Columnar Edicts. In both cases the word is expressly applied to the proclamations of the king, made by him or by his order, and recorded in his inscriptions. *Iyaṁ* is, moreover, the same pronoun by which Piyadasi, in all his monuments, alludes to the inscription in which it may be found, 'the present inscription.' We have no reason for taking it here in any other sense, and *à priori* we can only translate the whole by 'it is with a view to this result that the present proclamation is made.' We shall shortly see if what follows is inconsistent with this interpretation.

7. Dr. Bühler is mistaken about *aṁta*; it is a nominative plural, which refers to the frontier populations, — to the foreign countries. Comparison with J. ii. 6, with Dh. (det. ed.) ii. 4, &c., leaves room for no doubt. As for *jânaṁtu*, if we should not read *taṁ* for *chaṁ*, which would give the verb an object, the meaning of the sentence is completed without effort, by supplying an equivalent object understood. Compare the final sentence of the edict of Bhabra.

8. It will be remembered that in the 13th (Rock) Edict (n. *a.*) we have already noticed an analogous use, in an indefinite sense, of the word *diyâḍha*, Pâli *diyaḍḍha* and *divaḍḍha*. We are reminded of the meaning in Sanskṛit sanctioned for *parârdha*, to express the highest possible number. I think that we may sufficiently accurately represent the analysis of the phrase by an equivalent such as 'a hundred times, a hundred times a million times.'

9. This sentence is the one of the whole edict which presents most difficulties, and which leaves most room for discussion. It early attracted the attention of General Cunningham; he read the figures correctly, and this point is now undisputed. The two doubtful points, the solution of each of which is connected with the other, are, on the one hand the translation of *vivutha* or *vyutha*, and, on the other hand, what it is to which the figures refer. Regarding the second point, Dr. Bühler shews no hesitation. On the supposition that they refer to years, and contain a date, he has been almost necessarily led to find in the *vivutha*, which thus becomes the initial point of an era, a name of Buddha. The great authority of Dr. Bühler has evidently accounted for the assent, expressed or tacit, with which his interpretation of the figures and their meaning was at first received. Since then, Dr. Oldenberg has reconsidered the matter, and has pointed out that in the two members of the phrase in question,

at Sahasarâm	at Rûpnâth
duvê sapaṁnâlâti satâ vivuthâ ti 256.	256 satavivâsâ ta.

the word signifying 'year' is wanting, and that there are on the other hand nominatives plural, *vivuthâ*, *vivâsâ*, such as might be expected beside a noun of number. As no other instance has yet been quoted authorising the omission of the word *vasa* or *saṁvachhala*, he concludes that we should translate '256 *satas* are *viṿuthas*' and 'there are 256 *vivâsas* of the *sata*.' We shall return to these outline-translations subsequently. It appears to me, however, that under any circumstances Dr. Oldenberg is right in his criticism, and in his general analysis of the sentence. The omission of the word for 'year' might be explained if we had to deal with a simple number, but here we have before us a whole sentence, and, if we take Dr. Bühler's interpretation, we should have to admit that the king expresses himself thus, '256 are passed,' which is barely credible. I may add that, on two or three occasions, our inscriptions employ numeral figures, for instance, in the first Edict at Kapur di Giri, in the enumeration of *two* peacocks, and *one* gazelle, or in the 13th Edict at Khâlsi and at Kapur di Giri, *à propos* of the *four* Greek kings. From this it follows that there is no reason *à priori* for assuming that the figures here necessarily refer to years. Dr. Oldenberg makes another very just remark, that we cannot separate the *satâ vivuthâ* at Sahasarâm from the *satavivâsâ* at Rûpnâth. From this there results a two-fold conclusion: first, that *vivuthâ*, *vyuthâ*, must be derived, as Messrs. Rhys Davids and Pischel have from the first pointed out, from the root *vi-vas*, and corresponds to the Sanskṛit *vyushita*. Dr. Bühler, who, not without hesitation, opposes this analysis, relies principally on the difficulties of translation, but these have little weight, being founded on the preconceived idea that we absolutely require here the meaning of 'elapsed.' I doubt if at the present day this derivation would meet

with any opponent. I can offer a further confirmation in the future participle *vivasêtaviyê*, which has not hitherto been recognised at Rûpnâth, and to which I shall come back again immediately. The second consequence is that *satá* at Sahasarâm cannot be, as Dr. Bühler would have it, the noun of number 'hundred,' because that translation is, as all agree, inadmissible at Rûpnâth; we must therefore give up the translation proposed by Dr. Bühler for the characters *duvê sapaṁnâlâti satá* which he renders in Sanskrit by *dvé shaṭpañchâśadadhiśatá*, while at the same time recognising the difficulties of the explanation. Of these I see two principal ones: the first is phonetic; *paṁnâlâti* for *pañchaśadadhi* is without analogy or example in the phonetics of our inscriptions. In the second place, the intercalation of the number fifty-six between the number two and the number hundred, in order to express two hundred and fifty-six, would be opposed to all practice, and, it seems to me, contrary to the most elementary logic. Dr. Oldenberg accordingly reads 𑀙 for 𑀮 a very simple correction (I must allow that Ph. E. is not very favourable to this reading, although the character 𑀮 is by no means above all suspicion), and, admitting that, as often happens, the numbers are written in an abridged form, he transcribes *duvê sa* (i. e. *satá*) *paṁná* (*i. e. paṁnâsa*, Skr. *pañchâśat*) *chha* (i. e. *shaṭ*) *ti*. I concur entirely with his conjecture, and do so the more easily because, in all particulars, I had previously independently arrived at the same conclusions. If I state this, it is certainly not to claim the honour of an hypothesis, which I think to be a happy one. In the present case, the priority of the suggestion is not a matter of discussion, and unquestionably belongs to Dr. Oldenberg. I only lay stress upon the coincidence in order to add probability and credit to the explanations proposed. Dr. Oldenberg has again rightly perceived that it is impossible, in two short sentences closely connected like these, to attribute to one and the same word, *vivutha*, two applications so different as those which Dr. Bühler proposed. Having come so far, I am now obliged, as to the true meaning of this word, *vivutha*, to differ equally from both my learned predecessors. I have just above touched on its derivation; — we have to deal with a participle of *vi-vas*. I have pointed out that Rûpnâth gives us a further proof in the word *vivasêtaviyê*, Skr. *vivasayitavyaṁ*, regarding which reference may be made to the commentary on that text (n. 6). It will there be seen that the king recommends *vivasayituṁ*, or, in other words, the being, the becoming *viyutha*. That ought at once to cause us to distrust the proposed interpretations. In the *vyutha*, both Drs. Bühler and Oldenberg search for the head, the one of the Buddhist doctrine, the other of a doctrine perhaps analogous but different, the word not being sanctioned as a technical term in Buddhism. We know now, from what I have said above (n. 1) that our inscription is certainly Buddhist. It is certain, on the other hand, that *vyutha*, meaning the Buddha, would be a name absolutely new to us. It remains to be seen if the conclusion to be drawn from these premises is not simply that *vyutha* in no way refers to the Buddha at all; and it is, in fact, this to which we are led by all the other indications. I have previously drawn attention to the fact that the 8th Columnar Edict presents, when compared with the present one, analogies of which I am astonished that advantage has not been taken: 'that men may make rapid progress in the Religion, it is for this reason that I have promulgated religious exhortations, that I have given various directions in regard to the Religion. I have appointed numerous [officers] over the people . . . . . that they may spread abroad my instructions, and develope (my wishes). I have also appointed *rajjûkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful. Thus saith Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas: it is with this object alone that I have erected columns [covered with] religious [inscriptions], instituted overseers of the Religion, and spread abroad religious exhortations.' We are here in the presence of the same ideas, of the same stage of development as in our present edict in both cases the same terms are found, — especially the word *sávana*. At Delhi, as here we are informed about the instructions which the king promulgates, and the inscriptions which he scatters far and wide to insure that his teaching should be the more lasting. There we are told further about the officers who in this propaganda lend him an essential aid, who go forth spreading abroad and developing his intentions. I believe that, in this particular also, the agreement continues in our text. We have seen

that, in line 4, there is no reason for seeking in *sâvanê* anything other than the same instructions which are here recorded. It is exactly the same in the present passage. The exhortations of the text are purely and simply identical with those which the king, in many other passages, continually speaks of as emanating from him and in his own name, without ever invoking the authority of a sacred text of which we have no reason to expect the mention in the present case. But how then to understand *vivutha*? The most experienced students of Hindu and of Buddhist literature, have hitherto discovered no proof of a technical use of the verb *vi-vas*. We can therefore only start from the ordinary sense of the word. This is well known, and gives rise to no doubt; it is that of 'to be absent,' 'to depart from one's country.' The substantive *vivâsa* is used with the corresponding value of 'absence, departure from home.' Under these conditions, nothing is simpler than to take *viyutha* as meaning these messengers, these, as it were, *missi dominici*, on the establishment of whom Piyadasi set so much value, the *dûtas* or messengers of whom he speaks in the 13th Rock Edict. Subject, therefore, to these remarks, I would render the word by 'missionary.' Among the expressions which occur to me, it is the only one which allows me to retain for the participle *vivutha*, and for the verb *vi-vas* in its various applications, an equivalent which would give in the English translation the uniformity of expression used by the text. The word will have the advantage of directly reminding us of those missionaries of whom, as we know from the Mahâvaṁsa, so great a number expatriated themselves during the reign of Aśôka, to carry the teaching of Buddhism to all parts of his vast empire, and above all to the foreign nations, the *aṁtâ*, with whom our edict expressly deals a little higher up. The *vyuṭha* would be here, as is in the nature of things and in the essence of his *rôle*, only the representative, the substitute of the king. In this way the whole passage is perfectly consistent: the king, after having spoken of these instructions as coming from himself, returns to the subject saying that it is his 'messenger,' his 'missionary,' who is charged with spreading them abroad, with actually putting them into circulation, and he adds that there have been two hundred and fifty-six departures of similar messengers. It follows from this that *sata* can only be understood as corresponding to the Sanskṛit *sattva*, 'living being, man,' as has been already recognized by Dr. Oldenberg. We could, if absolutely necessary, follow Dr. Bühler in interpreting it as an equivalent of the Sanskṛit *śâstṛi*, 'master, teacher.' This translation would, in no way, be incompatible with the meaning which I attribute to *vivutha*; but the phonetic difficulty, the presence of an unaspirated *t*, would render such an explanation only allowable as a last resource. There remains only one slight obscurity over a matter of detail. It is natural that, reduced as we are to a translation solely founded on etymology, we should not be in a position to determine the precise official signification of the title, and how far it corresponds with those mentioned in other inscriptions, *dharmamahâmâtras*, *dûtas*, &c. We may, at the same time, remark that according to the 5th Girnâr Edict, the creation of the *dharmamahâmâtras* belonged to the year following that from which our inscription takes its date. It is possible that, at the epoch at which we now are, Piyadasi had not yet conceived the idea of a regular organization, and that the somewhat vague term *vyutha* corresponds to this early stage of affairs, when, yielding to the first inspirations of his zeal, he sent abroad a large number of missionaries, without fixing their precise title, charging them to go as far as they could (cf. n. 6 of Rûpnâth) to spread abroad his teaching.

10. There can be hardly any doubt that the end of line 7 should read *yata vâ a-*. It forms a correlative to the *tatu* following. There remains therefore, for the verb which precedes, *likhâpayâthâ*, and not *likhâpayâ thâya*, as Dr. Bühler writes. We thus escape the necessity of admitting with him a complication of forms and of constructions equally improbable. *Likhâpayâthâ* is the second person plural. The king here directly addresses his officers (as we shall see that he does at Rûpnâth in another sentence) and says to them: 'cause to be engraved upon the mountains,' &c. It it clear that, according to this analogy, we must read at the end of the edict *likhâpayatha ti*. Ph. B. actually favours the reading *ti* instead of *yi*. I have some hesitation regarding the analysis of the word *hêtâ*. The method which first suggests itself, is, as Dr. Bühler has done, to seek in it the nominative plural of the pronoun; but the

presence of the pronoun is awkward, as the king wishes to say 'pillars' rather than 'these pillars.' On the other hand, it appears that at Rûpnâth we have the adverb *hidha*, that is to say, 'down here, on the earth, in the world.' It is perhaps preferable to admit that we have here its equivalent in *hêtá*, i. e. *atra, êttha*. Cf. G. VIII. l. 3; Kh. VIII. 23 and the notes.

RUPNATH.

11. We have seen that it is *adhatiyáni* which we must read (see above, note 1): so also *kaká* and not *háká*, and, further on, *bádhaṁ* and not *bádhiṁ*. Regarding the characters following *sumi*, I cannot agree with Dr. Bühler, who reads, or restores, *sá[va]ki*. From his own facsimile it is clear that between the letter which he reads *sá*, and that which he reads *ki*, and which I read *kê*, there are wanting two characters, and not one. The first sign, which he reads *sá* is by no means clear. It is rather *su* which should be read, if the traces visible on the facsimile were above all suspicion. But numerous examples bear witness that it is not so, and, under these conditions, I have little hesitation in maintaining that the stone had really, here as at Sahasarâm, *upásakê*. Moreover, *sávakê*, meaning a layman, is a Jain expression, the presence of which here would surprise us. The reading *saṁghapápitê*, translated 'having reached the Saṁgha, being entered into the Saṁgha,' is a very ingenious conjecture of Dr. Bühler's. But, if I am inclined to accept this reading, I am not ready to concur in its interpretation as given by Dr. Bühler. The expression *saṁghaṁ práptuṁ*, for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order,' is vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period. I shall later on come to this matter again, and shall explain why I prefer to take this 'entering' in a material, physical meaning, and the phrase as commemorating the first solemn visit paid by the king to the assembly of monks, after his conversion.

12. It is probable enough that the complete reading is that indicated by the *facsimile* of the *Corpus*, — *khudakêna hi pi ka-*. Dr. Bühler corrects to *kiṁpi paka-*, in which he is very probably right. I suspect that *pipulê* of the facsimile does not represent a variant orthography, but that the variation is only apparent, and that the stone had in reality *vipulê*. The reading *árôdhavê* is also, I am persuaded, only apparent. Everywhere in this inscription, *r* is replaced by *l*, and it is *áládhavê* which has been engraved on the rock. The inspection of the facsimile appears to me to greatly favour this correction, which, under any circumstances, would have to be made conjecturally.

13. I pass over evident rectifications such as *êtáya*. It will be remarked that the absence of the pronoun *idaṁ*, or some such, giving an indeterminate shade to the substantive, tends to favour the interpretation which I have given for the corresponding sentence at Sahasarâm.

14. The reading *pakárê*, admitted by Dr. Bühler, appears to me to give little satisfaction as regards sense. Moreover, I can discover in the facsimile no trace of the *á* long. I think that there can be no doubt that the stone bore in reality *pakamê*, corresponding to the *palakamê* of Sahasarâm, and I translate in conformity with this conjecture. For *kiti* read *kiṁti*. As for *vadhi* I cannot recognise it as an accusative. We must either read *athavadhi* as a nominative, or admit that the two syllables *vadhi* have been repeated by an error of the engraver. I confess that the perfect agreement which it would establish with Sahasarâm causes me to lean to the second alternative.

15. Dr. Bühler has, I think, been led astray by his not recognising the two future participles passive which the sentence contains. At the end we must certainly read *lêkhápêtaviyati*. As for the exact form of the first one, the evident errors in the facsimile as regards the characters which follow, throw the matter into some uncertainty. For *lêkhápêtaválata*, we must certainly read the consonants: *l, kh, p, t, v, y, t*. But, according to

the vocalization, which, whether owing to the rock being worn away or to the imperfections of the facsimile, unfortunately escapes us, we must either understand *lêkhâpita va yata* (in which *yatra* commences the following sentence), or *lêkhâpitaviyê ti.* It is possible to adduce arguments in favour of either solution; but I do not venture to decide absolutely, and console myself with the small importance of the question, so far as regards the general meaning of the passage which is not affected. What is certain, is that the king, here as at Sahasarâm, gives an order, or at least a counsel, to the readers whom he addresses. We shall see that the following sentence throws still further light on this new construction. For *hadha,* I correct with Dr. Bühler, but not without some hesitation, *hidha,* equivalent to *iha.* It is unnecessary to point out the corrections *athi, silâṭhaṁbhê.*

16. In the interpretation of this passage, I differ entirely from Dr. Bühler: the difficulties and improbabilities in the translation proposed by him are evident. I hope that the solution which I propose will recommend itself by its simplicity, and by its agreement with the general tone of the edicts of the king. Regarding the reading, I only differ from my eminent predecessor as regards two details: in the place of *savara,* I read *savata*; if the reader will take the trouble to refer to the facsimile, and to note, on the one hand the distance which separates the so-called 𑀭 from the letter following, and on the other hand, the form ᛕ, and not 𑀢 which *t* has in this inscription, I do not think that he will have any further doubt as to this correction. The other reading is no less easy; it consists in reading *tuphaka* (more correctly *tuphâkaṁ*) instead of *tupaka,* the 𑀧 and the 𑀨 being, as we know, very similar. I do not speak of additions of vowels which are necessary according to any hypothesis, and which the experience of all the rest of the inscription shews to be perfectly legitimate. This being settled it is sufficient to distribute the characters suitably, in order to obtain a natural, as well as an excellent, meaning. I read: *êtinâ cha viyaṁjanênâ yâvatakê* (cf. *âvatakê* in the edict of Bhabra) *tuphâkaṁ âhâlê savata vivasêtaviyê ti.* *Viyaṁjana* means 'sign,' and marks, as we have seen in the 3rd of the Fourteen (Rock) Edicts, the exterior and material form of the thought. We could, therefore, understand, 'and by the order here engraven.' If this turn of speech appear a little vague, it is justified by the existence of a pun. In fact, the continuation is clear, 'you must set out on your mission as far as you will find nourishment,' that is to say, as far as is humanly possible. Now *vyaṁjana* has also the meaning of 'condiment, relish,' and, by designating his written will by this word, Piyadasi represents it as in some sort a *viaticum* which should accompany and sustain his missionaries whom he exhorts to expatriate themselves. It is unnecessary to draw further attention to the corroboration which this sentence, as well as the one which I have cited in commenting on the text of Sahasarâm, gives to my translation of *vyutha.* If this special exhortation is missing in the other texts, it will be noted that it is particularly appropriate here, at the frontier zone in which Rûpnâth is situated.

17. We must, of course, read *vyuṭhêna,* and *vivâsâ ti.*

BAIRAT.

The version of Bairât, very fragmentary, and very imperfectly reproduced as it is, does not lend itself, at present, to a detailed examination. There is only one passage, in line 3, where it can serve to fill up a *lacuna* in the other texts, and I have already said that there also the reading appears very doubtful. It would be useless to enumerate all the corrections which the comparison of the parallel versions authorises us to make in the text as we have it now. Any one can make them for himself. There are other doubtful passages, such as *amisânaṁ* &c., where conjectures would be without interest, as being based on no serious authority. The only point which deserves notice, is that to which Dr. Bühler has drawn attention, that the figures represented in the facsimile of the *Corpus,* are wanting in the rubbing. I can only state my agreement with his opinion, when he adds that the position which they occupy renders him very sceptical as to their existence.

TRANSLATION.

(In translating, I neglect the peculiarities of Bairât. For Sahasarâm and Rûpnâth, I print the translations of the two texts in parallel columns, from the point where they diverge, too decidedly, from each other.)

Thus saith the [King] dear unto the Dêvas: — During two years and a half was I an *upâsaka* (Buddhist layman), and did not display great zeal. A year has passed since I visited the Saṁgha (the monastic community). [R adds: — and I displayed great zeal]. During this period, the men who were the real gods of Jambudvîpa have been reduced to be no longer really the gods. [R.: — Those who at that time were the real gods of Jambudvîpa, are now reduced to be really so no longer]. Now that is the result of my zeal; that result cannot be attained by might alone [R. omits this last word]. The most humble can, by displaying zeal, gain heaven, high though it be. It is with this aim that these instructions are delivered: that all, humble or great, should display zeal; that the foreign nations themselves should be taught (by my proclamations), and that this zeal should be lasting. Then will arise a [religious] progress, a grand progress, an infinite progress.

SAHASARAM.

It is by the missionary that this teaching is spread abroad. Two hundred and fifty-six men have been sent forth on missions, 256. Have ye these things engraved on mountains; and in those places where there are pillars of stone have them engraved there also.

RUPNATH.

Have these things engraved on mountains: and in that place where there may be found a pillar of stone, have them engraved upon the pillar. And with these instructions, which will be to you as a viaticum, set ye forth on your mission to all the world, so far as ye will find means of existence. It is through the missionary that my teaching is spread abroad. There have been 256 settings forth of missionaries.

3. THE EDICT OF BHABRA.

We know that this edict was discovered in the same locality (Bairât) as that in which was found the third version of the preceding edict. If I adhere to the name of Bhabra, I do so because that name is already sanctioned by long use, and because it prevents any confusion arising regarding the two inscriptions found in the same neighbourhood. To avoid a useless multiplication of divisions, I include it in the present chapter, although, strictly speaking, it is not engraved on a rock in the same sense as the preceding ones. It is engraved on a small detâched block of granite, which it was found easy to transport to Calcutta, where it is now preserved. The most trustworthy reproduction of the stone is that which has been given in the *Journal Asiatique* (1887, Vol. I. pp. 498 and ff.) from a rubbing of Dr. Burgess, together with some fragments of a rubbing previously sent to me by my learned friend and colleague, Dr. Hoernle. On this facsimile the following reading and commentary are based.

TEXT.

Kittoe, *J. A. S. B.* 1840, pp. 616 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 710 and ff.; Kern, *Jaartelling, &c.* pp. 32 and ff.; Wilson, *J. R. A. S.* XVI pp. 357 and ff.

1 Piyadasi l(â)jâ mâgadhaṁ saṁghaṁ abhivâdanaṁ[1] âhâ apâbâdhataṁ cha phâsuvihâlataṁ châ [.]

2 viditê vê bhaṁtê âvatakê hamâ[2] budhasi dhaṁmasi saṁghasîti galavê chaṁ pasâdê cha [.] ê kêṁchi[3] bhaṁtê

3 bhagavatâ budhêna bhâsitê savê sê subhâsitê vâ ê chu khô bhaṁtê hamiyâyê disêyâ[4] hêvaṁ sadhaṁmê

4 chilaṭhitikê hôsatîti alahâmi hakaṁ taṁ vatavê [.] imàni bhaṁtê dhaṁmapaliyâyâni[5] vinayasamukasê

5 aliyavasâni anâgatabhayâni munigâthâ mônêyasútê upatisapasinê ê chà làghulô-

6 vâdê musâvâdaṁ adhigichya bhagavatâ budhêna bhâsitê êtâna bhaṁtê dhaṁmapaliyâyâni ichhâmi

7 kiṁti bahukê bhikhupâyê[6] chà bhakhuniyê chà abhikhinaṁ sunayu chà upadhâlêyêyu chà

8 hêvaṁm êvâ upàsakâ chà upâsikâ chà [.] êtêni bhaṁtê imaṁ likhâpayâmi abhihêtaṁ ma jânaṁta ti[7]

NOTES.

1. The third word of the inscription has long been read *mágadhé*, and the question arose whether it was to be understood as an epithet of *lájá* or as an irregular orthography for *mágadhaṁ*. From the last facsimile it may be seen that the supposed vowel-sign is by no means regularly cut, and is probably nothing more than an accidental scratch, — especially as the following *anusvára* seems to be quite clear. It is thus *mágadhaṁ* which we must read, and which we must, of course, construe with *saṁghaṁ*. Hitherto, the word has been taken simply in its geographical signification: 'the *saṁgha* of Magadha.' I have some doubts on this point. In the first place, *saṁgha*, as is proved by what follows, was from this epoch consecrated, in its generic and, so to say, abstract use, to designate the clergy in its most general terms. Hence its association with a local restrictive designation is no more likely here than it would be in the ordinary literary language of Buddhism. In the second place, it is difficult to explain the erection in Râjasthân of an inscription destined expressly for the clergy of Magadha. Ought we not to consider that *mágadha* should be a synonym of 'Buddhist,' based on the place of the origin of the doctrine? If such a use really existed, it would explain, for instance, how Pâli ultimately received the name of *mágadhî bháshá*, although it had surely nothing to do with Magadha. This is a mere conjecture which I put forth subject to all reserves. The old reading *abhivádémá(tpá)naṁ* must be put aside together with the various conjectures to which it has induced the several interpreters. Neither *má* nor *tpá* can be made out of what are really only incoherent scratches, whether the stone was from the first defective at that spot or the engraver intended to blot out some letter erroneously begun by himself. I consider that the vowel-sign *é* has no more reality here than in the above *mágadhé*. As to this point the fragmentary rubbing of Dr. Hoernle (photographed in the abovementioned paper) is especially decisive. We have consequently to read as I have transcribed *abhivádanaṁ áhá* . . . This construction of *áha* or some equivalent with *abhivádana* and a double accusative is frequent enough in the phraseology of Buddhistic Sanskṛit. I shall only quote one example (*Mahávastu*, II, 105): अभिवादनं च मम वचना स्वामिकं भणेयाय, 'and tell my husband my greeting.' The meaning here is clear and perfectly satisfactory: 'the king tells the Saṁgha his greeting and his wishes.'

2. I find it, I confess, a little rash to have recourse to analogies borrowed from Hindi to explain the form *hamá*. The meaning has, however, been recognised by Dr. Kern, and there can be no further doubt about it. Moreover, the form is not isolated here. Beside the genitive *hama*, we shall shortly find the instrumental *hamiyáyé*, which has not hitherto been recognised under the reading *pamiyáyé*. *Hamiyáyé* is to *mamáyé* (Dh., det. ed., ii. 4), *mamiyá* (J., det. ed., ii. 6; Col. ed. vii. 7), as *hama* is to *mama*. The two sets of forms are in complete correspondence. We could, strictly speaking, explain their origin, either by a metathesis of *maha* to *hama*, which has been afterwards continued in the declension, or by a false analogy with the nominative *haṁ*. At any rate, we can be certain about the meaning in both cases.

3. The old copy has here the right reading *kéchi*. The rubbing, however, seems really to have the *anusvára*.

4. The *facsimile* of the *Corpus*, by giving the double reading *hamiyâyê* and *disêyaṁ*, has given a new meaning to this passage [5] The versions of Burnouf and of Dr. Kern were only ingenious makeshifts, on which it would be, I think, superfluous to dwell at length. As far as *subhâsitê vâ* all is plain; for the remainder, it is of importance to explain the construction clearly. And first of all the particle *chu khô*, which, as I have had occasion to point out has a slight adversative shade, announces a proposition destined to complete, and, to a certain extent, to form an antithesis to what precedes. The relative *ê* which commences the sentence, requires a correlative, which we find in *taṁ* before *vatavê*. So far as concerns the relative proposition, I have just stated my opinion regarding *hamiyâyê* which is the instrumental of the pronoun of the first person. *Disêyaṁ* is simply the regular form of the first person of the potential. As for the meaning of the verb *diś*, it is determined by that of the substantive *dêsa*. I have shewn (Dh., ed. det., i. n. 7) that, in our inscriptions, it is everywhere the equivalent of the Sanskrit *saṁdêśa*, and signifies, 'order,' 'commandment.' *Diś* will, therefore, mean not merely 'to shew,' but 'to direct,' 'to order.' We shall thus obtain this translation; 'and so far as I may order myself,' that is to say, by my own authority, besides what has been positively said by the Buddha. The reading *taṁ vatavê* instead of *tavatavê*, *tavitavê*, has put everything here in order. The construction, with the infinitive dependent on *alahâmi* is excellent. Only one slight doubt remains, *viz.* should we not transcribe *vâtavê* with an anomalous compensatory *â* long? It would, however, alter nothing in the rendering of the word which is equivalent to Sanskrit *vaktuṁ*. In furnishing us with the necessary antecedent *taṁ* to the relative *ê*, this reading allows us to take, with Burnouf, *sadhaṁmê* as equivalent to the technical Buddhistic *saddharma*.

5. The reading *vinayasamukasê*, formerly given by Wilson on the authority of Capt. Burt is now confirmed, and the Sanskrit transcription would be *vinaya-samutkarshaḥ*, the meaning of which it is difficult to determine. We cannot separate the word from the Pâli expression *sâmukkaṁsikâ dhaṁmadêsanâ* (cf. Childers, *s. v.*); but the bearing of this qualification is far from being established. The only point which is certain is the derivation, — *sâmukkaṁsika* equivalent to *sâmutkarshika*; that which the Pâli commentaries propose is only a play upon words. Provisionally, it is perhaps safest to adhere to the established meaning of *samutkarsha* in Sanskrit, and to translate, subject to every reservation, 'the Excellence of Discipline.' We may compare the use of the verb *samutkarshati* in a passage of the *Mahâvastu* (I. p. 178, l. 1. of my edition, and the note). Under any circumstances, we are not as yet, in a position to identify this title with any of those which are known to us from literature The conjecture of Dr. Oldenberg (*Mahâvagga*, I. p. xi. note), who seeks for, in it, the *pâtimôkkha*, is the less probable, because he has, for several of the other titles here given, shewn their exact agreement with the titles which his consummate experience of the Pâli Canon has enabled him to be the first to discover. He identifies the *anâgata-bhayâni* with the *âraññakânâgatabhayasutta* of the *Aṅguttaranikâya*. That Sûtra 'describes how the *Bhikshu*, who leads a solitary life in the forests, should have always before him the dangers that might suddenly put an end to his life, serpents, savage animals, &c., and such thoughts should lead him to exercise all his energies in order to arrive at the goal of his religious strivings.' Here we have an example of how the literal translation of a title may easily become a source of error, and how these 'Fears of the Future' do not treat of the fear of infernal punishment, as Burnouf had very naturally supposed. This lesson warns us not to presume to determine the exact meaning of *aliyavasâni* (probably *âryavaśâni*), a title not identified, of the *mônêyasûta*, or of the *upatisapasinê*. About the last, we can only be certain so far as to transcribe it, with Dr. Kern, as *upatishyapraśna*. As for the *munigâthâ*, Dr. Oldenberg recognises in it, with much probability, the same subject which is treated of in the twelfth Sûtra of the *Suttanipâta* bearing the same title, and he compares the *lâghulôvâda* with the Sûtra entitled *Ambalaṭṭhikarâhulôvâda*, the sixty-first of the *Majjhimanikâya* (Vol. I. pp. 414 and ff. of

5 My two rubbings read *disêyâ* without the *anusvâra*. It is simply one example more of the equivalence, which has been previously mentioned, between a long and a nasalised vowel.

Trenckner's edition). It is certain that the king had some version or other of this in his mind. This is proved by the addition *musâvâdaṁ adhigichya.* Burnouf was completely at sea in his commentary on this phrase, which Dr. Kern has perfectly correctly transcribed as *mṛishâvâdaṁ adhikṛitya.* The latter translates it as, 'on the subject of,' 'having reference to the falsehood.' At the most it would be possible, if we are permitted to base our translation absolutely on the Pâli version, to propose a slight modification. It is not correct to say that it has the falsehood for its entire subject, but rather that it has it for its text or *point de départ.* We could translate our text in this way too, the meaning 'to set at the beginning' being sufficiently proved for *adhikṛi.* I shall revert, on another occasion, to the orthography of *adhigichya*, equivalent to *adhikṛitya*, which is both curious and instructive.

6. The readings *étâni*, and *bhikhuniyê* suggest themselves. The real difficulty consists in the words *kiṁti bahukê bhikhupâyê*, although I have no hesitation regarding the two first. I can see no means of permitting us to give *bahuka* the value of a substantive, in the sense of 'increase.' The spelling of *kiṁti* being certain, the division of the words into *kiṁti bahukê*, seems to me to be beyond discussion. But *bhikhupâyê* (and this reading is certain) has hitherto resisted all efforts. The evidence of the adjective *bahukê* shews, as indeed is evident from the form itself, that *bhikhupâyê* is a nominative singular. The first member of the compound is as clear as the second is doubtful. It looks as if we required something like *bhikhusaṁghê.* The only transliteration which I can see is *bhikshuprâyaḥ.* It would be necessary to admit for *prâya*, which is known in Sanskṛit with the meaning of 'abundance,' a possible translation, 'collection, assembly.' This is the least improbable expedient which I find myself able to suggest. I may remark, *en passant*, that there is no allusion here to written books: *sunêyu* would, on the contrary, appear to refer to a purely oral tradition.

7. Read *étênâ.* Wilson's facsimile confirms for these last words the reading of General Cunningham. I do not think that the corrections *mê jânaṁtu ti* will appear doubtful to any one, and for this use of *jânaṁtu* we may compare the analogous passage at Sahasarâm and Rûpnâth, *aṁta cha jânaṁtu.* As for *abhipêtaṁ*, the new rubbing has brought documentary evidence which was hardly necessary. The last letters are not very clear, which explains the doubts which arise regarding the vowels. Upon the whole, this restoration appears to me a matter of certainty.

I translate in the manner following:—

TRANSLATION.

The king Piyadasi bids the Mâgadha clergy his greetings and wishes of prosperity and good health. Ye know, Reverend Sirs, how great are my respect and my goodwill to the Buddha, to the Law, and to Clergy. Whatever has been said by the blessed Buddha, all that has been well said, and so far as I may, Reverend Sirs, pass orders of my own will, I consider it good to proclaim them, in order that the Good Law may long endure. Here are religious teachings: the *Vinayasamukasa* (the Instruction of Discipline), the *Ariyavasas* (the ? Supernatural Powers of the Aryas), the *Anâgatabhayas* (the Dangers to Come), the *Munigâthâs* (the Verses relating to the Muni, or Religious Ascetic), the *Upatisapasina* (the Questions of Upatishya), the *Mônêya sûta* (the *sûtra* on Perfection), and the Sermon to Râhula pronounced by the Blessed Buddha, which takes its starting point from the falsehood. I desire that many *Bhikshus* and *Bhikshuṇîs* should frequently hear these religious teachings and meditate on them. So also for lay devotees of both sexes. It is for this reason, Reverend Sirs, that I have had this engraved, that people may know my wish.

4. THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BARABAR CAVES.

For the sake of completeness I add, in conclusion, the three inscriptions of the Barâbar caves in which the name of our king Piyadasi is expressly mentioned. It is well known that they were discovered and published for the first time by Kittoe.

I combine in one the explanations of the two first, which only differ in the proper names used.

TEXT.

Kittoe, *J. A. S. B.* 1847, pp. 412 and ff.; Burnouf, *Lotus*, pp. 779 and ff.

I.

(Sudâmâ Cave.)

1 Lâjinâ piyadasinâ ·duvâḍasavasâbhisitênâ
2 iyaṁ nigôhakubhâ dinâ âdivikêṁhi [.]

II.

(Viswa Cave.)

1 Lâjinâ piyadasinâ duvâ-
2 ḍasavasâbhisitênâ iyaṁ
3 kubhâ khalatikapavatasi
4 dinâ âdivikêṁhi [.]

NOTES.

I have only two brief observations to add to the remarks of Burnouf. The first refers to the year from which these inscriptions date. It is the thirteenth after the coronation of the king. These figures have their own interest. We have seen that, according to one of the Delhi Columnar Edicts (*cf.* above, Sahasarâm, n. 2), this year was the first in which, according to his own evidence, the author of these inscriptions had religious teachings engraved; it is, to within a few months, the one which marks his active conversion to Buddhism. This coincidence, without being in itself decisive, affords at least one more presumption in favour of the conjecture, which at first attributed these inscriptions to our Aśôka-Piyadasi.

The second remark concerns the word *âdivikêṁhi*. I have no doubt that we should read, as in the better preserved inscriptions of Daśaratha, *âdivikêhi*. I take it, — not as an ablative, which would be unintelligible both here and in the other places where the word occurs, — not as representing a dative, we should in that case rather expect *âdîvikânaṁ*, — but as an instrumental, in the sense of the locative. In dealing with the *Mahâvastu*, I have had occasion to quote numerous instances of this peculiarity in the syntax of Buddhist Sanskṛit (*Mahâvastu*, I. 387, &c.) Burnouf has quite correctly recognised the base *âdîvika* as being the equivalent of *âjîvika*.

TRANSLATION.

This cave of the Nyagrôdha [II: — this cave situated on Mount Khalatika] has been given to religious mendicants by king Piyadasi, in the thirteenth year after his coronation.

III.

(Karan Chaupâr Cave.)

TEXT.

1 Lâja piyadasi êkunêviṁ-
2 sativasâbhisitê nâmê ṭhâ
3 adamaṭhâtima iyaṁ kubhâ
4 supiyê khalatipavata di-
5 nâ [.]

NOTES.

The new facsimile of the *Corpus* is a marked improvement on the first copy of Major Kittoe, which did not permit Burnouf to give a connected translation. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that, even according to General Cunningham, the rock is much defaced, and that

the reading is both difficult and doubtful.[6] We are thus permitted to introduce, at need, new corrections into the text which is presented to us. The formula is here different from that which we find in the two preceding cases. Burnouf clearly saw that the name of the king is this time in the nominative. It follows that we must divide the words after *abhisitê*. The characters which follow present some uncertainty. I shall commence by considering those with which the next line commences. Basing my emendation on the analogy of the inscriptions of Daśaratha, which have been also commented upon by Burnouf, I do not hesitate to read instead of [Brahmi] *adamathátima* several characters of which are expressly given as hypothetical, [Brahmi] *chaṁdamasuliyaṁ*. We must further, in order to complete the phrase, admit that the last letter of the preceding line is in reality [Brahmi] â. There remain the characters [Brahmi] *nâmê* which I read [Brahmi] *nâma*, which thus concludes a sentence and separates it from what follows. The concluding words present two difficulties. The first is the form *supiyê*, which ought to contain the name of the cave, and should consequently be corrected to *supiyâ*, equivalent to *supriyâ*. The second concerns the word *khalatipavata*. As in No II. we should expect a locative. I only see two alternatives. One is to read, *-pavatê*, but the locative is rarely formed in this fashion in inscriptions, such as the present one, in the Mâgadhî dialect. The other is to assume that a letter has been omitted, and to restore to *-pavatasi*. This is, in my opinion, the preferable course. To sum up, we may almost certainly translate as follows : —

TRANSLATION.

The king Piyadasi was crowned nineteen years ago. [This has been made] for as long as the moon and the sun may endure. This cave, called Supiyâ, on Mount Khalati, has been given.

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from p. 29.*)

XII. The **twelfth angam, diṭṭhivâa**, drishṭivâda, presentation of the (different) views.[1] This title [342] corresponds to our information in reference to the contents of this text now no longer extant; and we conjectured on page 248 that the character of its contents was the *causa movens* of its loss. On page 242 we saw that in all probability the diṭṭhivâa is not further mentioned even in the *aṅgas* with the exception of *aṅgas* 4.[2] This remark holds good merely of the name diṭṭhivâa and not of the so-called 14 *puvvas*, which, according to the presentation of the subject in *aṅga* 4, form a principal part of the diṭṭh. Tradition indeed appears to regard the puvvas as identical with the diṭṭh. The 14 *puvvas* are mentioned both in *aṅga* 10 (the redaction of which, as we have seen, p. 327 foll., is of secondary origin), where their division into *pâhuḍas* is alluded to (see p. 333), and frequently in *aṅgas* 6 and 8; and in fact in a very peculiar way. The detailed discussion, according to name and contents, of the 14 *puvvas* in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî* and in the later tradition, cites the *uppâyapuvva* at their head. Twice in *aṅga* 6 and once in *aṅga* 8 (3, 1) are they characterized, just as are the eleven *aṅgas*, or together with them, as *sâmâiyâ-m-âiyâim*. Leumann says : "Of special interest are three of the many instances in *aṅga* 6, where it is related that a man who has just become a member of the order studied the 14 *puvvas* or 11 *aṅgas*." These three instances are found in p. 591 of the Calcutta edition, compared with p. 597, p. 1354, compared [343] with p. 1355 and p. 1454, compared with p. 1455. The second passages quoted, in which the 11 *aṅgas* are mentioned, have reference to a period later by five to twenty years than the first, in which the 14 *puvva* are treated of."

---

[6] I have seen this inscription many times, it being situated in this district (Gayâ). It would be useless to attempt to give a revised rubbing, except to shew how extremely hypothetical much of the *Corpus* reading inevitably is. The face of the inscription has been chiselled away by some Musalmân fanatic.—G. A. G.

[1] drishṭayô darśanâni, vadanaṁ vâdah, drishṭînâṁ vâdô drishṭînâṁ vâ pâtô yatra.

[2] Leumann cites *aṅga* 5, 20, 8 for the duvâlasaṁga ganipiḍaga, or âyârô jâva diṭṭhivâô, likewise bârasaṁig in *aṅga* 8 4, 1 The first passage is based in the last instance on *aṅga* 4.

How can this use of the attribute *sâmâiya-m-âiyâim* of the 14 *puvvas* be explained? This use is found in no other place[3] with the exception of *aṅgas* 6 and 8, and here only in the parallel use of the epithet in reference to the 11 *aṅgas*, and in no instance where there is an isolated mention of the 14 *puvvas*. Hence it is too bold an assumption if we assert that a *sâmâiya-puvvam*, instead of the *uppâyapuvvam*, once actually stood at the head of the 14 *puvvas*. On the other hand, it is probable that in *aṅga* 6 this epithet has been transferred from the *aṅgas* to the *puvvas*, and that the generic signification of the word *sâmâia*, and the greater antiquity which the statements in *aṅga* 6 probably possess in contrast to those in *aṅgas* 4, formed the means of transition. This assumption is however a mere make-shift, since there is no further criterion for such a special inter-relation of both groups of texts.

The *upâṅgas*, too, attest in several particulars the existence of *aṅga* 12. In *up*. 8 — 12, probably the oldest of the *upâṅga* texts, it is true, only 11 *aṅgas* are mentioned. But in up. 1, 26 (Leumann, p. 36) we discover a reference to the choddasapuvvî together with the *duvâlasaṁgiṇô*; and in the introduction to up. 4, [344] in v. 5, the diṭṭhivâa, and in v. 3, the *puvvasuyam*, are mentioned by name as the source of information of the author. It is furthermore worthy of note that *up*. 5 and 7 agree with the *puvvas* in the division into *pâhuḍas*. According to up. 6 they both appear to have been divided into *vatthus* at the time of this *upâṅga*. The tradition is desirous of establishing a close connection between the *upâṅga* and the *aṅga* in the present order of succession of each. Hence we may conclude that, at the period in which the existing corpus of the twelve *upâṅgas* was established, — that is, at the date of the redaction of the present *Siddhânta*, — there were in reality 12 *aṅgas*, and that the *diṭṭhivâa* consequently still existed or was considered as extant.

The diṭṭhivâa or, as the case may be, the duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagam is frequently mentioned in the other parts of the Siddhânta, which are united to the *upâṅga*. These portions of the Siddhânta are in reality the storehouse of information about the diṭṭhivâa or duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagam. See the citations on p. 246 from *Âvaçy*. and *Anuyôgadv*. With these may be associated the corresponding statements in *chhêdas*. 2 and *Nandî*, in which we find several direct citations (see below) from the puvvas; and in fact the *chhêdas* 3—5 are repeatedly called an excerpt from puvva 9, 3, 20, which is referred back even to Bhadrabâhu!

On p. 223, 224 we have seen from several old *versus memoriales*, the source of which is unfortunately no longer extant, that the diṭṭhivâa at the period of the existence of these verses was highly esteemed, inasmuch as it was designed for the highest gradation of intelligence, and was held to be the object of the study of the nineteenth year. Here we must not suppress the thought that the reason for this relegation of the diṭṭh. to a late period of study, was because it may have been considered [345] dangerous for an earlier and less mature stage of advancement. Finally, appearing as too dangerous,[4] it may have been dropped altogether.

It is exceedingly peculiar that the *puvvas*, which are a principal part of the *diṭṭhivâa* and represent a preliminary stage of the *aṅga* both according to tradition and, in all probability, to their name itself, are said to have proceeded from the mouth of the *tîrthakara* and to have been collected by his *gaṇadharas* before the *aṅgas*. The *puvvas* are mentioned in *aṅgas* 6 and 8 as texts independent of, or even previous to, the 11 *aṅgas*, but in *aṅgas* 4, &c., are represented as forming but one of the five sections of the last *aṅga*. It was to be expected that they should be partly independent texts, and partly should stand at the beginning of the entire Siddhânta.

The key furnished by tradition points to the fact (cf p. 214) that the knowledge of the *diṭṭhivâa* (or of that of the *puvva* here identified with the *diṭṭhivâa*) was limited to Bhadrabâhu alone even at the time of the Council of Pâtaliputra, which instituted the first collection of the

[3] The cases cited above p. 244, 245, where was mention made of sâmâiam-âi jâva biṁdusârâô, do not belong in this connection, since the first *aṅgam* and nōt the first *pûrvam* was there referred to.

[4] The same probably holds good of the other texts above mentioned, which immediately preceded the diṭṭhivâa, and which are no longer extant.

aṅga texts; and that recourse was had to Bhadrabâhu when the collection of the 11 *aṅgas* was perfected. To this circumstance then we must ascribe the fact that the "*pûrvas*" are placed at the end and not at the beginning of the whole collection. But, [346] according to this very tradition, at that time, on the one hand, there were no longer 14 but 10 *pûrvas*, the knowledge of which was further disseminated, and, on the other, the *pûrvas* do not appear as a part of the *diṭṭhivâa* but as the *diṭṭhivâa* itself. Both of these statements of tradition are contradicted by a *locus classicus* which, in default of the text itself, affords, together with the detailed table of contents in *aṅga* 4 and *Nandî*, information concerning the *diṭṭhivâa*. *Aṅga* 6 and the *Nandî*, our sources of information, are here in complete agreement, but in the table of contents of the other *aṅgas* the *Nandî* is much briefer than *aṅga* 4. The contradiction is this: (1) there is not even the slightest difference made between *pûrvas* 1—10 and 11—14; and (2) all the 14 *pûrvas* are cited as a mere section—the third part—of the *diṭṭhivâa*.

As regards the latter circumstance, it may be stated that in the Siddhânta itself, though in late texts, we find several times the peculiar fact, that, in case a collective enumeration of the *aṅgas* is attempted, and the first member, whether it be *sâmâia* or *âyâra*, and the last, are mentioned, this last member does not appear as *diṭṭhivâa* but as *viṁdusâra*. See above, p. 244, 245. Viṁdusâra is the title of the last of the fourteen *pûrvas*. It is certainly very remarkable that the title of a section (and *viṁdusâra* must be considered to be such in this connection as in others) is coördinated with that of an independent text. As regards these passages it is impossible to assume [347] that the *diṭṭhivâa* at that time exceeded this section in extent. This constitutes an important divergence from the presentation of the subject in *aṅga* 4, or *N.*, in which latter the *viṁdusâra*, as the last section of the third part, is followed by two additional parts. Hêmachandra, who in his treatment of the *drishṭivâda* (*abhidh.* v. 245, 246), cites the *pûrva* (*gata*) as its fourth, and not as its third part, affords us only such assistance as confirms the divergence in question. Since the fifth part of the *drishṭivâda* consists of so-called *chûlikâs*, which are a secondary addition, the *diṭṭhivâa*, according to Hêmachandra's treatment[5] too, actually concludes with the *viṁdusâra* section.

So much is clear:—That that conception which limits the *diṭṭhivâa* to the 14 *puvvas* alone is too narrow. We find a recognition of the other constituent parts of the *diṭṭhivâa* also in those statements of the scholia, in which (cf. p. 258) "*pûrvâṇi sammaty-âdikaś* cha" (anuyôgaḥ) are mentioned instead of the *diṭṭhivâa* referred to in the text. See *Âv. nijj.* 8, 54. By *saṁmaty-âdikaḥ* (*anuy.*) we are probably to understand the first parts of *aṅga* 12, though the order has been inverted.[6]

[348] To the statements made, p. 212 foll., in reference to the gradual decline of the knowledge of the *puvvas*, I add the following:—In the kâlasattarî of Dhammaghôsa[7] verse 38 foll., Thûlabhadda is referred to the year *Vîra* 215; and there still existed in the time of *Vaïra* 584 (*Vîra*) 10, in that of Dubbalia 616 (*Vîra*), $9\frac{1}{2}$ *puvvas*. In the scholiast on the passage and in Kl. 247b the latter name is cited as Durbalikâ-Pushpa(°shya)mitra; in the Berlin scholiast on the *Nandî*, introduct. v. 32, as Durvalikâpushpa (°shya), he and his teacher Âryarakshita being called the two navapûrviṇau. In the year 1000 the entire *puvvagayam* was "*gayam.*"

Let us now turn to the *locus classicus* itself. Its statements are unfortunately not clear and in fact were unintelligible to the scholiasts of both texts (Abhayadêva on *aṅga* 4, and Anon. on Nandî). They both assert with tolerable unanimity that, inasmuch as the text itself was

[5] In Hêmachandra's treatment of the subject there are other minute divergences from the statements in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî*; on which see below.

[6] *Sammati* 1) "opinion," "view," in the St. Petersb. Dict., *i.e.*, synonymous with *drishti*. Leumann tells me that Śîlânka, too, on *aṅga* 1, 1, 3, refers to sammatyâdau a discussion on the 7 *nayas* (see below p. 352), and was in possession of a text of that name before him; cf. also the *sammativritti*, below p. 371.

[7] Dhammaghôsasûri, scholar (v. 74) of Dêviṁda, died accord. to Kl. 255a Samvat 1357. This does not agree with *Kilas.* v. 44 foll. where in general the same prophetic statements are found as in *Satruṁj. Mâh.* 14, 290 foll. (See my Treatise, p. 47.) These statements contain the dates 1912 and 1850 Vîra (*i.e.* Saṁvat 1442 and 1380).

no longer extant, they merely report the few utterances of tradition. Abhayadêva has the foll. at the beginning of his remarks : sarvaṁ idaṁ prâyô vyavachhinnaṁ tathâ 'pi yathâpishṭaṁ (! °drishṭaṁ ?) kiṁchit likhyatê; and the anonymous scholiast on N. has : s. i. pr. vy. tathâ 'pi lesatô yathâgatasaṁpradâyaṁ kiṁchid vyâkhyâyatê. In explaining the first part Abhayadêva says : êtac ca sarvaṁ samûlôttarabhêdaṁ sûtrârthatô vyavachhinnaṁ and the anon. schol. :— tâni cha samûlôttarabhêdâni sakalâny api sûtratô 'rthataś cha [349] vyavachhinnâni yathâgatasaṁpradâyataś cha darśitâni. Finally, Abhayadêva expresses himself in a similar manner concerning the second part: amûny api sûtrârthatô vyavachhinnâni tathâ 'pi drishṭânusâratah kiṁchit likhyatê, and the anon. schol. says êtâny api saṁprati sûtratô 'rthataś cha vyav., yathâgatasaṁpradâyatô vâchyâni.

The *diṭṭhivâa* is stated to have consisted of five parts. The **first part** is the *parikammam*, by which, the scholiast says, we are to understand those preparations necessary to grasp the meaning of the *sûtras* correctly. These preparations are analogous to the 16 arithmetical operations *parikarmâṇi*, which must be understood in order to compute without assistance from others.[8] They are divided into 7 groups, each one of which is again divided into various subdivisions, the total number of which is 83. The first two groups have each 14, the next five but 11 of these subdivisions, which everywhere bear the same title. They begin,[9] in the case of groups 1 and 2 with the *mâuyâpayâiṁ*, in the case of groups 3—7 with the *pâḍho*. Pâḍha doubtless signifies "reading;" and the *mâuyâpadâṇi*, numbering 46 according to *aṅga* 4, 46,—see p. 281,—recall the 46 signs of the alphabet, and therefore deal with preliminary instruction in reading and writing. The statement *baṁbhîê ṇaṁ livîê chhâyâlîsaṁ mâuyakkharâṇi*, which follows immediately thereupon, tends however to invalidate [350] this assumption. Since this statement certainly, though strangely enough (see above, p. 281 note), refers to 46 sounds or signs of the alphabet, the 46 *mâuyâpadâṇi* which are mentioned immediately before must refer to something else.[10] Furthermore since both scholia upon this occasion offer the second of the above-cited explanations of their ignorance, and consequently make no attempt to clear up the names of the 7 groups or of their 84 subdivisions, it cannot be demanded of us that we do more than follow their example.[11]

Following upon the enumeration of the seven groups is the significant statement[12] that six of this number (according to the schol. the first six) belong to the system κατ' ἐξοχήν (*sasamaïyâṇi*) and that the number seven belongs to the *âjîviyas*. The six are then characterized as *chaükkanaïyâni* (chaturnayikâni) ; the seven as terâsiyâṇi (°yâiṁ nayâiṁ N, trairâsikâni). The scholia explain one of these two names of schools by [351] Gôsâlapravartitâjîvika(°tâ âjîvikâḥ N)= pâshaṇḍasiddhâṁta (pâshaṇḍinaḥ N), the second by trairâsikapâshaṇḍasthâs. The mention of this second name leads us, so to speak, to the domain of history. The Têrâsiyas represent the sixth schism,[13] which *Âvaśy*. 8, 56, 72 refers to the year 544

[8] Schol. on N : parikarma yôgyatâpâdanaṁ, taddhetuḥ śâstram api parikarma ; sûtra-pûrvagatâ-'nuyôgasûtrârthagrahaṇayôgyatâsampâdanasamarthâni parikarmâṇi, yathâ gaṇitaśâstrê saṁkalitâdîny âdyâni shôḍaśa parikarmâṇi śêshagaṇitasûtrârthagrahaṇê samarthânipâdana(doubtless °rthatâsaṁpâ° ?)samarthâni.

[9] The interesting fact becomes here apparent that the text of N is unconditionally older. See below.

[10] It is greatly to be lamented that the MS. of Abhayadêva to which I have had access, is here so corrupt, that nothing definite can be gained from it. The passage reads :—(diṭṭhivâyassa ṇaṁ chhâyâlîsaṁ mâuyâpayâ paṁ, baṁbhîê ṇaṁ livîê chhâyâlîsaṁ mâuakkharâ paṁ) : diṭṭhivâyassa tti dvâdaśâṁgasya, mâuyâpaya tti sakalatvâhmayasya (?) akvâśadi (akârâdi ?) mâtrikâpadâni 'va drishṭivâdârthaprasartha(?)nigamaḥ | dhôvya (?) lakshaṇâni tôni va (tâni cha) siddhaśrêṇi-manushyaśrêṇy-âdinâ, (*i.e.*, names of the first two groups of the parikamma) vishayabhêdêva (°dêna) kaṭham api bhidyamânâni shatchatvâriṅśad gavatî (bhavaṁtî 'ti ?) saṁbhâ*dh*yatê (°vyatê) : tathâ baṁbhîê ṇaṁ livîê tti lêkhyavidhau 46 mâtṛikâksharâṇi, tâni cha . . (see p. 281).

[11] Some of these names are not certain since the MSS. vary. Âgâsapayâiṁ, kêubhûyaṁ, râsibaddhaṁ, kêubhûyapaḍiggahô refer probably to the domain of astronomy.

[12] In the Berlin MS. of the *Nandi* this passage is omitted in the text, though it is explained by the scholiast.

[13] See above p. 275 ; accord. to Abhayadêva, however :—ta êva câ "jîvikâs trairâśikâ bhaṇitâh, or, accord. to the schol. on the Nandî, which is identical :—ta êva Gośâlapravartitâ âjîvikâḥ pâshaṇḍinas trairâśikâ uchyaṁte—the trairâśikâ are the same as the adherents of Gośâla ! In § 6 of the Thêrâvalî of the Kalpasûtra Chhalua, the founder of the sixth schism, is stated to have been the scholar of Mahâgiri, who was the successor of Thûlabhadda (Vîra 215, cf. p. 348), and is placed about 300 years earlier than Vîra 544. These are discrepancies not easily overcome. The

after Vîra;[14] and this name is perhaps attested by epigraphic testimony of the time of Gôtamîputra Sâtakarṇi. If we suppose that the reading Têrâsikâ, proposed by Bühler (Archæolog. Survey of West. India, 1882, p. 104) for the inscription Nâsik No. 11ª, is conclusive, it is not improbable that it refers to the Têrâsiyas quoted above. Bühler, it must be confessed, has adopted another explanation of the name in his Survey.

The explanations of the scholiasts have as yet not assisted me in the endeavour to discover what is referred to by the four nayas,[15] &c. [352] It is a significant fact that the twelfth aṅga, according to the above statements, treated not merely of the proper but also of heterodox doctrines, or, as the case may be, of hermeneutic methods; and the title of this aṅga seems to refer to this peculiarity in its contents, which was probably of great moment in determining the fate of the last of the aṅgas. See pp. 248, 342.

The suttâi are cited as constituting the **second part** of the *diṭṭhivâa*. In all there are 88 suttâi, a number ascribed[16] to the second part in *aṅga* 4, 88. In reality, however, there are but 22, beginning with *ujjuya* (*ujjusua* N; *rijuka*), but conceived as divided into four parts. The proper orthodox (*sasamaya*) doctrines and the heterodox views are represented as being equally authoritative. The former are divided into two different forms which are also represented by the âjîviya (Gôsâlakapravartitapâshaṇḍa Abh.), or têrâsiya. The 22 names are not explained by the scholia. They refer[17] the name *sûtra* to the explanation of the meaning of the pûrvas, and consider this as well as the first part as an introduction to the third part of the diṭṭhivâa which follows.

[353] The **third part** is composed of puvva gaê, pûrvagatam, *i.e.*[18] the 14 pûrvâṇi, which the tîrthakara (Mahâvîra) himself is said to have imparted to his scholars, the gaṇadharas—see above p. 216, 217—who then composed the *aṅgas* (âchârâdikam). Besides this explanation which represents the *pûrvas* as older and earlier doctrines anticipating the aṅgas, there is another which is possible. If our second conjecture is correct, we should have to understand by the pûrvas that preliminary knowledge necessary to the comprehension of the doctrine. The titles of the 14 *pûrvas*[19] quoted here in the text and enumerated before in § 14 are explained singly in the scholia, and the number of their padas is stated. The enormous size of these figures greatly

further explanation of the name trairâśika in the schol. on N. is:—tê sarvaṁ vastu trayâtmakam ichhaṁti, tad yathâ: jîvo 'jîvo jîvâjîvaś cha, lôkô 'lôkô lôkâ-lokaś cha, sat asat sad-asat: nayachiṁtâyâm dravyâstikam paryâyâstikaṁ ubhayâstikam cha; tatas tribhi(ḥ) râśibhiś charaṁti 'ti trairâśikâs, tanmatêna saptâ 'pi parikarmâṇi uchyaṁtê. It is worthy of note that the triad form ascribed to the Trairâśikas is made use of — cf. p. 266 — in *aṅga* 4, where the statement of the contents of *aṅgas* 2 — 5 is given, and in fact with the citation of two of the examples quoted here. Accord. to the schol. on *Kalpas*, cf. Jacobi, p. 119, the Vaiśêshikadarśanam took its rise from the Têrâsiyas.

14 Cf. *Âva y.* 8, 37: êêhiṁ (êbhir naigamâdibhir nayaiḥ) diṭṭhivâê parûvaṇâ suttaatthakahaṇâ ya.

15 nayâḥ sapta naigamâdayaḥ, naigamô dvidhâ, sâmânyagrâhî viśêshagrâhî cha, tatrâ "dyaḥ saṁgrahê dvitîyas tu saṁvyavahârê pravishṭaḥ, tatô dvau saṁgrahavyavahârau, ṛijusûtraś chai' kaḥ śabdâdayaś cha trayô 'py êka êva nayaḥ kalpatê, tata êvaṁ chatvâra êva nayâḥ, êtaiś chaturbhir nayair âdyâni shaṭ parikarmâṇi svasamayavaktavyatayâ chiṁtyaṁtê; on this see Śîlâṅka on *aṅga* 1, 1, 8, above p. 347n.

16 The ujjusuya and the pariṇayâpariṇayaṁ are stated to be the first two in the series. As regards other names reference is made to the Nandî and not to the independent treatment of the subject further on in aṅga 4. See above p. 284.

17 Sarvasya pûrvagatasûtrârthasya sûchanât sûtrâṇi, tâni cha sarvadravyâṇâṁ sarvaparyâyâṇâm sarvanayânâṁ sarvabhaṁgavikalpânâm prakâśakâni dvâviṁśatiḥ prajnaptâni, tathâ ṛijusûtram iti âdi.

18 Cf. Schol. Hêm. 245: pûrvaṇâṁ gataṁ jnânam asmin pûrvagatam. The anonymous author of the Vichârâmritasaṁgraha which contains in 25 vichâras a grouping of siddhânta passages, âlâpakas, states that the pûrvagataśrutadharas were called vâchakas, or, accord. to the Nandivṛitti, cited by him, but which I have not seen, three other names vâdî ya khamâsamaṇe divâyarê vâyaga tti êgaṭṭhâ | puvvagayammi tu suttê êê saddâ pauttaṁti. Can the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha be identical with the Siddhântâlâpakôddhâra of Kulamaṇḍana, Saṁv. 1409 — 55 cited in Kl. 255b?

19 They agree in general with those in Hêm. 247, 243. The explanation is likewise identical; see the schol. *ibid.* The number of padas is the same as that stated in the introduction to the *Kalpântarvâchyâni*. In this work the number of *vasti* (*? vastu*) of each *pûrva* is said to increase from 1 on by geometrical progression (8192 in the case of *pûrva* 14). Here however in the text itself — see p. 366 — we find entirely different figures which are quite credible. The figures in the case of 1. 3. 7. 10 vary somewhat in the enumeration of the *pûrvas* in Nêmichandra's pravachanasârôddhâra § 92, v. 719—25.

exceeds as a rule that which the scholiasts—see above p. 288—state to be the number of the padas of the *angas*, each one of which was said to contain twice the number of padas of the preceding.

The names of the Pûrvas [354] are as follows :—

1. uppâyapuvvam,[20] utpâdapûrvam; 10 vastu and 4 chûliya vastu; êkâ padakôtî, 10 millions.

2. aggêniyam (A B C), aggê-aṇîyam N (aggâṇîyaṁ NLD., according to Leumann); agrêṇîyam Abh.,[21] and agrâyaṇîyam[22] Schol. on N; 14 vastu (so also in § 14) and 12 chûliya vastu; shaṇṇavatiḥ padalakshaḥ (9,600,000). A direct citation from this is found in *Âcâr̂y.* 10, 42[23] and in Malayagiri on *upânga* 4 (agrâyaṇîyâkhyê dvitîyapûrvê karmaprakṛti prâbhṛitê baṁdhavidhânê sthitibaṁdhâdhikârê chatvâri anuyôgadvârâṇi . .). An anonymous avachûri on Chandramahattara's saptatikâ (ms. or. fol. 690) calls this work an excerpt from the *diṭṭhivâa*, especially from the fourth prâbhṛitam (karmaprakṛitinâmam) of the fifth *vastu* of the second pûrva ("agrâyaṇîya"). In the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha we find the following interesting statement taken from the "*Nandivṛitti*" :— Śivaśarma-Sûryâdibhir agrê 'ṇîyâdipûrvebhyaḥ samuddhṛitaḥ śatakâdi-karmagraṁthaḥ. There actually [355] exists a *siddhapâhuḍam* in 120 gâthâs, which is characterized as having taken its rise from the *aggêṇiyapuvva*; see p. 361.

3. vîriyam, vîryapravâdam[24]; 8 vastu and 8 chûliya vastu; tasyâ 'pi (!) saptatiḥ padasahasrâṇi Abh., but in the schol. on N: 78 padalakshâḥ 7,800,000.—Citation from this in Haribhadra on *Âcâr̂y.* 10, 42 (see p. 354, note 4).

4. atthinatthippavâyam, astinâstipravâdam[25]; 18 *vastu* (also according to § 18) and 10 chûliya v.; 60 padalakshaḥ, 6 millions.—Citation as above.

5. nâṇappavâyam,[26] jnanapravâdam; 12 *vastus*; êkâ padakôtî êkapadônâ (Abh, padênai 'kêna nyûnâ schol. on N), *i.e.*, 9,999,999 (!); Malayagiri on N has, according to Leumann, 10,000,006.

6. sachchappavâyaṁ, satyapravâdam[27]; 2 *vastus*, êkâ padakôṭî shaḍbhir adhikâ, 10,000,006 (!) 060 Malay., according to Leumann.

7. âyappavâyam âtmapravâdam[28]: 16 *vastus* (also according to § 16); 26 padakôtayaḥ, 260 millions. Leumann says that a passage, which caused the second schism, is found in the schol. on *ang.* 3, 7 (see above, p. 275). *Uttarajjh.* 3, 9 *Âcâr̂y.* 8, 67

[20] sarvadravyâṇâṁ paryavâṇâṁ (! paryâyâṇâṁ) chô 'tpâdabhâvam amgîkṛitya prajnâpanâ Abh., sarvadravyâṇâm utpâdam adhikṛitya prarupaṇâ N.

[21] tatrâ 'pi sarvêshâm dravyâṇâm paryavâṇâṁ (!) jîvaviśeshâṇâṁ chà 'graṁ parimâṇam varṇyatê ity agrêṇîyam, Abh.; agraṁ parimâṇam tasyâ 'yanam parichhedas, tasmai hitam agrâyaṇîyaṁ sarvadravyâdiparimâṇakâri Schol on N.

[22] The Schol. on Hêm. and Kalpântarvâchyâni has the same.

[23] aggêṇîammi jahâ Divâyana jattha êga tattha sayaṁ | jattha sayam tatthê 'go hammai vâ bhumjaê vâ vi Haribhadra says: jahâ agrêṇîmê (!) vîrê atthinatthipavâyapuvvê ya paḍhô jatthê 'gô Divâyaṇô bhumjai tattha Dîvâyaṇasayaṁ bhuṁjai, jattha Dîvâyaṇasayaṁ bhumjai tattha êgô Dîvâyaṇô bhumjai; êvaṁ hammai. According to this the similar passage should be found also in puvvas 3 and 4. See the remarks on *Amba'a* in *Aup.* § 89; *Ambaḍa* is mentioned *ibid.* § 76 together with Dîvâyaṇa.

[24] padaikadêśê padasamudâyôpachârât sakarmêtarâṇâṁ jîvânâm ajîvânâṁ cha vîryam pravadatî 'ti vîryapravâdam Schol. on N.

[25] yat lôkê dharmâstikâyâdi vastu asti yach cha nâ 'sti kharaśriṁgâdi tat pravadatî 'ty astinâ 'dam, Schol on N. yal lôkê yathâ vâ nâ (del.?) 'sti athavâ syâdvâdâbhiprâyatas tad êva nâ 'stî 'ty êvaṁ pravadatî ti. Abh. The syâdvâda, which the Brâhmins consider to be a distinguishing mark of the Jains, comes here for once into prominence.

[26] matijnânâdibhêdabhinnaṁ saprapaṁchaṁ vadati 'ti Schol. on N; matijnânâdipaṁchakasya bhêdasya prarûpaṇâ Abh.

[27] satyaṁ saṁyamô vachanaṁ cha, tat prakarshêṇa vadati, Schol. on N; tad yatra sabhêdam apratipakshaṁ cha varṇyatê Abh.

[28] âtmânam jîvam anêkadhâ nayamatabhêdêna yat pravadati, Schol. on N.

[356] 8. kammappavâyam, karmapravâdam[29]; 30 *vastus*; êkâ padakôṭi 80 padasahasrâṇi, 10,080,000 (!). A passage from this, which caused the Abaddhiâ or Goṭṭhâmâhila to inaugurate the seventh schism is found in the extract just quoted, and in Haribhadra on *Âvaśy.*, 8, 89, where he remarks: atthamê kammappavayapuvvê kammaṁ parûviṁti upon the following passage of the text: Gôṭṭhâmâhila navamaṭṭhamêsu puchchhâ ya Viṁjhassa.

9. pachchakkhânappavâyam,[30] pratyâkhyânapravâdam; 20 *vastus* (also in § 20); 84 padalakshâḥ, 8,400,000. For this *pûrvam* we have quite a number of references. The above cited passage of *Âvaśy.* 8, 89–91 and Haribhadra's scholion seem to prove that the Abaddhiâ stood in some relation to the ninth pûrva.[31] The statement is frequently made that the *kalpasûtram*, which forms the eighth *adhyayanam* of the daśâśrutaskandha, and the fourth chhêdasûtra, was "uddhṛita" by śrî Bhadrabâhusvâmin from the ninth pûrva. Thus, for example in the introduction [357] to the Kalpântarvâchyâni.[32] This appears to me to rest upon a misunderstanding (as will be developed further on) of the statement that is frequently met with elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Dharmaghôsha in the Ṛishimaṇḍalasûtra v. 167 (see Jacobi, *Kalpas.* p. 11, 12), to the effect that Bhadr. extracted *dasa*[33] *kappavvavahârâ* from the 9th puvva. By these are meant the *chhêdasûtras* 3—5, and by *kappa*, not the *kalpasûtram*, but the fifth *chhêdasûtram* is implied. Haribhadra, too, on *Âvaśy.* 6, 88, characterizes the ninth pûrvam in general as *chhêdasûtra lakshaṇam* and especially the twentieth *prâbhṛitaṁ* (by name oghapr.), the third *vastu* (by name âchâra) as the source of the *ôjhaniryukti* treating of the *oghasâmâchârî*. He says that the *ôghaniryukti* is *nirvyûḍhâ* therefrom. In an *avachûri* (composed[34] A.D. 1383) on Drôṇâchârya's *vritti* of the *ôghaniryukti*, the *chhêdasûtras*, especially *kalpa* and *vyavahâra*, are referred to the same source. See also the scholiast on *Uttarajjh.* 26.

10. vijjâṇuppavâyaṁ, vidyânupravâdam[35]; 15 *vastus* (also in § 15); êkâ padakôṭiḥ daśa cha padasahasrâṇi (daśa cha p. omitted in N) 10,010,000. The cause of the formation of the fourth schism is a passage from this puvva, cited in the passages quoted on *puvva* 7, or *Âv.* 8, 59: [358] ṇêuṇiâ 'ṇuppavâê, on which Haribhadra says: anupravâdapûrvê ṇêuṇiyaṁ vachhaṁ [vatthu ?] paḍhati). Leumann compares the 9 ṇêuṇiya vatthus in aṅga 3, 9.

11. avaṁjhaṁ, avaṁdhyaṁ[36]; kalyâṇam Hêm., abandhyam iti vâ Schol.: 12 *vastus*; 26 padakôṭayaḥ, 260 millions.

12. pâṇâuṁ, prâṇâyus;[37] prâṇâvâyam (?) Hêm.; 13 *vastus* (cf. § 13); 1 padakôṭî 56 padaśatasahasrâṇi, 15,600,000.

---

[29] karma jnânâvaraṇîyâdikam ashṭaprakâraṁ, tat prakarshêṇa prakṛitisthity-anubhâga-pradêśâdibhir bhêdaiḥ saprapaṁcham vadati, Schol on N, . . bhêdair anyaiś chô 'ttarottarabhêdair yatra varṇyatê, Abh.

[30] tatra sarvapratyâkhyânasvarûpaṁ varṇyate, Abh, in the Schol. on N merely: atrâ 'pi padaikadêśê padasamudâyôpachârât.

[31] The text reads puṭṭhô jahâ abaddhô | kaṁcuiṇaṁ kaṁcuô samannêi | êvaṁ puṭṭhaṁ abaddhaṁ | jîvô kammaṁ samannêi 90, pachchakkhâṇaṁ sêyaṁ | aparîmâṇena hôi kâyavvaṁ | jêsiṁ tu parîmâṇaṁ | taṁ daṭṭhum (duṭ ham B H) âsasâ hoi 91 Haribh. has: pratyâkhyanaṁ śrêyah aparimâṇêna kâlâvadhim vihâya kartavyaṁ, — jaṁ tassa avasesaṁ navamapuvvassa taṁ sammattaṁ; tatô so abhinivesêṇa Pûsamittasayâsaṁ chêva gaṁtuṇa bhaṇai — Pûsamitta's name is elsewhere brought into connection with the fourth schism. See schol. on up. 1, below p. 381. This name occurs frequently in the legends of the Brahmins and Buddhists.

[32] This is the chief passage, which contains the statements in reference to the pûrvas.

[33] Dasa is not to be connected with *kappa*, as is assumed by Jacobi (The ten *kalpas*), but denotes the dasâô, the fourth chhêdasûtram itself, a part of which exists to-day under the title of the kalpasûtram.

[34] navamapûrvâṁtarvarti tṛitîyaṁ sâmâchârîvastv asti, tatrâ 'pi viṁśatitamât prâbhṛitât sâdhvanugrahârthaṁ Bhadrabâhusvâminâ nirvyûḍhâ. The following fact speaks decisively against Bh. as author of the ôghan. In v. 1 not only are the chauddasapuvvins praised, to which he himself belongs, but also the dasapuvvins which reach to Vajra; consequently the existing text must have been composed at a period considerably posterior to Vajra.

[35] tatrâ 'nêkavidyâtiśayâ varṇitâḥ, Abh., vidyâ anêkâtiśayasampannâ ânukûlyêna siddhiprakarshêṇa vadatî 'ti, Schol. on N. On sâtiśayatva in connection with vidyâ, cf. p. 251n.

[36] vaṁdhyaṁ nâma niḥphalaṁ, avaṁdhyam saphalaṁ ity a., tatra hi sarvê jnânatapaḥsaṁyamayôgâḥ śubhaphalêna saphalâ varṇyaṁtê, aprasastâś cha pramâdâdikaḥ sarvê aśubhaphalâ varṇyaṁte, Abh

[37] prâṇâḥ paṁce 'ndriyâṇi 5, trîṇi mânasâdîni valâni 3, uchvâsa-niḥśvâsô 1, âyuś cha, tâni yatra varṇyaṁtê tad upachârât prâṇâyuḥ, schol. on N.

13. kiriyâvisâlam, kriyâ(bhiḥ) viśâlam[39]; 30 *vastus*; 9 padakôṭayaḥ, 90 millions.

14. lôgaviṁdusâraṁ (without lôga in § 14), viṁdur iva sâram;[39] 25 *vastus* (also in § 25); ardhatrayôdaśa(sârdha° N) padakôṭayah 125 (135 N) millions. This *pûrvam* is often mentioned as the conclusion of the *aṅgas* or of the *suaṇâna*. See above p. 245, 346.

It is now perfectly clear that the number of padas which has been handed down to us is purely a matter of fiction. The exact figures in the case of 5 and 6 are simply amusing. It is easy to revel in details, when the fancy is the only controlling agent.

The enumeration of the names in the text is followed by detailed statements in reference to the number of each of the *vatthus*, [359] *vastus* and *chûliyas*, or *chûla-vatthus*,[40] *i.e.*, sections into which each of the 14 *puvvas* are divided. These numbers, in all 225 vatthus (*nûlac.*) and 34 *chûlav.*, are also mentioned in three *kârikâs*, which have been inserted; and each of which has been quoted in its proper place.

The **fourth part** is called *anuyôga*; Hêm. calls it *pûrvânuyôga*[41] and places it (cf. p. 347) in the third position, the *pûrvagatam* occupying, according to him, the fourth place. A contents of historical character is ascribed to this fourth part. The *anuyôga*[42] is divided into two sections (1) into the *mûlaprathamânuyôga*, treating of the root (of the tree of the sacred doctrine), or, according to the scholiasts, of the *tîrthakaras*,[43] *i.e.*, the history of the beginning, of the preliminary birth, of the existence and of the final completion of the *bhagavaṁtâṇaṁ arahaṁtâṇaṁ*; and (2) into the *gaṇḍikânuyôga*, *i.e.*, the doctrine of the "little knots," single knotted points, members, sprouts,[44] of the sacred doctrine, *i.e.*, the history of the numerous figures of the Jaina hagiology which are stated to be — [360] *kulakara*, *tîrthakara*, *gaṇadhara*, *chakkahara*, Dasâra,[45] Baladêva, Vâsudêva. The history of Harivaṁśa is added to this group and, strangely enough, that of Bhadrabâhu himself, whom tradition represents to be the last teacher of the *ditthivaa*. Other "knots" are finally added, *viz.* tavôkammagaṇḍikâ, chittaṁtara(chitraṁtara)gaṁḍika, ôsappiṇi° and ussappiṇi°, and also all sorts of stories illustrating the way how beings become gods, men, animals or hell-beings.

Abhayadêva is unfortunately very brief here, and to add to our difficulties the MS. is full of corruptions. Abh. refers especially to a Nandiṭîkâ,[46] composed probably in *Prâkrit*, which is, however, not the same as the commentary on N, which I have before me. This too, is very brief and presumably contains a direct citation from one of the sections which belong here. See below p. 368 on chittaṁtarag.

The **fifth part** is composed of the chûliyâs — additions, which were referred to p. 358 in the discussion on part 3 to which they belong. They belong however to the first four *puvvas* alone. According to the schol. (and also to the schol. on Hêm. 246) by these chûliyâs we are to understand cûlâ-like (*i.e.*, like excrescences) *paddhatis*, which embrace that which was not

[38] kriyâbhih saṁyamakriyâdibhih viśâlaṁ, schol. on N; tatra kâyikyâdayaḥ kriyâḥ sabhêdâḥ saṁyamakriyâchhêdâh(chhaṁda?)kriyâvidhânâni cha varṇyaṁtê, Abh. (Malay. has according to Leumann: saṁyamakriyâchhaṁdakriyâdayaś cha).

[39] lòkê jagati śrutalòkê vâ 'ksharasyô 'pari viṁdur iva sâraṁ, sarvâksharasaṁnipâtalabdhihêtutvât, schol. on N.

[40] N has chullavatthûṇi, which is explained by the schol. by kshullavastûni, whereas chûlâ is explained by śikharam! Abh. understands here, as in *anga* 1, *chûdâ* to be secondary additions. See p. 360n.

[41] cf. Wilson Sel. W. 1, 285, *pûrvânuyôga* on the doctrines and practices of the Tîrthankaras before attaining perfection, — *purvagata* on the same after perfection (!).

[42] anuyôgaḥ, sûtrasya nijênâ 'bhidhêyêna sârdham anu(rûpah?) saṁbamdhah ity a. Abh.

[43] iha dharmapraṇaya(na)mûlaṁ tâvat tîrthakarâs, têshâṁ prathamaṁ samyaktvâvâptilakshaṇapûrva(bha)vâdigocarô 'nuyôgô mû°gaḥ, Abh.

[44] ikshv-âdînâm pûrvâparaparvaparichinnô madhyabhâgô gaṁḍikâ, gaṁḍikê 'va gaṁḍikâ, êkârthâdhikârâ, graṁthapaddhatis tasyâ anuyôgaḥ, schol. on N; ihai 'kavaktavyatârthâdhikârânugatâvâkyâ (°tavâkyâḥ?) paddhatayô gaṁḍikâ uchyaṁte, tâsâm anuyôgô 'rthakathanavidhir ga°gaḥ Abh.

[45] See Pet. Dict. s. v. daśârha, attribute of every Buddha.

[46] Doubtless that of Haribhadra is meant. See schol. on Gaṇadharasârdhaśaṭa v. 55. This, too, is indicative of the fact (see p. 284, 352) that the *Nandi* is strictly the proper place for that entire treatment of the 12 *aṅgas*, which later on found a home within the fourth aṅga. See p. 349, 363.

treated of in all the four preceding[47] parts of the *drishtivâda*. [361] The text, however, takes pains to limit them to the first four *puvvas*

In the final remarks in reference to the complete extent of the *ditthivâa*, the following parts are ascribed to it, — 1 *suyakkhandha*, 14 *puvvas*, *saṁkheyya* "computable" (perhaps "innumerable," see above, p. 281) *vatthu* and chûla(chulla N)vatthu,[48] and *pâhuḍa* (*prâbhrita*), pâhuḍapâhuḍa, pâhuḍiyâ and pâhuḍiyapâhuḍiyâ, to which the same epithet is attached. The payasahassa,[49] akkhara, &c., are characterized by the same epithet, *i.e.*, saṁkheyya.

Though the scholia fail to explain further the words *pâhuḍa*, &c., they manifestly signify the same as chapter, paragraph, &c., and are actually so used[50] in upâṅgas 5, 7; and in aṅga 10 (see p. 333), the word *pâhuḍa* is used in connection with the 14 *puvvas*. In the Anuyôgadvârasûtra (end of the pamâṇa section), the *ditthivâa* is said to be computed according to pâhuḍa, pâhuḍiâ, pâhuḍapâhuḍiâ, and according to *vatthu*. This method of counting is said in the Anuyôgadvârasûtra to be similar to the division of the *kâlia sua*, *i.e.*, into uddêsaga, ajjhayaṇa, suakkaṁdha, aṅga, which is there contrasted with the *ditthivâa*. *Vatthu* appears in *up.* 6 as the name of the sections of *up.* 5 and 7, in which it no longer occurs in this signification.

If we now cast a glance at the entire field of information which we possess in regard to [362] the twelfth *aṅga*, it is manifest that, though this aṅga had a genuine existence, nevertheless the information at our command produces an impression of less weight than that concerning the previous eleven aṅgas. In the case of the latter we possess the texts themselves as a means of verification, but in the case of the twelfth aṅga there is no such help upon which we can rely.

These statements, and especially those in reference to the 14 *pûrvas*, are, however, not purely fictitious. This is clear from the citations adduced above in our consideration of each, and especially of 2—4, 7—10, and from traditions in reference either to the extracts from them or to their relations to the origin of some of the seven schisms. Another proof of the validity of these statements lies in the fact that the number of the *vatthus*, *mâuyâpadâni* and *suttâṇi*, contained in the *ditthiv.*, which is mentioned in *aṅga* 4 §§ 13—16. 18. 20. 25. 46 and 88 is in direct agreement with the later statement of contents. Finally the name *pâhuḍa* in *aṅga* 10 appears in direct connection with the 14 *puvvas*. At the period of the Âvaśyakasûtra, especially, and at that of the Anuyôgadvârasûtra these texts must still have existed, and perhaps even at the time of the older commentaries (cf. e.g., p. 347n.), if the statements of the latter are not mere reproductions of old traditions. See p. 225.

The statement of **the contents of aṅga 12** is found in *aṅga* 4, or *Nandî* (N), and is as follows:—

Sê kiṁ taṁ ditthivâê? ditthivâê ṇaṁ savvabhâvaparûvaṇayâ[51] âghavijjaṁti,[52] sê samâsaô paṁchavihê paṁ[363](ṇattê), taṁ: parikammaṁ[53] suttâiṁ puvvagayaṁ[54] aṇuyôgô[55] chûliyâ; — sê kiṁ taṁ parikammê? 2 sattavihê paṁ, taṁ: siddha[56]sêṇiyâparikammê,[57] maṇussasê°, buddhasê,[58] uggahaṇâsê°,[59] uvasaṁpajjaṇâsê°,[60] vippajahaṇasê°, chuyâchuyasê°; — sê kiṁ taṁ siddhasê°[61]?

[47] iha drishtivâdê parikarma-sûtra-pûrvagatâ-'nuyôgôktânuktârthasaṁgrahapaddhatayah (saṁgrahaparâ graṁthapaddh. N Schol.) chulôh.

[48] The number of *vatthu* and *chûlav.* for the 14 *puvva* at least, was shortly before (cf. p. 359) stated with exactness in the text itself.

[49] See above for the fabulous accounts of the scholia

[50] The name pâhuḍa is found in the Siddhapañchâśikâ of Dêvêndrasûri in 50 *gâthâs*. The author, in v. 1, says that he has taken his material *sirisiddhapâhuḍâô*. See above p. 354.

[51] ABC, °vaṇâ N. [52] ABC, °jjai N

[53] ABC. °mmê N.

[54] ABC, °gaê N: when I henceforth cite N alone, ABC agree.

[55] BC, °ugô A, °ôgê N. [56] siddhi AN.

[57] etâni siddhaśrêṇikâparikarmâdi(dini) mûlabhêdatah saptavidhâni, mâtrikâpadâdyuttarabhêdâpekshayâ tryaśitividhâni, schol. on N.

[58] BC, putthas° AN. [59] BC, ugêdha A, ôgâḍha N.

[60] °ṇâ BC, °ṇa AN. [61] siddhi A

2 choddasavihê pannattê, taṁ jahà: mâuyâpayâṇi[62] êgaṭṭhiyapayàiṁ pâḍhô aṭṭhapayâṇi[63] àgâsapayàṇi[64] kêubhûyaṁ râsibaddhaṁ êgaguṇaṁ duguṇaṁ tiguṇaṁ kêubhûya[65]-paḍiggahê[66] saṁthârapaḍiggahê[67] naṁdâvattaṁ siddhâvattaṁ. sê 'ttaṁ siddhasê°; — sê kiṁ taṁ maṇussasê°? 2 choddasavihê paṁ, taṁ: *tâiṁ chêva* mâuyâpayàiṁ[68] *jâva* naṁdâvattaṁ maṇussàvattaṁ,[69] se 'ttaṁ maṇussasê°,[70] — *avasêsâiṁ parikammàiṁ pâḍhàiyâiṁ ekkârasavihâṇi*[71] *paṁ*; — ichch [364] êyaiṁ[72] satta parikammàiṁ, chha[73] sasamaiyàṇi satta âjîviyâṇi, chha chaükkanaiyâṇi[74] satta têrasiyàṇi,[75] êvàm êva[76] sapuvvàvarêṇaṁ satta parikammâiṁ têsîiṁ bhavaṁtî 'ti-m-akkhayâiṁ; se 'ttaṁ' parikammâṇi; — sê kiṁ taṁ suttâiṁ? suttâiṁ[77] aṭṭhâsiî bhavaṁtì 'ti-m-akkhâyâtiṁ,[78] taṁ:[79] ujugaṁ,[80] pariṇayâpariṇayaṁ, bahubhaṁgiyaṁ, vinayapavvatiyaṁ,[81] aṇaṁtaraṁ,[82] paraṁparaṁ, sâmàṇaṁ,[83] saṁjûhaṁ,[84] bhinnaṁ, ahavvàyaṁ,[85] sôvatthiyaṁ,[86] ghaṁṭaṁ, naṁdàvattaṁ, bahulaṁ, puṭṭhâpuṭṭhaṁ,[87] viyàvattaṁ,[88] evaṁbhûyaṁ, duyàvattaṁ, vattamâṇuppayaṁ,[89] samabhirûḍhaṁ,[90] savvatôbhaddaṁ,[91] paṇâsaṁ[92] dupaḍiggahaṁ, ichch-êiyâiṁ bâvîsaṁ suttâiṁ chhinnachêyaṇaiyàṇi[93] sasam[365]ayasuttaparivâḍîê; ichch-êiyâiṁ[94] bàvîsaṁ suttàiṁ achhinnachhêyaṇaiyàṇi[95] àjîviyasuttaparivàḍîê; ichch-êiyàiṁ[96] bàvîsaṁ suttàiṁ tika[97]nayâṇi[98]

[62] A, °dâṇi BC, màugâpayâṇiṁ N.

[63] BC, aṭṭhâ AN; in N before pâḍhô.

[64] BC, aṇasa A, âmâsa N.

[65] N, bhûyê BC, bhûyaṁ A.

[66] ggahô AN.

[67] BC, saṁsâ°hô AN.

[68] mâuyâiṁ pa° BC, mâuyap. A, mâugâp. N.

[69] AN, °ssabaddhaṁ BC, incorrectly.

[70] In N this § is differently understood, since all the 14 names are again enumerated, and, in fact, just as above with the same variations:—mâugâ°, pâḍhô after aṭṭhâpayâiṁ, âmâsa° (sic!), kêubhûyappaḍiggahô, saṁsârapaḍiggahô.

[71] It follows from this ekkârasavihaṇi that the reading of N, which gives pâḍhô after aṭṭhâpayâiṁ, is correct, otherwise there would be twelve species, not eleven. N consequently has preserved the original form of the text N is also more exact in another point: — From the text we conjecture merely that the last member of each of the seven series (after naṁdâvattaṁ) begins in each case with the first part of the name of the series. In N, however, where as in the case of maṇussasê° and in all the foll. series, the enumeration of the 14 members is in each case complete, the readings being the same as heretofore, the last member of each always varying, or it is expressly called putthâvattam, ôgâḍhâvattaṁ, uvasaṁpajjaṇâvattaṁ, vippajahaṇâvattaṁ, chuâchuâvattaṁ. Further on N has frequently, sometimes in agreement with A, the better reading. Some omissions are due to the incorrectness of the Berlin MS.

[72] êyâtiṁ BC, êiyâiṁ AN.

[73] chha s. s. âj. omitted in N; the schol. however says: êtêshâṁ cha saptànâm pari(karmaṇâ)m âdyâni (Abh. has: shaṭ âdimâni parikarmâṇi) shaṭ svasamayavaktavyatânugatâni svasiddhâṁtaprakâśakânî 'ty a., yê tu Gôśâlapravartitâ âjivikâḥ pâshaṁḍinas tanmatêna saptâ 'pi (chyutâchyutaśrêṇikâparikarmasahitâni Abh.) prajnâpyaṁtê.

[74] nayâiṁ N; âdyâni shaṭ chaturnayôpêtâni, schol. on N.

[75] yâiṁ N; trairâśikâni, trairâśikamatam avalaṁbya sapta parikarmâṇi trividhanayachiṁtayâ chiṁtyaṁtê, schol. on N.

[76] Instead of êvâm êva to akkhâyâiṁ N has merely nayâiṁ parikammê.

[77] Instead of su° to akkhâyâtiṁ N has suttâiṁ vâvîsaṁ paṁ.

[78] BC, akkhâyaṁ A.

[79] A omits.

[80] BC, ujjâyaṁ A, ujjusuaṁ N.

[81] C, pachch° B; vijayavirayaṁ A, vijayachariyaṁ N.

[82] ra BC.

[83] BCN, sâm° A.

[84] °bû B, simply jûhaṇ A.

[85] BC, cc A, âyachchâyaṁ N.

[86] sâva° N.

[87] merely puṭṭhaṁ A.

[88] °vachcham N.

[89] -payam A.

[90] ruḍḍhaṁ N.

[91] BC, savvâô° N, savvau A.

[92] AC, paṇṇâsaṁ BN.

[93] °yâiṁ N; iha yô nâma nayaḥ sûtram chhêdêna chhinnam êvâ 'bhipraiti, na dvitîyêna sûtrêṇa saha saṁbaṁdhayati; tathâ hi: dhammô maṁgalam ukkiṭṭham iti ślokaṁ chhinnachhêdanayamatêna pûrvasûrayaḥ tathâ vyâkhyâṁti sma yathâ na dvitîyâdiślôkânâṁ apêkshâ syât, tathâ dvitîyâdîn api tathâ vyâkhyâṁti sma yathâ na têshâm âdyaślokâpêkshâ syât; tathâ sûtrâṇy api yatrayâbhiḥprâyêṇa (yan nayâbhi°) parasparaṁ nirapêkshâṇi vyâkhyâṁti sma, sa chhêdachhinnanayaḥ, tataḥ svasamayavaktavyatâm adhikṛitya chhinnachhêdanayatvaṁ, tatha yaḥ sûtraṁ sûtrâṁtarêṇa sahâ 'chhinnam arthataḥ saṁbaṁdham abhipraiti, sa achhinnachhêdanayaḥ, yathâ: dhammô maṁgalaṁ ukkiṭṭham ity ayaṁ slôkô 'chhinnachhêdanayamatêna vyâkhyâyamânô dvitîyâdîn apêkshatê, 'py etaṁ slôkaṁ, êvam anyônya(ṁ) dvâviṁśati(ḥ) sûtrâṇi aksharârachanâm adhikṛitya parasparaṁ vibhaktâny apy dvitîyâdayo arthasaṁvaṁdham apêkshya sâpêkshâṇi, schol. on N.

[94] A N, êtâiṁ BC.

[95] °ṇayâiṁ B C.

[96] êyâiṁ A; atha nayavibhâgâṁtaram adhikṛitya bhêdam âha. trairâśikanayamatêna sûtraparipâṭyâṁ vivakshitâyâṁ trikanayikâni, svasamayavaktavyatâm adhikṛitya sû° vi° saṁgrahavyavahâraṛjusûtraśabdarûpanayachatushkayô (! omission) schol. on N (Malay., accord. to Leumann, continues chatushṭayôpêtâni saṁgrahâdinayachatushṭayêna chiṁtyaṁta ity a.)

[97] tikka A. tiga N.

[98] yâiṁ N.

têrâsiya[99]suttaparivâḍîô ; ichch-êiyâiṁ bâvîsaṁ chaükkaṇaïyâṇi[100] sasamayasuttaparivâḍîê[1] ; êvâm êva sapuvvâvarêṇaṁ[2] aṭṭhâsîi[3] suttâiṁ[4] bhavaṁti 'tti[5]-m-akkhâyaṁ[6] ; se 'ttaṁ suttâiṁ.

Sé kiṁ taṁ puvvagaê ?[7] puvvagaê choddasavihê[8] paṁ, taṁ : uppâyapuvvaṁ, aggêṇiyaṁ,[9] vîriyam, atthinatthippavâyaṁ, nâṇappavâyaṁ, sachchappavâyaṁ, âyapp., kammapp., pachchakkhâṇapp.,[10] vijjâṇuppavâyaṁ, avaṁjhaṁ, pâṇâuṁ,[11] kiriyâvisâlaṁ, lôgabiṁdusâraṁ : — uppâya- [366] puvvassa ṇaṁ[12] dasa vatthû chattâri chûliyâ[13] vatthû paṁ°, aggêṇiyassa[14] ṇaṁ puvvasso choddasa v. bârasa[15] chûliyâ[13] v. paṁ, vîriyapuvvassa aṭṭha v. aṭṭha chûliyâ[13] v. p., atthinatthipavâyassa[16] aṭṭhârasa v. dasa chûliyâ[13] v. p, nâṇappavâyassa ṇaṁ puvvassa bârasa v. p., sachchappavâyassa ṇam p. dô[17] v. p., âyapp. ṇaṁ p. sôlasa v. p, kammapp ṇaṁ p. tîsaṁ v. p., pachchakkhâṇassa ṇaṁ p. vîsaṁ v. p., vijjâṇupp. ṇaṁ p. pannarasa v. p., avaṁjhassa ṇaṁ p. bârasa v. p, pâṇâussa ṇaṁ p. têrasa v. p. kiriyâvisâlassa ṇaṁ p. tîsaṁ v. p., lôgaviṁdusârassa ṇaṁ p. paṇavîsaṁ v. paṁ ; dasa choddas' aṭṭha aṭṭhârasêva (°sa N) bârasa duvê ya vatthûṇi[18] | sôlasa tîsâ vîsâ pannarasa aṇuppavâyaṁmi || bârasa êkkarasamê bârasamê têrasê 'va vatthûṇi | tîsâ puṇa têrasamê choddasamê[19] pannavîsâ u || chattâri duvâlasa aṭṭha chêva dasa chêva chûla[20] vatthûṇi | âillâṇa chaüṇhaṁ sêsâṇaṁ chûliyâ na 'tthi || ; se 'ttaṁ puvvagayaṁ.[21]

Sô kiṁ taṁ aṇuyôgê ?[22] a°gê duvihê p, taṁ : mûla[23]paḍhamâṇuyôgê ya gaṁḍiyâṇuyôgê ya. Sê kiṁ taṁ mûlapa°gê ? ettha[24] ṇaṁ arahaṁtâṇaṁ bhagavaṁtâṇaṁ puvvabhavâ[25] dêvalôgagamaṇâiṁ[26] âuṁ[27] chavaṇâiṁ[28] jamma[367]ṇâṇi ya abhisêyâ râyavarasiriô[29] sîyâu[30] pavvajjâô[31] tavâ ya bhattâ[32] kêvalanâṇuppâyâ[33] titthappavattaṇâṇi ya, saṁghayaṇaṁ,[34] saṁṭhaṇaṁ uchchattam âuṁ[35] vannavibhâgô,[36] sîsâ gaṇâ[37]gaṇaharâ ya, ajjâ pavattiṇîô,[38] saṁghassa chauvihassa jaṁ châvi[39] parimâṇaṁ, jiṇa[40]maṇapajjava[41] ohiṇâṇi[42] sammattasuyanâṇiṇô ya vâdî[43] aṇuttaragatî ya[44] uttaravêuvviṇô[45] ya muṇiṇô jattiyâ 2 siddhâ, siddhapahô[46] jaha dêsiô jachchiraṁ kâlam. pâôvagaô[47] ya jô jahiṁ jattiyâiṁ[48] bhattâiṁ chhêyaittâ[49] aṁtagaḍê[50] muṇivaruttamê[51] tamaraôghavippamukkê[52] siddhipaham[53] aṇuttaraṁ cha pattê,[54] êê annê ya êvam-âî[55] bhâvâ mûla[56]-paḍhamâṇuôgê kahiyâ âghavijjaṁti[57] pannavi° parûvi° ; se 'ttaṁ mûlapaḍhamâṇuyôgê ; — sé

---

99 sîiṁ A. 100 °yâiṁ N, ṇayâiṇi A. 1 N adds suttâiṁ.

2 pûrvâparasamudâyarûpêṇa sarvasaṁkhyayâ, schol. on N.

3 °sîtî B, °sîtâ C, °sîi A, ° sat N. 4 °ṇi A.

5 titti A, tîti N, bhavatîtî BC. 6 °iyâiṁ BC, °iyâṇi A, °iyaṁ N.

7 See Abhayadêva's scholion, above, p. 216. The anonym. schol. on Nandî has the foll. iha tîrthakaras tîrthapravartanakâlê gaṇadharân adhikritya pûrvaṁ pûrvagatasûtrârtham bhâshatê, tataḥ pûrvâṇy uchyaṁtê ; gaṇadharâ api tathai 'va rachayamti paśchâd âchârâdikaṁ.

8 chaüdd° N. 9 ABC, aggêaṇîyaṁ N, aggêṇî° N ED. (accord to Leumann).

10 BC, °ṇuppavâyam A, kkhâṇaṁ N. 11 BC, pâṇâu A, pâṇâô N.

12 N adds puvvassa. 13 chulla° N. 14 °nîassa N.

15 duvâlasa N. 16 °yapuvvassa N. 17 dôṇṇi N.

18 mûlavatthûṇaṁ N. 19 AN, chauda° BC. 20 chulla° N.

21 gaê A ; sê 'ttaṁ p. omitted in N. 22 BC, ôgê N, ugê A ; and so throughout.

23 N. omits. 24 ABC, mû°gê N.

25 arhatâṁ bhagavatâṁ samyaktvabhavâd ârabhya pûrvabhavâḥ, dêvalôkagamanâni, têshu pûrvabhavêshu châ 'yuḥ, dêvalôkêbhyaś chyavanaṁ, tîrthakarabhavatvênô 'tpâdas, tatô janmâni, tataḥ śailarâjê surâsurair vidhîyamânâ abhishêkâ ity-âdi pâthasiddhaṁ yâvan nigamanaṁ ; iha sarvatrâ 'py apâṁtarâlê vartibhyô ʼvadvyah (vah° ?) pratiniyataikârthâdhikâras, tatô vahuvachanaṁ : schol. on N.

26 NA, °ṇâṇi BC. 27 N, âûm A, âu BC. 28 N, chayaṇâṇi BC, ch.yâṇi A.

29 N, rîtô BC, rîu A. (N ED. breaks off, Leumann says, at abhisêyâ and is merely prâthamabhâga.)

30 N omits. 31 N, jjâto BC, jjâu A. 32 ABC, uggâ N.

33 A, ppâyâtâ BC, ppâyâo N. 34 saṁgha° to vibhâgô omitted in N.

35 âû A. 36 vaṇavibhâu A. 37 ABN, gaṇî C

38 N, ṇîu ABC. 39 vâvi ABC, cha N. 40 jiṇâ BC.

41 vâ N. 42 nâṇi N ; hiṇâṇi to siddhâ omitted in A.

43 BC, pavâî N. 44 °gaî a N. 45 utt. ya m. in N alone.

46 siddhapahô to kâlaṁ in N alone. 47 N, pâtôvagatô BC, pâuvagaü A.

48 AN, jêtti° BC. 49 ABC, chhêittâ N. 50 N, °dô BC, kaḍô A.

51 N, °mô ABC. 52 N, kkâ ABC. 53 BC, sidha A, mukkhasuhaṁ N.

54 N, pattâ ABC. 55 âdî A. 56 A omits.

57 âgh. p. p. omitted in N.

kiṁ taṁ gaṁḍiyâṇuyôgê? 2 aṇêgavihê pannattê, taṁ jahâ[58]: kulagaragaṁḍiyâô[59] titthayarag. gaṇadharag.[60] chakkaharag.[61] Dasârag. Baladêvag. Vâsudêvag. Harivaṁsag.[62] Bhaddabâhug. [368] tavôkammag. chittaṁtarag.[63] ôsappiṇîg.[64] ussappiṇîg.[65] amaranaratiriyaniraya[66] gati[67] gamaṇa viviha pariyaṭṭaṇâṇuyôgê,[68] êvam-âdîyâô[69] gatigaṁḍiyâô[70] âghavijjaṁti panna°[71] parû°[71]; sê 'ttaṁ gaṁḍiyâṇuyôgê.[72]

Sê kiṁ taṁ chûliyâô?[73] jan naṁ[74] âillâṇaṁ chaüṇhaṁ puvvâṇaṁ chûliyâô,[75] sêsâiṁ puvvâiṁ achûliyâiṁ[76]; se 'ttaṁ chûliyâô.

At the conclusion of this review of the 12 *aṅgas*, I present **the apostrophe to eternity**, which is given in aṅga 4 and in Nandî, in entire agreement with each other, at the close of their statement of the contents of the aṅga. With all the unwavering firmness of this apostrophe it looks like a protest against all who might either doubt or attempt to undermine its validity (see p. 293):—

Ichch êiyaṁ duvâlasaṁgaṁ gaṇipiḍagaṁ atîtê[77] kâlê aṇaṁtâ jîvâ âṇâê[78] virâhittâ châuraṁtasaṁsârakaṁtâraṁ aṇupariyaṭṭiṁsu;[79] ichch êiyaṁ du° ga° paḍuppannê [369] kâlê (*bis*) aṇupariyaṭṭiṁti;[80] — ichch êiyaṁ du° ga° aṇâgaê kâlê (*bis*) aṇupariyaṭṭissaṁti; — ichch êiyaṁ du° ga° atîtê kâlê a. j. âṇâê ârâhittâ châ° vîtivatiṁsu,[81] . . vîivaïṁti, . . vîivaïssaṁti; — ichch êiyaṁ du° ga° na kayâi na âsi,[82] na kayâi na tthi, na kayâi na bhavissaï, bhuviṁ[83] cha bhavaṁti ya[84] bhavissaṁti ya,[85] dhuvê niaê[86] sâsaê akkhaê[87] avvaê[88] avaṭṭhiê[89] nichchê;[90] sê jahâ nâmaê paṁca atthikâyâ na kayâi na âsi na kayâi na tthi na kayâi na bhavissaṁti,[91] bhuviṁ cha bhavaṁti ya bhavissaṁti ya dhuvâ nitiyâ[92] *jâva* nichchâ, êvâm êva du° ga° na kayâi ṇa âsi (*bis*) nichche; — ettha[93] ṇaṁ du° gê ga° gê aṇaṁtâ bhâvâ a. abhâvâ, a. hêû a. ahêû, a. kâraṇâ a. akâraṇâ, a. jîvâ a. ajîvâ, a. bhavasiddhiyâ a. abhavasiddhiyâ, a. siddhâ a. asiddhâ âghavijjaṁti parû° panna° daṁsi° nidaṁsi° uvadaṁsi,° êyaṁ du° gaṁ ga° gaṁ.

Before I proceed further I should like to state that beside the Vidhiprapâ of Jinaprabha (A.D. 1307) (see above p. 223) in the meantime **two other sâmâchârî texts,** unfortunately anonymous, have come to my knowledge. They are both written in *Prâkṛit* with an occasional intermingling of *Sanskṛit*, and are in agreement throughout with the statements in the Vidhip, which they antedate. The first of these texts, **âyâravihi**, in 21 dâra, contains in its tenth *dâraṁ*, *jôgavihi*, not merely the enumeration of the *aṅgabâhira* texts, as *Nandî* [370], Pâkshikas. and Vidhiprapâ, especially in the form of the two latter, but also the same detailed exposition and examination of the single portions of the *aṅgas*, *upâṅgas*, &c., according to the period of time requisite for their study (measured according to *diṇa* and *âyaṁbila*). The order of succession is the same as in the section of the Vidhiprapâ which treats of this point. It is especially

58 jahâ omitted in A; instead of 2 aṇê° jahâ N has ga°gê ṇaṁ jahâ.

59 Thus N, °yâtô BC, °yâu A; so also further on; kulakarâṇâṁ Vimalavâhanâdinâṁ pûrvabhavajanmanâmâdîni saprapaṁcham upavarṇyaṁtê, êvam tîrthakaragaṁdikâdishv abhidhânavaśatô bhâvanîyaṁ schol. on N.

60 In N after Vâsudêvag. 61 BC, chakkavatti AN. 62 In N after Bhadda°.

63 In N after ôsapp.; chitrâ anêkârthâ aṁtarê Ṛishabhâjitatîrthakarâpâṁtarâlê Ṛishabhavaṁśasamudbhûtânâṁ bhûpatînâṁ śêshagativyudâsêna śivagatigamanânuttarôpapâtapratipâdikâ gaṁḍikâs, tâsâm cha prarûpaṇâ Subuddhinâmnâ Sagarachakravartinô mahâmâtyênâ 'shṭâpadê Sagarachakravartisutêbhya Âdityayaśaḥprabhṛitînâm Ṛishabhavaṁśarâjânâṁ narapatînâṁ saṁkhyâpradarśanêna kritâ, sâ châ ''ichchajasâîṇaṁ Usabhassê 'ty-âdinâ 'vasêyâ, schol. on N.

64 N, usa° BC, ussa A; ṇî BCN, ṇî A. 65 BN omit; usa° A, ṇî C.

66 niraya omitted in A; amarê 'ti vividhêshu parivarttêshu bhavabhramaṇêshu jaṁtûnâm iti gamyatê 'maratiryagnirayagatigamanaṁ, êvaṁ âdikâ gaṁḍikâ vahava (!) âkhyâyaṁtê, schol. on N.

67 gaî N. 68 BC, °ugê A ttaṇêsu N. 69 yâu A, âtiyâtô BC, merely âî in N.

70 A omits. 71 N omits. 72 AN, gô BC.

73 N yâtô BC, yâu A. 74 BC, AN omit. 75 BC, °yâiṁ N, yâu A.

76 N, has avasêsâ puvvâ achûliyâ. 77 tîê N. 78 âjnayâ.

79 anuparivṛittavaṁtaḥ Jamâlivat.

80 bhramaṁti. 81 vyativrajitavantaḥ. 82 nâsî N (thus in every case).

83 bhûim N. (always). 84 bhavai a N (always). 85 bhavissai a N (always).

86 niyataṁ. 87 N omits; akshayaṁ. 88 avyayam. 89 avasthitam.

90 Instead of av. niccê N has here suparitthiê. In the following repetition, however, it is the same as in the text.

91 ssai N. 92 niyayâ N. 93 The following is omitted in N.

interesting that ten, and not five, ajjh. are here — see p. 332 — ascribed to each of the first two *vargas* of the second part of *aṅga* 6: dusu dusu vaggêsu kamà ajjhayaṇà huṁti dasa ya chauppanna | battisà chau aṭṭha ya dhammakaha bìa suakkhaṁdhê ||. The text which we possess does not agree with this allotment of ajjh. The same holds good of the second of these two texts, which bears the name **sâmâyàrîvihi.** We read in it the following concerning the first *vagga*: tammi dasa ajjhayaṇà, and immediately thereupon viê dasa ajjhayaṇa. Since this second text is twice — at the conclusion of the *jôgavihi* section and at the conclusion of the whole — expressly ascribed[94] to Abhayadèva, or to his oral instruction of the author Paramânanda, it is very surprising that we find such differences between it and the present text, Abhayadêva himself in his commentary commenting upon that text which allots to both *vagga* only five *ajjh.* each. If the *sâmâyârîvihi* appears to be more than two hundred years older than the Vidhiprapà on account of its pretended relation to Abhayadéva (A.D. 1064, above p. 277), 371] the *âyâravihi* must be regarded as of greater antiquity. Its author refers, at the conclusion of *dâra* 21, "êtâni gurukṛityàni, śrâvakakṛityaṁ punaḥ śrîmad Umâsvâtivâchaka-śrî Haribhadrasûri pratishthâkalpâdibhyô 'va-êyaṁ" to two authors considerably before his time. In v. 50, 51 of the Gaṇadharasârdhaśatakaṁ composed by Jinadattasûri, the scholar of Jinavallabha who died A.D. 1112, (see Kl. 248 b), the former of the two authors is called the first teacher after the interval following upon Âryarakshita and Durbalikapushpa (above p. 348).[95] In Sarvarâjagaṇi's schol. on the Gaṇadharasârdhaśatakam a *śrâvakaprajnapti* is cited among the 500 (or 105?) payaraṇas (*prakaraṇa*), composed by him in *Sanskrit* according to the statement in the text. The title *śrâvakaprajnapti* is in entire harmony with the statement of the *âyâravihi* just quoted. According to the Gurvâvalî of Tapâgacha Kl. 253a (28) there lived an Umâsvâtikara in 1190 Vîra (= *Saṁvat* 720), who is, however, distinguished from the author of the *śrâvakaprajnapti* (°*pigâdi*) — (yataḥ sanmativṛittau, cf. above p. 347, śrî Umâsvâtivachaka ity uktam). The latter is probably, as Klatt kindly informs me, the person of this name who appears in the Bombay MS. of a paṭṭavalî of the Vṛihat-Kharataragachha. in the continuation of the old Sthavirâvalî immediately after its last member, Dûshagaṇi, the teacher of Dêvarddhigaṇi, and separated by one gradation alone from Haribhadra who is mentioned together with him in the *âyâravihi*. Since the date of Dêvarddhigaṇi is 980 Vîra, and the death of Haribhadra is placed in [372] 1055 Vîra, see Kl. 253a (27), tradition seems to place Umâsvâtikara, the author of the śravakaprajnapti, about 1000 Vîra (= Saṁvat 530)! While it is true that the *âyâravihi* does not claim to stand in direct connection with Umâsv. and Haribh., merely citing them, yet this citation is of such a character that it is calculated to afford ancient testimony concerning a treatise which mentions, not sources of information of later date, but merely these two names which are manifestly of tolerable antiquity. The statements contained in this work gain consequently in authority; and the same conclusion holds good of the information of a literary and other nature in harmony therewith, contained in both sâmâchârî texts (sâ°vihi and vihipavâ). In continuing from this point on to adduce the testimony of the Vidhiprapâ (V) especially, I do so, partly because it has a fixed date, and partly because it contains the most detailed statements. I shall, however, not fail to state where Ayâravihi (Avi.) or Sâmâyârîvihi (Svi.), which takes an intermediate position between Avi. and V. as regards fullness, offer anything worthy of particular note.

---

[94] sirì Abhayadêva sûriguruvayaṇâ mayaṁ maê êyam | Paramâṇaṁdêṇa kayaṁ . . śrî Abhayadêvasûrêr śishya-aroruhavihâriṇî (?) patrê | sâmâchâri rûmaiî (?) Paramânaṁdât padaṁ chakrê |

[95] The very faulty MS. reproduces the Umâsâyi of the text by Umâsvâmi in the commentary! This form of the name is found elsewhere, *e.g.* in the Vichârâmṛitasaṁgraha as that of the author of the śrâ°pti.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.[1]

No. 9. — The Pâṭêl's Youngest Daughter-in-law.

The *pâṭêl*[2] of a certain country had seven sons, six of whom were married, the seventh being yet young. The wives of the six brothers brought with them little or no dowry, but when the youngest son married, his wife brought several hundred rupees' worth of jewellery.

Now it happened that, with the exception of the youngest daughter-in-law, the whole of the *pâṭêl's* family were an indolent lot, and thus had to dispose of what little property they owned, and also the few jewels that the daughters-in-law had, to buy provisions and other necessaries. But the youngest daughter-in-law, who was wise and the only industrious person in the family, saw to what a pass they had come, and hit upon a plan. She went to her father-in-law, and thus said to him: —

"Father, we have already lost everything through our laziness. Let us do something to get out of this wretched way of living. I propose to dispose of the jewellery, which my father has given me in dowry, and see what we can do with the proceeds."

The old *pâṭêl*, who could suggest no other alternative, agreed to the proposal of his youngest daughter-in-law. So they took a portion of her jewellery, and, going to a goldsmith, got it weighed, and sold it for what value the goldsmith set upon it. She next went to the *bâzâr* and bought some rice, spices, and such like other necessities, and then proceeded to wash the rice before grinding it into flour, and asked the other women to help her; but they all refused: some on the plea that their children were crying, others that they had to attend to some other work, and so on. At last, with the help of her husband and father-in-law, she managed to wash the rice, to spread it out on mats in the sun to dry, and afterwards, when dry, to collect and bring in the house. She had now to grind the rice into flour, and so she again asked the others to help her, but met with the same refusal. The old man and her husband again lent their help, and she did the grinding of the rice. In this way she made their food last them for some days, while she had still a good sum of money left. Now, it struck her that, if they continued so idle, the provisions would soon be finished, and in a short time also the money that remained would have to be spent, and they would once more have nothing to eat. She, therefore, made the following suggestion to her father-in-law: —

"Come, father, we will take a few labourers, and, going to a jungle, we will fell some trees and sell them as firewood, and I'm sure it will well repay our trouble."

The father-in-law, who loved her more than any of the others for her kindness and industry, at once gave his consent. So one day, having fitted out a ship, taking with her her husband, father-in-law, and some labourers, she sailed through a river, and came to a large forest. There she got felled several trees, with which, after they were dried, she filled the ship, and came back home.

One day a great merchant was passing by the *pâṭêl's* house and saw the great heap of firewood. Being in need of firewood, the merchant inquired to whom it belonged, and having been told that it belonged to the *pâṭêl*, he went to his house and asked him if he would sell the firewood. The *pâṭêl*, as previously instructed by his youngest daughter-in-law, said: —

"No, no; we are not going to sell the firewood. The rains are fast approaching, and we shall want it all to ourselves."

---

[1] I take this opportunity of stating that, in my contributions of *Folklore in Salsette*, I have, when alluding to the people, called them "Salsette Christians," but they are not to be mistaken for the "Bombay Portuguese," by which term are understood the "Goanese," and these latter have no connection with the *Folklore in Salsette*. The Native Christians of Bombay and Salsette, including Bassein, now call themselves "Bombay East Indians," and in my future contributions I shall call them as such, *i. e.* "East Indians."

[2] Until lately the *pâṭêl* was considered a person of great importance, and was respected and feared by all.

But the merchant urged and begged very much, saying :— "Come, come, sell it to me at any price; my need is greater than yours, as I want it immediately, while you can wait for the rains, by which time you can collect another and bigger heap than this."

The *pâṭêl*, however, said that he must consult his daughter-in-law before disposing of it. So he called her out, and told her that the merchant asked him to sell the firewood.

"No, no," answered the daughter-in-law, quick as lightning. "What are we going to burn during the rains, which will begin in a few days, if we sell the firewood now? If we buy it afterwards it will cost us twice or three times as much as we have paid for it now, and we could ill afford to pay even the present price!"

In this way she refused to sell the wood. But the merchant, who was in very great need of it, offered to give her even four times its value, and at last she consented, and sold the wood, which brought them near a thousand rupees. Thus, through the industry of the youngest daughter-in-law, the family now owned more money than it ever had before. Her next care was to take her father-in-law to a goldsmith's house, where she bought jewels for the *pâṭêl's* other daughters-in-law. After this she bought more provisions. This time also, when she asked them to help her in the washing of the rice, grinding it, and so on, the ungrateful and lazy wretches refused to help her, and, again, she had to do it with the aid of the old *pâṭêl* and her husband.

With all this, she still had a large sum of money left; so she thought of using it in a way that would bring in still more. This time she suggested to her father-in-law to gather some stones into a large heap. The old *pâṭêl*, therefore, hired some labourers, and at once set to work. In a month or so they collected an enormous heap of stones.

It now happened that the king of that country was building a new palace, but, unfortunately, as one wall was erected and another was being built up, the first would give way and fall into ruins. As soon as the first wall was rebuilt, the second wall gave way, because they were being built of mere earth. This went on for several months, and the king had already spent much time and a vast sum of money, but in vain. At last his *kârbhârî* thus advised him:—

"Your Majesty has already spent much time and money over this building, but apparently to little or no use. In my opinion it would be better to use stones for the building, which will ensure greater strength, and I feel confident that the work will not trouble you as it does now."

The king, who always abided by the council of his *kârbhârî*, agreed to the suggestion, and sent his men to seek for stones. The men chanced to pass by the *pâṭêl's* house, and, seeing the great heap of stones, asked him if he would sell them.

The *pâṭêl*, as instructed by his daughter-in-law, said :— "No, these stones are not for sale; we are about to rebuild our house, and so we shall want them ourselves."

The king's men, however, pressed him very much to part with the stones, telling him that as they were wanted by the king, he would pay him a high price for them.

Upon this the *pâṭêl* called out to his daughter-in-law, and said to her:— "Look here, here are the king's men, who want to buy up this heap of stones."

The daughter-in-law at once replied:— "Oh no, oh no! See, our house is in quite a dilapidated state, and it may tumble down at any moment. We must soon set about rebuilding it, and if you are going to sell these stones, what will you do? It will be difficult for us to get together such a heap in time. Do not talk of selling them."

But the king's people would not be quieted with this answer. They begged and urged very hard, till at last she yielded, and named the price of the stones at some thousands of rupees, which were paid, and the stones taken to build the king's palace, which was shortly completed to the great joy of the king.

The *pâṭêl* with his whole family were now well settled in life. At the instigation of the youngest daughter-in-law, their house was rebuilt and furnished handsomely. The old man now took his youngest daughter-in-law to heart, and loved her more than ever. In everything that had to be done he always consulted her, and gave everything in her charge. This of course naturally led the others to envy her. They, therefore, began to invent stories in order to prejudice the *pâṭêl* and her husband against her.

Said they to the *pâṭêl*, the first time he called her: — "Oh yes, you have taken such a liking to her; but do you know what is going on behind your back? What people are coming and going, and such like things?"

In this way the old pâṭêl's mind was poisoned against his youngest daughter-in-law, and he in his turn told everything he had heard to her husband, who also took a dislike to her. Her husband then got her hair cut off, and, seating her on a donkey, drove her away from his house with strict injunctions never to return. The poor woman had no alternative but to submit to her fate, and went where the donkey carried her. She had, however, for some time past, suspected foul play, and had, therefore, put by a small sum of money for her private use, should she require it. This she took with her, and the donkey carried her to another distant country. Here our heroine laid aside her own clothes, and assumed the disguise of a man, and began to wander about the city. The king of that country saw her, and, taking her for a man, asked her if she would take employment. She offered to serve the king in any capacity, and was accordingly engaged as a police sipâhî.

Now, it happened that that country was visited every night by a bhujaṅg (monster), who used to eat up anything and any one that came in its way, — men and animals alike. Many attempts were made to capture it, but with no success. The king had set a reward on the *bhujaṅg's* life. Whoever should kill it, would be rewarded by getting the king's only daughter in marriage, and half his kingdom.

Our heroine was apprised of this. So she went and bought a sword and concealed it in her house. That night, as she went about the town patrolling, she saw, by moonlight, the *bhujaṅg* coming down from a hill, and marked well the road it took. The following day she went and dug a large ditch in the *bhujaṅg's* way, and in the night lay concealed close to it, sword in hand.

At the usual time the *bhujaṅg* descended, and fell in the ditch, upon which our heroine rushed from her hiding place, and cut off its head, which she wrapped in a cloth and carried home.

The king was every day in the habit of calling together the *sipâhîs* that were on patrol duty, and asking each of them in turn what they saw and what they did in connection with the *bhujaṅg*. Unfortunately they never saw the monster, but, nevertheless, without knowing what it was, each invented a tale for the nonce.

Said one: — "I saw a large beast in the form of a cat which made its way towards the East."

Another would say: — "It was a monstrous tiger that I saw, and it went towards the stables of such and such a person."

A third said: — "A hideous *saitân* (devil) passed me at a few yards' distance, and when I tried to capture it, it disappeared."

And in this way every one told the king some tale or other. Last of all the king asked the supposed new *sipâhî*: — "Well, then, what did you see?"

"Sire," replied our heroine; "at about ten o'clock, as I was looking towards a hill, I s[aw] a large monster descending, upon which I ran and cut off its head, and then I found that it [was] a *bhujaṅg*."

The king got into a rage, and roared out: — "Thou liest. One tells me he saw a cat, another saw a tiger, a third saw a *saitán*; and you say you saw a *bhujaṅg*. How can it be possible? Should you again tell me such tales, I shall send you all to the gallows! Why not say that you all went to sleep at your posts? Or, at any rate, tell me the truth another time."

Our heroine, however, was confident of what she had seen and done, and said: — "Sire, pardon me for interrupting you. What I have told you is nothing but the truth, and I will prove it to you by shewing you the *bhujaṅg's* head, which I brought with me after I had killed it."

"Very well," said the king, and away went our heroine to her house, and in a short time came back in triumph carrying the *bhujaṅg's* head, which she placed before the king, who, on seeing it, was amazed at the bravery of his *sipáhí*, and praised him in eulogistic terms, and at the same made overtures for marriage with his daughter, also offering him half of his kingdom as promised. Our heroine, who did not wish to betray herself, willingly accepted the offer, and the king at once fixed on a day for the celebration of the auspicious event.

First of all the king erected a large palace for his daughter and son-in-law to live in after their marriage, and furnished it very handsomely. He also attached to it a large establishment of servants, such as befitted a royal couple. Next, the king made preparations on a very grand scale, and in due time the wedding was celebrated with great pomp and show, after which the married couple went to reside in the newly built palace. A few days afterwards, on enquiry from her mother, the bride complained of her husband's backwardness regarding the consummation of the marriage, and the queen in her turn told about it to the king, who remonstrated with his son-in-law.

Our heroine replied: — "Father, **I have made a vow** to that effect **for twelve years**, in consequence of which, I trust, you will pardon my backwardness."

This answer satisfied the king, who never afterwards touched upon the subject. A few years later, the king made over the reins of government to his supposed son-in-law, who, on his part, governed the kingdom with great justice and benefit to his subjects.

To return to the *pâṭêl's* house. As soon as the youngest daughter-in-law was turned out of the house in the manner related above, the money and property, acquired by her industry, was soon spent, and the family became again sunk in deep poverty, and this to such an extent, that at times they had to live without a meal for several days together. Then **the pâṭêl and his youngest son** began to repent of their folly in listening to the tales of the other daughters-in-law, and in turning out of the house the youngest daughter-in-law, and leaving their house, **wandered from city to city** and country to country, **in search of the youngest daughter-in-law.**

Now our heroine, when she assumed charge of the kingdom, had privately sent some men to the *pâṭel's* country to bring her news as to how her family were faring; but all returned saying that they could not trace his house, and that all that they could hear was, that the family was in a very deplorable state, and had left the place, and gone no one knew where.

One day it happened, that, as the *pâṭêl* and his youngest son were wandering, they chanced to come to the country over which our heroine was reigning. They were reduced to mere skeletons, and of clothing they had none, save little rags about their loins. In this state, the son, who was fatigued, sat down to rest himself not very far from the palace, while the *pâṭêl* went about begging. **Our heroine saw the old man** and recognized in him her father-in-law, in spite of the state he was in, and sending a servant, ordered him into the palace. As soon as he arrived, she had him bathed, then she gave him some clean clothes to wear, after which she served him with food in the manner she used to do when at his house. After doing ample justice to his appetite, he exclaimed: —

"Ha! Yes! This is exactly how my youngest daughter-in-law used to treat me. Now she is gone, I don't know where."

The pretended king was now quite sure that the old beggar was no other than her father-in-law, and asked him what he meant by the above saying; upon which **the pâṭêl related the whole story,** from the time his youngest and seventh son was married, to the moment he was speaking; and, concluding with many grateful expressions for the kindness shewn him by the supposed king, was about to go away. The king, however, stopped him, and told him to go and fetch his youngest son, who, he said, was resting himself not very far from the palace. The old man promised to do so. When he came to the spot where his son was, his son could hardly recognise his father, and asked him where he had got such nice clothes. The *pâṭêl* told his son how the king saw him and sent for him, and gave him meat and drink and all the clothes he saw. He then mentioned that he was ordered to bring his son also to the palace. The son was at first reluctant to go, but after much persuasion he consented. When he arrived his wife treated him in the way she used to do at home, and he too said: —

"Oh good king, you put me in mind of my wife, who always treated me in the kind way you did to-day."

The king asked him also to relate his story, which he did just as his father had done. At the conclusion of the story, both the father and the son burst into tears, and our heroine, too, could no longer control hers, and for two reasons, — first, for the sufferings of her husband and father-in-law, and secondly, that she had seen them and that she was in a position to make them happy. At last she went to her room, and, having changed her clothes for those of a woman, she sent for her husband and father-in-law, who, on seeing her, at once **recognized their lost wife and daughter-in-law,** and fell on her neck and embraced and kissed her.

Our heroine then went with her husband, father-in-law, and the king's daughter, to the king's palace, where she told the king everything, and asked his pardon for thus imposing upon him so long. The king was astonished at the story and more so at the bravery of a woman, and not only pardoned her, but gave his daughter in marriage to the *pâṭêl's* son and made him heir to his throne. When the king was dead, the *pâṭêl's* son took upon himself the government of the country, and lived with his two wives in happiness.

MISCELLANEA.

AN HISTORICAL ALLUSION IN THE BHAGALPUR PLATE OF NARAYANAPALA.

Mr. Fleet has presented me with an excellent impression of the **Bhâgalpur plate of Nârâyaṇapâla**, an examination of which has shewn me, what indeed did not require such proof, how well that inscription has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 305. There is in fact, in the poetical portion of the inscription, only a single verse for which the impression suggests a better reading than the published one; and my reason for writing of this publicly is this, that the same verse contains an historical allusion, hitherto overlooked, to which attention should be drawn. In the published version the third verse, in lines 7-8, together with Dr. Hultzsch's translation, reads thus:—

Jitv=Êndrarâja-prabhṛitîn=arâtîn=
upârjjitâ yêna mahôdaya-śrîḥ ı
dattâ punaḥ sâ valin=ârthayitrê
Chakrâyudhây=ânati-vâmanâya ıı

"This mighty one (*balin*) again gave the sovereignty, which he had acquired by defeating Indrarâja and other enemies, to the begging Chakrâyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing, —just as formerly Bali had given the sovereignty (*of the three worlds*), which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods), to the begging Chakrâyudha (Vishṇu), who had descended to earth as a dwarf."

I believe that most Sanskṛit scholars who may read this verse will be puzzled by the compound *ânati-vâmanâya*, with which the verse ends. For, admitting that this expression may convey the meaning 'who resembled a dwarf in bowing,' they will probably be slow to adopt the suggestion that the poet, in applying the compound to Vishṇu, should have taken the liberty of using the word *ânati*, the meaning of which is at once clear and transparent, in the sense of *avatâra* which means quite a different thing. And referring to the impression, I find that the difficulty is removed in a much simpler way. For the impression shews that the sign for the vowel *i* of the word *ânati* has been struck out in the original, and that the intended reading therefore is *ânata-vâmanâya*.

Referred to the king Chakrâyudha, this would mean (as a Bahuvrîhi) 'who bowed down to (or worshipped) Vâmana, *i.e.* Vishṇu;' referred to the god Vishṇu, (as a Karmadhâraya) 'Vâmana, who bowed down to (Bali).'

The verse eulogizes the king **Dharmapâla,** and has been rightly understood to mean that the king conquered **Indrarâja** and other enemies, but gave back the sovereignty which he had thus acquired to a certain **Chakrâyudha.** But the verse tells more than this. It states distinctly that the sovereignty which Dharmapâla gained for himself by defeating Indrarâja and which he afterwards returned to Chakrâyudha, was the rule over **Mahôdaya or Kanauj**; for there can be no doubt that the word *mahôdaya-śrîḥ,* like the rest of the verse, has two senses, and that, with reference to Dharmapâla, it must be translated by 'the sovereignty over Mahôdaya.'

I know neither a king Indrarâja or Indra nor a king Chakrâyudha of Kânyakubja, and can only form certain conjectures to which I would not attach too much value myself. Bali took the sovereignty of the three worlds from Indra, and gave it to that god's younger brother Vishṇu (Upêndra). Similarly Dharmapâla may have given to the younger brother (Chakrâyudha) what he had taken from his predecessor, the elder brother (Indrarâja). Chakrâyudha is only another name of Vishṇu; and a third name of Vishṇu is Âdivarâha. And Âdivarâha is, as Dr. Hultzsch has shewn, another name of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj. For Bhôjadêva we have the dates A. D. 862, 876, and 882; and, according to Sir A. Cunningham's account, Dharmapâla would have ruled from about A. D. 830 to 860. **Bhôjadêva and Dharmapâla may thus have been contemporaries,** and it is at least possible that the former may have owed his elevation to the throne to the latter. Other inscriptions may shew all this to be untenable, but it is curious that Bhôjadêva's successors (Mahêndrapâla, Kshitipâla, and Dêvapâla) all should append to their names the word *Pâla,* which would seem to connect them somehow or other with Dharmapâla and his family.

F. KIELHORN.

Gottingen.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM, VOL. III.[1]

Mr. Fleet has asked me to publish from time to time in this Journal any suggestions regarding the texts and translations of the inscriptions contained in his Gupta volume, which might occur to me in the course of my own studies. In complying with his request, I can only say that in work of this kind the task of the critic is very much easier than that of the editor. The editor, unless he be ready to delay the publication of his work *ad infinitum,* must within a limited time make up his mind on whatever difficulties he may meet with; while the critic may concentrate his attention on certain selected passages, and trust to continued study and to accident for clearing away the difficulties offered by them. This certainly is my own experience; and in this spirit I have written the following short notes on some of the inscriptions of Mr. Fleet's collection. If I should have found the true readings or the right interpretation of a few doubtful passages, it will be so only because Mr. Fleet has done all the hard work before me, — work which few scholars would have been competent to undertake, and which fewer still would have brought to so successful a conclusion.

Mandasôr Stone Pillar Inscription of Yasôdharman.

No. 33, Plate xxi. B., p. 142 ff.; and *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 253 ff.

In line 8, the sentence *chalati niyamitaṁ n= âmunâ lôka-vrittaṁ* has been translated — "the (*good*) customs of mankind continue current, unimpeded (*in any way*) by him." The construction should rather be taken to be — *amunâ niyamitaṁ lôka-vrittaṁ na chalati,* 'controlled by him, the conduct of mankind does not swerve (*from the right course*).'

Mandasôr Stone Inscription of Yasôdharman.

No. 35, Plate xxii., p. 150 ff.; and *ante,* Vol. XV. p. 222 ff.

In lines 11 and 12 of this inscription we have the verse —

Sukṛiti-vishayi-tuṅgaṁ rûḍha-mûlaṁ dharâyâṁ
sthitim=apagata-bhaṅgâṁ sthêyasîṁ=âdadhâ-nam [|*]
guru śikharam=iv=âdrês=tat-kulam sv-âtma-bhûtyâ
ravir=iva Ravikîrttiḥ su-prakâśaṁ vyadhatta ||

The difficulty offered by the verse is this, that, while the first half should be applicable to the summit of a mountain (*śikharam*) as well as to a family (*kulam*), the word *sukṛiti-vishayi-tuṅgaṁ* when referred to the former, yields no suitable meaning. The word *dharâyâṁ,* 'in the earth,' at the end of the first line, suggests the idea that the beginning of the line should contain some reference to the sky; and we obtain what we want, and remove every difficulty, by altering the reading of the text to *sukṛiti-vishaya-tuṅgaṁ,* 'high like the abode of those who have performed good actions,'

[1] See *ante,* Vol. XVIII. p. 219.

or (applied to *kulam*) 'eminent in being the abode of (or in containing) men who perform good actions.' That heaven is acquired by good deeds, is a common notion. Thus, in Mr. Fleet's own volume, p. 147, l. 7, we have *divaḥ sukrit-ôpârjitâyâḥ*, and in *Raghuvaṁśa*, xviii. 21, *dyâṁ sukritôpalabdhâm*. And in Śârṅgadhara's *Paddhati*, 1072, we actually read *vyôma mahat=padaṁ sukritinâm*, where *padaṁ sukritinâm* is exactly equivalent to *sukriti-vishaya*. The true reading having thus been established, I would, judging from the photolithograph published, *ante*, Vol. XV. opposite to p. 224, venture to say that the sign for the second *i* in *vishayi* has been struck out already in the original.

In line 18 I would read *an-abhivâñchhan* instead of *an-ativâñchhan*, because 'not seeking his own comfort' appears to me more appropriate than 'not being too eager about his own comfort;' and I would translate the word *a-saṅgâṁ* (referring to *dhuram*) by 'meeting with no obstruction,' = *a-pratibandhâm*. Compare Mallinâtha on *Raghuvaṁsa*, iii. 63.

In lines 19 and 20 we read the verse—

Upahita-hita-rakshâ-maṇḍanô jâti-ratnair=
bhuja iva prithul-âṁsas=tasya Dakshaḥ kanîyân [|*]
mahad=idaṁ=udapânaṁ khânayâm-âsa bibhrach=
chhruti-hṛidaya-nitânt-ânandi nirddôsha-nâma ||—

the first half of which has been translated —

'His younger brother, Daksha, — invested with the decoration of the protection of friends, as if he were (*his*) broad-shouldered (*right*) arm (*decorated*) with choice jewels.'

Differing from Mr. Fleet, I take the proper name of the man spoken of, to be Nirdôsha; but my chief difficulty lies in the first line of the verse. There appears to be no authority for translating the word *jâti-ratna* by 'choice jewels;' and the word *bhujaḥ* of the second line should undoubtedly be qualified by the whole of the first line. The word *rakshâ-maṇḍana*, being synonymous with *rakshâ-bhûshaṇa*, 'an ornament or amulet worn for protection (against evil spirits, &c.),' *rakshâ-ratna, rakshâ-maṇi*, &c., I propose reading *jñâti-ratnair* (with which we may compare *jñâti-vṛiddhaiḥ* in *Raghuvaṁśa*, xvii. 12) instead of *jâti-ratnair*, and would translate the first half of the verse thus: —

'His dexterous younger brother, by excellent relatives invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, — being as it were (Dharmadôsha's) broad-shouldered arm, to which excellent relatives had fastened a beneficial ornament to guard (against evil) — . . .'

Here, again, I fancy I recognise in the photolithograph faint traces of the sign for *ñ* below the *j* of *jâti-ratnair*.

In line 23 we read —

Priyatama-kupitânâṁ râmayan=baddha-râgaṁ
kisalayam=iva mugdhaṁ mânasaṁ mâninînâṁ [|*]

The first two *aksharas* of *râmayan* are not clear in the photolithograph; and the word appears objectionable, because, when construed with *kisalayam* it yields no suitable meaning, and because the ordinary causal form of *ram* is *ramayan*. My own reading would be *kampayan*, 'causing to shake,' or 'causing to tremble.'

The text of this inscription has been reprinted in *Kâvyamâlâ*, Prâchînalêkhamâlâ, pp. 112-116, where the editor of the reprint has suggested the following alterations: — *jitâṁ* for *jitî*, in line 5; *mêdhyaṁ* for *mêghyaṁ*, in line 7; *-dhûsarêṇa* for *-dhûmarêṇa*, in line 9; *=dhrasîyân* for *=vasîyân*, in line 10; *târa-mandraś=* for *bhâra-mandraś=*, in line 22; and *kiraṇa-samuday-âsaṅga-kântaṁ* for *kiraṇa-samudayaṁ saṅga-kântaṁ*, in line 24. Of these, I regard only the alterations in lines 9 and 24 as improvements of the text; in respect of line 9, note *râsabha-dhûsarêṇa*, in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, XVI. 7. But, differing from Mr. Fleet, I would, in the first passage referred to, take *jitî* to govern *jagatîṁ*, and translate — 'victorious is (Vishṇuvardhana), who in battle has conquered the earth;' although I know that it would be difficult to justify the formation and construction of *jitin* by the rules of Pâṇini's grammar. It would be equally difficult to account by that grammar for the gerund *vinâmya* in the same line, about the reading of which there can be no doubt.

As regards the translation, I would, besides, take the words *havirbhuja iv=âdhvarân*, in line 13, as an accusative plural, in the sense of 'like the (three) sacrificial fires'; and would compare *Raghuvaṁśa*, xv. 35, where the three brothers of Râma are described as *trêtâgni-têjasaḥ*.

Nâgârjunî Hill Cave Inscription of Anantavarman.

No. 49, Plate XXXI. A., p. 223 ff.

In line 1 the actual reading of the stone, to judge by the photo-lithograph, is undoubtedly *mahîkshitâm=Anur=iva*, as given by Mr. Fleet; but I cannot help thinking that the poet after all is really referring to Manu, the *mahîkshitâm=âdyaḥ* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, i. 11), and that the reading therefore must necessarily be altered to *mahîkshitâṁ Manur=iva*. The writer or engraver has been guilty of similar slight blunders.

In line 3 we have on the stone *para-hitaḥ śrî-paurushaḥ*, 'benevolent to others (*and*) possessed of fortune and manliness.' But, *śrî-paurushaḥ* being an impossible compound, we are obliged to read *para-hita-śrî-paurushaḥ*, 'whose fortune and manliness are beneficial to others.' And in line 8 we must alter *vimathita-gaj-ôdbhrânta-vâjî pravîrô* to *vimathita-gaj-ôdbhrânta-vaji-pravîrô*, because *pravîrô* cannot by itself be taken as an adjective, qualifying *vâṇaḥ*.

As regards the interpretation of this inscription, I would translate *drisht-âdrishṭa-vibhûti vimvam*, in line 4, by 'an image, the great beauty of which is only dimly seen' (on account of the image having been placed in a cave), and would compare compounds like *krit-âkṛita*, 'done and not done,' *i. e.*, 'badly done,' the formation of which is taught by Pâṇini, ii. 1, 60. (See my *Mahâbhâshya*, Vol. I. p. 401, Vârttika 4). Besides, the meaning of line 6 appears to me rather to be this, that the does, when they see the king hunting, stand still and gaze at him, only to be killed by him (*antâya*); for the words *drishṭaḥ sthitvâ mrigîbhiḥ* clearly show that it is the does who are represented by the poet as standing still, — not Anantavarman.

I may add here, that in line 2 —

Yasy=âhûta-Sahasranêttra-viraha-kshâmâ sad=aiv=âdhvaraiḥ
Paulômî chiram=aśru-pâta-malinâṁ dhattê kapôla-śriyam ॥ —

the author clearly appears to have imitated Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, vi. 23, —

Kriyâ-prabandhâd=ayam=adhavarâṇâm=ajasram= âhûta-Sahasranêtraḥ ।
Śachyâś=chiraṁ pâṇḍu-kapôla=lambân=mandâra-śûnyân=alakâṁś=chakâra ॥

Bôdh-Gayâ Inscription of Mâhânâman.

No. 71, Plate XLI. A., p. 274 ff.; and *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 356 ff.

Of this inscription I possess a good impression kindly presented to me by Dr. Hoernle, and I am thus quite certain that Mr. Fleet's transcript of the text, as given in the Gupta volume, is correct. Nevertheless, a serious difficulty is presented by the following verse in lines 7-9:—

Vâtsalyaṁ śaraṇ-âgatasya satataṁ dînasya vaiśêshikaṁ
vyâpat-sâyaka-santati-kshata-dhṛitêr=ârttasya ch=âpatyakaṁ ।
krûrasy=âhita-kâriṇaḥ pravitataṁ va(ba)ndôr=yathâ-bhâvataḥ
êvaṁ sach-charit-ôdbhavêna yaśasâ yasy=âchitaṁ bhûtalaṁ ॥

"Whose special characteristic of affection, of the kind that is felt towards offspring, — for any distressed man who came to him for protection, and for any afflicted person whose fortitude had been destroyed by the continuous flight of the arrows of adversity, — extended, in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman, (*even*) to any cruel man who might seek to do (*him*) harm; (*and*) by whose fame, arising from good actions, the whole world was thus completely filled."

Here, with the actual reading which is on the stone, Mr. Fleet felt obliged to translate the words *bandhôr=yathâ-bhâvataḥ* by 'in conformity with the disposition of a kinsman,' and to divide the verse into two separate sentences, the first sentence extending to the end of the third line, and the second consisting of the fourth line, the two sentences being joined by an '*and*,' which had to be supplied. But *yathâ-bhâvataḥ* is an impossible word; and the relative *yasya* towards the end of the verse, referring to *Upasênas* in the preceding verse, shews that the verse with which we are dealing is a single relative sentence. What we want at the end of the third line, is the genitive singular of a present participle, qualifying *yasya* and governing *vatsalyam* and the other accusatives in the earlier part of the verse. And I have no doubt that *bhâvataḥ* is a mistake of the engraver for *kurvataḥ*, a mistake which in the alphabet employed by the writer is easily accounted for; and with the reading *kurvataḥ*, the construction and the meaning of the verse leave nothing to be desired. Upasêna shewing continuous affection . . . . towards cruel people, as if they were his relatives, the fame arising from such noble conduct filled the whole earth (*yasya, krûrasya bandhôr=yathâ vâtsalyaṁ kurvataḥ, êvaṁ sach-charit-ôdbhavêna yaśasâ bhûtalam=âchitam*).

Here I would add that, in the first half of the verse —

Vyapagata-vishaya-snêhô hata-timira-daśaḥ pradîpavad=asaṅgaḥ ।
kuśalên=ânêna janô bôdhi-sukham=anuttaraṁ bhajatâm ॥ —

in lines 11 and 12, the author, in my opinion has imitated (with little success), or has had in his mind, *Raghuvaṁśa*, xii. 1 —

Nirvishṭa-vishaya-snêhaḥ sa daś-ântam=upêyivân ।
âsid=âsanna-nirvâṇaḥ pradîp-ârchir=iva=ôshasi ॥

'(Daśaratha), when he had enjoyed the pleasures of life and had come to the end of his days, was approaching unto eternal beatitude, being like the flame of a lamp at dawn which is about to go out when it has consumed the oil of the stand and has come to the end of the wick.'

Göttingen. F. KIELHORN.

CALCULATIONS OF HINDU DATES.

No. 48.

In the **Chellûr grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva II.**, published by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55 ff., it is recorded that the *Daṇḍâdhinâtha* Kâṭa, otherwise called Kolani-Kâṭamanâyaka, granted the Maṇḍadoṟṟu *agrahâra*, with the village of Ponduvagrâma, in the Sâvattili *dêśa*, to Brâhmaṇs, — (l. 49 ff.) Śâk-âbdânâṁ pramâṇê rasa-viśikha-viyach-chaṁdra-saṁkhyâṁ prayâte . . . . s-Ârdr-arkshê pûrvva-ma (pa)kshê vishuvati su-tithâ(thau), — "when the measure of the Śaka years has advanced beyond the number of the flavours (six), the arrows (five), the sky (nought), and the moon (one), ... at the equinox, together with the Ardrâ *nakshatra*, in the first fortnight, on an excellent tithi."

Here, bearing in mind that for the period of this grant the "first fortnight" is the bright fortnight, according to the *amânta* scheme, we require **a tithi of a bright fortnight, on which there occurred either the vernal or the autumnal equinox, and when the moon was in the Ardrâ nakshatra.** And, apparently, the day should be found in Śaka-Saṁvat 1057 current. The results, however, are not satisfactory :—

Śaka-Saṁvat 1056 current : — (A) the vernal equinox, as represented by the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti, occurred on Friday, 24th March, A.D. 1133, at about 9 *ghaṭis*, 25 *palas* (for Bombay) ; on this day there ended the *tithi* Chaitra kṛishṇa 2; and the *nakshatra* for the moon at sunrise was, not Ardrâ, No. 6, but either Svâtî, No. 15, or Viśâkhâ, No. 16; or, if the *nakshatra* should be intended for the sun, it was Rêvatî, No. 27; — and (B) the autumnal equinox, as represented by the Tulâ-Saṁkrânti, occurred on Wednesday, 27th September, at about 5 *gh.* 30 *p.* ; on this day there ended the *tithi* Âśvina kṛishṇa 12; and the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Pûrvâ-Phalgunî, No. 11, for the moon, or Chitrâ, No. 14, for the sun.

Śaka-Saṁvat 1057 current; — (A) the vernal equinox occurred on Saturday, 24th March, A.D. 1134, at about 25 *ghaṭis*; on this day there ended the *tithi* Chaitra kṛishṇa 12; and the *nakshatra* at sunrise was either Śatatârakâ, No. 24, or Pûrvâ-Bhadrapadâ, No. 25, for the moon, and Rêvatî, No. 27 for the sun ; — and (B) the autumnal equinox occurred on Thursday, 27th September, at about 21 *ghaṭis* ; on this day there ended the *tithi* Âśvina **sukla** 8 ; but the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Uttarâ-Ashâḍhâ, No. 21, for the moon, and Chitrâ, No. 14, for the sun.

Śaka-Saṁvat 1058 current ; — (A) the vernal equinox occurred on Sunday, 24th March, A.D. 1135, at about 40 *gh.* 30 *p.* ; on this day there ended the *tithi* Chaitra **sukla** 8; but the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Punarvasu, No. 7, for the moon, and again Rêvatî, No. 27, for the sun ; — and (B.) the autumnal equinox occurred on Friday, 27th September, at about 36 *gh.* 35 *p.*; on this day there ended the *tithi* Âśvina kṛishṇa 3 ; and the *nakshatra* at sunrise was Kṛittikâ, No. 3, for the moon, and again Chitrâ, No. 14, for the sun.

In these three years, the only **approximation** is in the case of the vernal equinox of the 24th March, A.D. 1135; but it entails the supposition of a mistake in the year, as given in the record; and also of a mistake in the computation of either the equinox or the *nakshatra*; for the Ardrâ *nakshatra* ended, at the latest, about 23 *ghaṭis* before the sunrise at the end of the day preceding that on which the equinox took place.

For Śaka-Saṁvat 1057 current, the vernal equinox can be accepted, if we alter *s-Ârdr-arkshê* into *Bhadr-arkshê*, and if we also interpret *pûrva-pakshê* as standing for *apûrva-pakshê*, "in the second (*i.e.* dark) fortnight," which is permissible by the rules of *saṁdhi*, though the use, in that case, of so ambiguous an expression, would speak very badly for the skill of the composer. In these two respects, however, quite as much violence has to be done to the original text, as in the case of the vernal equinox of Śaka-Saṁvat 1058 current.

Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit has brought to my notice that the only neighbouring year which furnishes a correct result for the equinox, the fortnight, and the *nakshatra*, is, **Śaka-Saṁvat 1055 current.** In that year, **the vernal equinox** occurred on Wednesday, 23rd March, A.D. 1132, at about 53 *gh.* 55 *p.*, and, on account of the lateness of the hour, would be celebrated on the Thursday, on which day there ended the *tithi* Chaitra **sukla** 6, **and the moon entered the Ardrâ nakshatra** at about 12 *gh.* 40 *p.*

Accordingly, this date, **Thursday, 24th March, A.D. 1132, seems very likely to be the real intended date. It entails a mistake in the original, in respect of the given year.**

J. F. FLEET.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

HOW THE TIGER ATTAINED HIS GREAT STRENGTH.

A FOLK-TALE.

One day Îśvara called a man, and told him to ask for any favour he might wish to be conferred on him. The man, after much consideration, wisely asked for strength. "Very well," said Îśvara," come here again on a certain day, when I will make you owner of the strength of seven she-buffaloes." The man promised to come, but, on the appointed day, he failed to attend. Now, a tiger, who had overheard the conversation between the man and Îśvara on the previous occasion, came and presented himself, on that day, before Îśvara. Îśvara asked him what he wanted, and the tiger said he had come to have strength conferred upon him. Upon this, Îśvara bestowed upon the tiger the prodigious strength of seven she-buffaloes, and thus, through sheer carelessness, man lost his legal right to the strength of seven she-buffaloes!

GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

A SONG ABOUT LORD LAKE.

The following is an old song quoted in that curious book *The wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Beautiful*, by Mrs. Fanny Parkes: perhaps some one can give some more of it, or some information about the author, &c.

Mêrî jân, kahîn dêkhâ Kumpanî nishân?
Bânkê Lêk mâr lêo Hindustân.
Mêrî jân, kahîn dêkhâ Kumpanî nishân?
Lâl lâl kûrtî, gavvê gavvê jawân,
Hâth mên patthar kalâ, pîth par tôsdân;
Mêrî jân, kahîn dêkhâ Kumpanî nishân?
Âgê âgê paltan, pîchhê pîchhê sawâr:
Tôp kî dankâr sê bhâgê Hindû Musalmân!
Mêrî jân, kahîn dêkhâ Kumpanî nishân?
Das das kumpanî jis mên gôrê gôrê Kaptân!
"Gudâmî phair" bôltê, nikal jâvê ausân.
Mêrî jân; kahîn dêkhâ Kumpanî nishân?

I suppose it means — "My love, have you seen anywhere the Company's flag? The gallant Lake has conquered Hindustân. My love, have you seen anywhere the Company's flag? With red red coats, sturdy sturdy young men, firelock in hand, and cartridge pouch on back! My love, have you seen anywhere the Company's flag? Foot regiments in front; cavalry in the rear: At the cannon's roar bolted Hindû and Musalmân! My love, have you seen anywhere the Company's flag? Companies ten by ten, and a white Captain over each! As they shout "Fire! God damn you!" we are stupified. My love, have you seen anywhere the Company's flag?"

W. CROOKE.

FOLK MEDICINE IN MADRAS.

The gum of the *acacia arabica* is a delicacy in Gujarât and a medicine in Maisûr, used especially with *ghî* by women during pregnancy. It is supposed to be a strong tonic.

The favourite remedies among South Indian old-wives for a bad cough in children, are the *puṅga*-seed (*pungamia glabra*: Skr. *ingudi*, Hind. *karañj*), and a copper medal or token engraved with the image of a dog on both sides.

When a bad cough sets in, a coin is taken to a copper-smith, who alters the superscription to an image of a dog on both sides. Or a dried seed of the *pungamia glabra* is procured. In either case a hole is bored, and the "charm" is hung round the loins or neck of the suffering child.

The modern theory is that a cough is a nervous affection, and that copper and *puṅga*-seeds act on the nerves and so cure the ailment! I can vouch for the action being very slow!

To persons who have lost their nervous power by excess of debauchery, a preparation made out of the seeds of the *nâyurivi* (Skr. *apâmârga*) is supposed to give an instant cure. The seeds (*achyranthes aspera*) are gathered, dried well in the sun, husked, and turned into a kind of rice. This rice is fried in a little *ghî* and is powdered. A handful of the powder with a little sugar is to be taken in the morning on an empty stomach. Cure follows in a week.

A certain oil is extracted from the seeds of the plants called *kundumaṇi* (*abrus precatorius*), and *arakiraivîrai* (*amaranthus tristis*.) Either kind of oil is supposed to be the best of restorers for falling hair. When rubbed into the hair in a healthy state, they are supposed to promote its rapid growth.

In addition to these two oils, the hot blood of hares when rubbed into the hair of the head is supposed to promote its growth. The pride of the Mârâṭhâ kings of Tanjore was that they daily killed a hare and smeared its hot blood over their heads, and thus made their locks grow long.

The *kâñjûrî* or *tragia cannabina* is a very irritating plant, and is supposed to have the same effect on debilitated nerves as the *nâyurivi*. The root of the plant (generally half an anna in weight) is fried in *ghî* and the preparation is eaten with the ordinary food. If it is taken for a week, the lost power is revived.

Madras. S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

BOOK-NOTICE.

The GOLDEN BOUGH, a Study in Comparative Religion, by J. G. FRAZER. Two Vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

SECOND NOTICE.

In our former notice of these interesting volumes[1] we followed Mr. Frazer in his argument so far as the killing of the Corn-spirit, and were introduced to the conception of the Corn-spirit as an animal. Now it can be shewn that in the popular mind he can take the form of the **wolf, dog, hare, cock, goose, cat, goat, cow, ox, bull, pig and horse.**

All through France, Germany, and the Slavonic countries, the Corn-spirit is often the Rye-wolf, Corn-wolf, Rye-dog, and is a common bugbear to frighten children with, whose fertilising power is in his tail. In Germany the binder of the last sheaf is the Wheat-dog, Peas-pug, Rye-wolf, Potato-wolf, Wheat-wolf, Oats-wolf and so on, or simply the Wolf. In France the last sheaf is the Bitch, and there are harvesting customs connected with killing the Dog or the Wheat-dog, Rye-dog, Potato-dog, Harvest-dog, as the case may be. At the threshing floor, too, in France the Dog or the Corn-pug, Rye-pug, Wheat-pug, is stuck down, to which there is an analogous German custom of killing the Corn-wolf in threshing the last sheaf In France when a harvester is sick "the White Bitch has bitten him" or "the White Dog has passed him," and lastly, to complete the proof of the animal form of the Corn-spirit, **in the Vosges the Harvest-May is called the Harvest-dog.**

Again, in Germany, Hungary, Poland and Picardy a cock is sacrificed in one way or another with the last corn cut, and its feathers mixed with the next year's seed. Cutting the Hare is in Ayrshire cutting the last corn, and also in parts of Germany, Sweden, Holland, France and Italy. In Norway the Hare's blood in the form of brandy is given to his comrades by the reaper who has "killed the Hare." In Germany and France the Cat takes the place of the Corn-dog and the Corn-wolf above described. So also in Germany the Corn-goat, Rye-goat, Oats-Goat, Bean-goat or Harvest-goat plays the part of the Corn-wolf. So in Skye the Cripple-goat was the last sheaf cut on the last farm that finished reaping, every previous last sheaf having been carefully transferred to a neighbour who had not yet finished. **At Grenoble a goat is actually sacrificed at the harvest,** and part of its flesh kept till the next harvest, and a similar custom prevails among the Prussian Slavs. In several parts of France a bull or a calf is killed in the same way, leading to the custom of the King of the Calf at Pont-à-Mousson; and the naming of the last sheaf in various parts of France and Germany as the Cow, the Bull, the Corn-steer, the Tresher Cow and so on, points to the spread of the same ideas Crying the Mare in Hertfordshire, the naming of the first sheaf as the Cross of the Horse at Lille, and the expression "seeing the horse" for the noonday sleep of harvesters at Berry, prove the transfer of the Corn-spirit to the horse. Similar customs prevail in Germany with reference to the Rye-boar, Rye-sow, Corn-sow, and to the Sow-driver, and Carrying the Pig in Bavaria, and burying a pig's tail or bone in Germany and Russia in the field or with the seed. And, lastly, the well-known Scandinavian custom of the Yule-boar and mixing the straw of it with the next year's seed to procure a good harvest, is an interesting addition to the evidence on this head. So also is the Swedish custom of throwing Yule-straws to the ceiling and prognosticating the next year's sheaves from the number that stick there. Other manifestations of the Corn-spirit are to be found in modern Europe in the **stag, roe, sheep, bear, ass, fox, mouse, stork, swan and kite.**

Now, **Dionysus** the tree-god appears **as a goat and as a bull.** As a goat he is hardly to be distinguished from Pan, Silenus, the Satyrs, the Fauns and the host of sylvan goat divinities, ancient forms of the modern Russian Ljeschie, which are Wood and Corn-spirits in human form, but with the horns, ears and legs of goats. As a bull, the Athenian ceremony in his honour of the *bouphonia*, or murder of the ox, and the stuffing of the murdered ox and yoking him to a plough, shews his close connection with agricultural divinities. Further, the ceremonies of the *bouphonia* are partly paralleled by those of the Great Mondard at the apple harvest at Beauce in France. In Guinea and in China also are customs directly connecting the ox with the Corn-spirit.

The pig was sacred to Demeter, and at the great autumnal festival of the Thesmophoria in her honour pigs were thrown into the "chasms of Demeter and Proserpine," and their decayed flesh afterwards recovered and sown with the seed corn. The connection of Demeter with the pig as the Corn-spirit here comes out, and **her connection with the horse** as the Corn-spirit is visible in the representation of the Black Demeter in the cave of Phigalia in Arcadia as a long-robed woman with the head and mane of a horse.

Attis, Adonis and Osiris were all closely connected with the pig or the **boar,** and in this connection Mr. Frazer cleverly brings out the

[1] See page 45 ff., above.

confusion between uncleanness and sacredness in animals, and shews that the abhorrence of the Syrians, the Jews, the Egyptians, and one may say of Orientals generally, to the pig, is due as much to the animal having once been a god as to anything else. Abhorrence of eating, touching or injuring of totems, that is, sacred animals or plants, is common to most savages, in the belief that the eating thereof will produce disease and death through the displeasure of the gods they represent. This will account for the nausea a Muhammadan will feel if he accidentally eats pig's flesh, and it would be of interest to see how far it may account for the aversion to horse and dog's flesh in most parts of Europe. To Mr. Frazer's collection of evidence on this head we may add that in Upper Burma towns pigs are sacred, and until the advent of the British it was a serious offence to interfere with a pig in Mandalay. This was accounted for, partly by saying they were public scavengers, and partly by the Buddhist custom of *jîvita-dâna*, or the granting of life; King Mindôn Min having been supposed to have turned the forefathers of these pigs loose in the town, "to live for ever," after which ceremony it would be sacrilege to destroy them

Osiris was identified with the bull Apis or Memphis and the bull Mnevis of Heliopolis, and Isis with the cow, which latter was never killed. A d granting this ancient and local identification to be genuine, which however is doubtful, the annual sacrifice of sacred cattle and the determination of the life of the Apis after a certain term of years, brings us back to Osiris the Corn-spirit.

The annual sacrifice of an animal sacred to a god or considered as his enemy, and its preservation or seclusion from that god for the rest of the year, as in the case of Osiris and many other divinities of the ancient world and the modern savages, can be shewn to lead unerringly to the inference that the animal and the god were originally identical, and this leads to a conjecture that the connection or rather the special dis-connection of Virbius with horses at the Arician Grove points to the original identification of Virbius as a Corn-spirit in the form of a horse. In support of this there is the very ancient custom of the October Horse at Rome, in which in pre-Republic days a horse was sacrificed to the corn in precisely the same fashion as is the modern mock horse, bull, boar, and what not, all over Europe.

The harvest-suppers of the European peasant afford unmistakable evidence of the custom of the sacramental eating of the god of the corn. In this way in Sweden the grain of the last sheaf is baked into a loaf in the form of a little girl, and divided amongst the whole household Here this loaf is the Corn-spirit in the form of a maiden, just as it is represented in Scotland as the Maiden or last sheaf itself Two hundred years ago the Lithuanian peasants held a festival called Sabarios every December, at which every kind of grain was eaten sacramentally with prayers, and a cock and hen sacrificed to procure a good harvest in the ensuing year. In modern Europe similar customs have dwindled into such habits as the tasting of all new potatoes in Sutherlandshire, and using the grain of the first corn cut for the communion bread in parts of Yorkshire. In the wilder East we have "eating the soul of the rice" at harvest and so on, and among the more civilized Hindus of South India the Pongal festival, at which the way the new rice boils is taken as a portent of the harvest of the coming year. The Busk festival of the first fruits, the chief annual ceremony of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, at which the new corn and the new fruits were eaten sacramentally, proves the prevalence of similar ideas in North America. The sacrament of bread as the body of a god is an ancient American and European rite, chiefly in the form of making a bread or meal image of the god and "killing" him before eating him. witness the festival of Hintzilopochtli in Mexico and the *maniæ* of Rome.

The notion at the bottom of these sacraments is the common savage one that by eating the flesh of an animal or man, the physical, moral, and intellectual qualities of that animal or man are acquired. For this reason the North and South American Indian chiefs would not eat the flesh of heavy or slow moving animals, Arabs anoint themselves with lion's fat, Zulus take the bones of very old animals, the Miris of Assam will not allow women to eat tiger's flesh, the Dyaks of Borneo will not eat venison, and so on *ad infinitum*. So the Chinese eat the gall-bladders of tigers and bears, because the gall-bladder is the seat of courage; and the people of Darfur in Central Africa eat the liver of animals, because the liver is the seat of the soul and they wish to enlarge it. From the lower animals to man is a small transition, and so we find savages everywhere killing a brave prisoner of war in order to eat him and gain his qualities. So Maori warriors strove to slay a chief and eat his eyes because divinity lies in the eyes. Thus by drinking the blood of the vine-god and eating the flesh of the corn-god, or in other words wine and bread, the worshipper partakes of the real body and blood of his god In this view the Bacchanalian festival becomes a sacrament.

Just as the worshippers of agricultural deities kill their god, **the worshippers of animals kill theirs on the ground that the god is incarnate in the whole species and is multiplied by killing one of the individuals in which he is incarnate.** In this belief the Acagchemen tribe of California annually kill the great buzzard, their chief god, and the Egyptian worshippers of the god-ram Ammon slew a ram annually. The Zuni Indians of New Mexico believe that the dead are transformed into turtles and annually kill them in order to send the departed souls back into spirit-land. The Ainos of Japan regularly sacrifice a bear, an animal which they regard with special reverence, as do the Goldi and Gilyak tribes of Siberia.

Now all these bear-worshipping tribes freely hunt the bear, but **in their sacrifices and in their slaying they propitiate the animal dead or alive, and the reason for this is that he might otherwise bring about the vengeance of his class upon them.**

It is this that makes savages, all the world over, reluctant to slay wild beasts who can revenge themselves, such as crocodiles, rattle-snakes and tigers; and makes the Sumatrans go into the jungle and explain to the tigers that the Europeans, and not they, are setting traps for them. Similarly Kamtchatkans explain to dead seals, and Ostiaks to slain bears, that it was the Russians that slew them! Again, animals, which are not dangerous in themselves, are propitiated after slaughter in case their guardian spirits might injure the slaughterer This is why Siberian sable hunters are particular as to the treatment of the bones of sables, the Alaskans and Canadian Indians as to the bones of beavers, and the North American Indians of those of elans, deer, and elk. If they did not, the take would be bad for the season, or some other misfortune would be inflicted by the incensed spirits. For exactly the same reason the Peruvian Indians adored the fish they chiefly caught, the Otawa Indians of Canada never burned fish bones because their souls passed into them, and the Hurons preached to the fish to induce them to come and be caught. Thence to the good treatment of the first fish caught in order that he may induce others to come into the net, is a small transition: leading to putting him back into the water among the Maoris, and to special ceremonies over him elsewhere.

The reason why so many savage hunters are particular about preserving bones is that they believe that they will be re-clothed with flesh, and so, if they destroyed them, the animal could not be resurrected and the supply of game would stop This **belief in resurrection** is direct among the Indians of North America, the Lapps, and the Kamtchatkans, either in another world or in this one, and is probably at the bottom of the **world-wide objection to breaking the bones of slain or sacrificed animals.** It will also explain the curious custom of detaching parts of a slain animal from the carcass, as the sinew of the thigh in North America, and the tongue in other places, as being necessary to its reproduction after death.

Vermin are treated much in the same way as the dangerous and the valuable animals. They are propitiated in various ways, and coaxed to keep out of the crops, but for the present purpose the most interesting custom with regard to them is **treating favoured individuals with great distinction,** while pursuing the rest with relentless severity. This is prevalent in Germany, Syria, and Russia. The special individuals are in fact turned into gods much in the same way as the larger animals, and **in Syria the favoured caterpillar is given a human "mother" and then buried.** Here, again, we have **the killing of the god.**

We have thus two kinds of sacramental killing and eating of the gods; one in which an animal is habitually spared and never eaten except sacramentally; and the other in which an animal is the habitual food of a tribe, but an individual is eaten sacramentally by way of warding off the revenge from its congeners.

The custom of sacramental eating of the god leads to a very interesting set of customs as to communion with the divinity. This is shewn strongly at the pastoral sacrament of the lamb among the Madi or Moru tribe of Central Africa. Here the lamb is sacrificed, and its blood is first sprinkled over the people and then smeared on them individually. Similarly the Gilyaks of Siberia promenade their sacramental bear before killing him, and the Mirasis of the Pañjâb, who are snake-worshippers, send a dough snake about their houses and then bury it. **In Europe until recent times a custom based on a similar idea was very prevalent. The wren has always been a sacred bird, and one which it is extremely unlucky to kill, and yet the annual Hunting of the Wren, in which it was killed, carried about and then buried; has been a common custom in the Isle of Man, Ireland, in various parts of England, and in France.** In Sweden a magpie is substituted, and in ancient Greece probably a swallow or a crow.

Connected with the killing of the god, is the idea that the dying god carries away with

him the accumulated sins and misfortunes of the people. It is as natural to a savage to transfer his mental burdens to another person, animal, or thing, as it is to put a physical load off his own shoulders on to another's. Instances of this idea are innumerable all over the world, but perhaps the Malagasy *fuditra* is the most striking, for it is anything that the diviners fix upon for the purpose of carrying off a hurtful disease or evil. The Sin-eating of Wales and parts of England was a deliberate taking of the responsibility of the sins of a deceased person by a living one upon himself In the Himâlayas poverty-stricken Brâhmans will take upon themselves the sins of deceased Râjâs, and in Southern India too, notwithstanding the loss of caste occasioned thereby.

From the necessity of transferring evils from individuals to that of transferring them from the community at large, the savage soon passes. Evil may be expelled directly or indirectly through a scapegoat. The former method accounts for the noisy driving away of devils common to all parts of the world, and familiar to us in India at eclipses and in Burma in times of cholera, when the people make as much noise as possible and thrash the roofs of their houses. Among the Hurons the men rushed about from wigwam to wigwam, breaking everything and making a noise. They then retired to sleep and dreamt of something, and next morning went about asking for a present in the form of a riddle, rejecting everything except what they had dreamt of. To receive this was to escape the epidemic. This is an extremely interesting point in India, as it may explain a curious and obscure point in folk-tales, where the hero can usually win the heroine only by successfully answering conventional riddles, and where such successful answers often avert evil. Riddles were originally probably a form of divination, and in the Celebes no riddle may be asked except when there is a corpse in the village.

From the occasional expulsion of evils, we come to their periodic expulsion In Australia, among the Eskimo, in North America, in Peru and among the African Negroes, this is done with many varying ceremonies in the direct manner. In Abyssinia it assumes a Christian form in the ceremony of Mascal or the Cross. In India among the Hos and Mundaris and the Khonds, and among the Hindu Kush tribes, the annual ceremony takes place at seed-time or harvest. In Bali near Java, in Fiji, in Tongking and in Cambodia it is a great national festival. Driving out Satan among the Finns of Russia is another form of the same custom. Similarly all over Southern Europe, in Albania, Italy, the Tyrol and Switzerland, witches are driven away with much noise in March, April or May. Driving out the Butterfly in Westphalia is a pretty custom based on the same ideas.

The Scriptural scapegoat is the most familiar form of expelling devils by proxy, but the practice assumes many other shapes. Among the Californian and North American Indians and in Cambodia, the devils are represented by men, and are regularly driven away after a ceremonial fight, a custom which has a rural survival in Spain. These fights with the devils among the Khasias of Assam, the Burmese, the Sinhalese and the people of the Celebes, assume the form of "a tug of war" over a rope. In Burma this custom is common as a rain-charm, a fact worth mentioning in this connection.

The custom of assuming the devils to occupy a vehicle constructed for their departure, has led to the use of Disease Boats in the Indian Archipelago and in the Pacific Islands. A boat is provisioned for a voyage and the demon is either unrepresented at all or by an effigy. In India scapegoats are common enough with the idea of driving disease away altogether, or of transferring an ailment to the next neighbour. Fowls, goats, pigs, buffaloes, and even men are employed for the purpose. From the scapegoat which takes away a specific evil, to that which is employed periodically for the purpose of removing sins and possible evils, — from cure to protection in fact, — is but a short step, and we accordingly find periodic scapegoats all over the world of a nature, similar to the above.

The use of human beings as scapegoats has led to much horrible cruelty in various parts of the earth, and in Tibet it would seem that the correctness of the choice of the victim is finally settled by a throw of dice. Survivals of the custom are to be traced in Europe, especially in the Driving out of Posterli in Switzerland.

Divine animals have been used as scapegoats both in India and in Egypt, where the Brâhmans of Malabar use a cow and the ancient Egyptians a sacred bull for the purpose. Divine men have also been scape-goats in the same way among the Gônds of Central India and the ancient Albanians of Europe.

The periodic expulsion of scapegoats, and with them the accumulation of the sins of the past year, seems to have given rise to those periods of license so noticeable in India and among savages elsewhere, and of which many traces are to be found in the civilized world, notably in Boxing Day in England.

In classical antiquity the scapegoat was largely used both in Rome and Greece, and took the form chiefly of the periodical sacrifice of beings who were in some way or other divine, and this was accompanied frequently with the beating of the scapegoat. This last custom did not arise from a desire to cause pain, but to drive away evil influences, and accounts for many survivals of the customs of "beating out sickness and beating in health" observable all over modern Europe.

We are now once more brought back to the main argument of Mr. Frazer, that, even if it be shewn that the killing of the priest of Nemi as the representative of the spirit of the grove stood alone as a custom in the classical world, it can be abundantly shewn in answer that the divine man was there sacrificed periodically for other reasons. That customs on a large scale closely allied to the "Rule of the Arician priesthood" existed in Mexico among a people of considerable culture, we have abundant evidence in the writings of Spaniards at the time of its conquest.

Having thus disposed of the questions of — why had the priest of Nemi to slay his predecessor?, and, why, before doing so, had he to pluck the Golden Bough?; we pass on to the questions of — what was the Golden Bough?, and, why had each candidate for the Arician priesthood to pluck it before he could slay the priest?

In this connection there are two rules of life among the divine kings or priests, which are to be noticed, *viz.*, they might not touch the ground nor allow the sun to shine on them. Both were true of the Mikado of Japan and of the supreme pontiffs of the Zapotecs of Mexico; the former of the King and Queen of Tahiti, the King of Dosuma, and the very ancient Kings of Persia; and the latter of the Kings of Colombia in South America and of the Incas of Peru. Both rules are also observed by girls at puberty in many parts of the world, leading to cruel seclusions lasting one, four, and even seven years, and often accompanied by ceremonial beatings, — which amongst savages must be severe, — to drive away the dangerous contagion with which the girl is supposed to be infected. It exists almost universally among Hindus, though shortened to such reasonable periods as four days and the like. Traces of the idea are common in European folktales, especially in that class where the maiden becomes impregnated by the sun or a sun-beam. The Story of Danaë probably belongs to this cycle, with a Kirgis (Siberian) counterpart, and the idea of impregnation by the sun is to be seen in marriage customs in more than one part of the world.

The origin of all these customs is the intense dread excited in the savage by menstruous blood, exhibited by his practices in all parts of the world, — Australia, North and South America, Africa and North Europe; and amongst the ancient civilized nations of Europe this dread was quite as extravagant. Among modern European peasants, similar ideas are still strongly entertained. The object then of those who entertain these notions is to isolate or, so to speak, insulate girls at puberty, so that they may do no harm to themselves or to those about them; they may not touch the earth or see the sun. They are, in fact, kept between heaven and earth, and out of contact with either, so that the power for mischief with which they are charged by nature may be kept within bounds.

Now this uncleanness, as it is called, of the girls at this period does not to the savage mind differ from the sanctity of holy men. They are merely different manifestations of the same supernatural energy and the precautions to be adopted in both cases must be the same. Both must be kept between heaven and earth. This is generally necessary in the case of all sacred or tabued things and beings. The sun must not shine on the head of an Aino while mourning, the Costa Rica Indian must not go out nor see the sun while fasting, the Swedish peasant before the Yule-tide pilgrimage must dwell awhile in a dark cellar. North Indian warriors on the war-path must not sit on the ground, and their holy ark must never be rested on the earth; in Loango newly-born infants must never be placed on the ground, in Aberdeenshire the last bit of standing corn must lie in the "gueedman's" lap after being cut, in Scotland also water from sacred wells to cure the sick must be carried to them without touching the ground, and lastly in the Pañjâb things and persons in a "sacred" condition can never be placed on or touch the earth.

Now the myth of Balder, the Norse god that was neither of heaven nor of earth, and whom all things had sworn not to injure, except the mistletoe, is a reflection of the ritual of the time which gave rise to it. The points of this myth are that Loki, the mischief-maker, finding that the mistletoe had accidentally not been sworn not to injure Balder, pulled it and by its means procured his death, and that after death the god was ceremonially burned.

From time immemorial fire festivals have been current in Europe, at which peasants kindle bon-

fires and dance round them, or leap over them, or burn effigies or pretend to burn living persons in them. A review of these customs will bring out traces of **human sacrifices**, and the pulling of the mistletoe has often been connected with the ceremonies observed at the fire festivals.

In different parts of German Europe, on the first Sunday in Lent the ceremonies of burning the hut, the castle, the witch, the old wife, or winter's grandmother, and driving away the wicked sower, consist in one form or another of burning an effigy or a disc or wheel, with a view to procuring an abundant harvest or keeping vermin from the fields. These **Quadragesima Sunday customs** are hardly to be distinguished from those of Carrying out Death observed about the same time, in which Death, varied in the Tyrol as the Old Woman, is frequently burnt, and sometimes a particular personage must leap over the burning embers.

The New Fire customs and that of the Easter Candle on **Easter Eve** kept up in Catholic countries, are observed with a view to the fertilization of the fields and gardens and keeping off blight and hail. The ashes of the consecrated **Easter Bonfires** made from the "new fire" are mixed with the seed at sowing, and sometimes a wooden effigy of Judas is burnt in the bonfires All over Germany unconsecrated Easter Fires are lighted in which the Easter Man or the Judas is burnt with the object of averting hail. Particular hills are sometimes used for the purpose year after year, and called the Easter or Pascal Mountains. Dancing round and leaping through these fires is a conspicuous part of the ceremony, while in some places squirrels and even bones represented the Judas The Beltane Fires of Scotland kindled on the 1st of May, and which, in the person of the Beltane Carline, "devoted to be sacrificed to Baal" in the fire, shew clear signs of former human sacrifice, were burnt in order to preserve the flocks and herds: while a similar festival in Sweden is held with a view to predicting the character of the coming Spring.

Midsummer Fires, accompanied with dancing and leaping, and with much the same ceremonies as those of Lent and Easter, have been, and are to some extent still, current all over Europe from West to East. Their object has always been to prosper the herds or the crops, or to keep off evil influences. The slaying and burning of effigies at the Midsummer Fires has existed in Würtemberg in the custom of "the Beheading of the Angel-Man," in the Tyrol in that of burning the Lotter now corrupted into the Luther, in Austria in the burning of the Tattermann, and in Russia in the mock burning of Kupalo. In French Flanders they used to burn the figure of a woman at this festival.

The proper explanation of the **Fire Festivals** is that most likely they are **Sun-charms** for men, animals and plants, and probably originated in sympathetic magic to induce sunshine. The fact that the fire required for these festivals has frequently been kindled in the same way as need-fire, *viz*, by the friction of wood or by the revolution of a wheel, is strong evidence of this; as it is pretty nearly certain that, at the kindling of the need-fire, *i. e.*, a magically curative fire kindled in time of distress, the wheel represented the sun. At the Pongal Festival in South India at the harvest, which is a fire-festival, fires are everywhere lighted to wake up Sûrya the Sun, or Agni the Fire. In Yucatan a fire-festival is held on New Year's Day to rid the people of their troubles, and the Hottentots drive their sheep periodically through ceremonial fires to preserve them. These last two cases shew the universality of the customs and of the ideas conveyed by them.

That the **effigies burnt in these fires are representatives of the spirit of vegetation or the tree-spirit**, there can be little doubt; and that **human beings representing the tree-spirit were formerly sacrificed** among the Celtic nations, we have strong reason to believe from the narrative of Julius Cæsar. He shews us that in his time or before it colossal images of wicker-work or wood or grass were filled with living men and animals and burnt, and the customs at the Beltane Fires and so on seem to point emphatically to the conclusion that these wicker-images represented the tree-spirit. "Giants" at the spring and summer festivals have been familiar in England, France, Belgium and Flanders, and in parts of France the giant was regularly burnt and his ashes scattered among the people. At Luchon in the Pyrenees a hollow column is still lighted and live snakes thrown into it and burnt on Midsummer Eve, and live animals have been thrown into the Lent, Easter and Midsummer fires in France, Germany and Russia. There is little doubt that these animals have played the same part as the human victims.

The sum of the evidence as to these Fire Festivals is, that they were originally held at Midsummer, and consisted of human burnt sacrifices, representing the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation, with a view to making the sun to shine and the crops to grow.

They had another chief feature — the gathering of the mistletoe. Pliny tells us that the

Druids gathered it in June for their religious purposes, and the fact that it is still gathered on Midsummer Eve in common with a large number of other magical and healing plants all over Europe, points to the antiquity of the connection of the mistletoe with the midsummer fires.

We are thus brought back to the Balder myth, whose two chief features — the pulling of the mistletoe and the burning of the god — belonged to the great midsummer festival of the Celts. In Swêden, Norway, and Denmark, the home of Balder, the connection of Balder with the midsummer fires is seen in the name for them — Balder's Bale-fires; and assuming that the myth describes a common and important ritual, we must arrive at the conclusion that "Balder must have been the Norse representative of the being who was burnt in effigy or in the person of a living man at the fire festivals in question."

The oak is the tree most likely represented by the victim at these festival fires. It was the principal object of worship among Celts and Slavs, and the most sacred tree of the Greeks and Latins, and generally of the nations of the Aryan stock. It was used by the Germans in kindling the need-fire, in common with the Slavs and Celts, and for feeding the old sacred fires kept burning at their sanctuaries.

If then we concede that the tree represented by the human victim at the great festival was the oak, we see from the Balder myth why the pulling of the mistletoe was mixed up with the ceremonies. The mistletoe was the only thing that could kill Balder because the mistletoe was the external soul of the oak, a notion probably arising from the observation that while the oak is deciduous the mistletoe growing on it remains ever-green. So that according to savage ideas before the god could be killed, *i. e.* the oak could be burnt, it was necessary to pluck away his soul, which was the mistletoe.

This leads to an extremely interesting enquiry — What is the external soul? Now, primitive man always conceives the soul as a concrete object upon which life depends. The soul need not necessarily reside in the body, and it may, in fact, be safer elsewhere hidden in a place of safety, for as long as the soul is uninjured the life of the body remains intact. Many folk-tales gathered from all parts of the world prove this, and turn on this point The villain usually, but also frequently the hero or the heroine of a tale, has a soul or life-index which is kept somewhere under tremendous safe-guards, and until that soul is got at the owner is invulnerable. In the Norse story the giant has no heart. In India, where the notion is very common, this life-index has been kept in a bird, an insect, a plant, a necklace, in mother's milk, in a sword, in a bull, in a lamp, and so on. It is always exceedingly difficult of access: *e. g.* when it is in a green parrot, that bird is in a cage under six pitchers of water in the centre of a circle of palm-trees in a thick forest in a far country guarded by 1,000 ogres. The same idea is traceable in Siam, Cambodia, Kaśmîr, Gilgit, and ancient Greece. Hair is a common place of residence of the soul: *e.g.* the story of Nisus, king of Megara, of Poseidon and Pterelaus, and of the Biblical Samson. Among the Russians, Saxons, Scandinavians, Celts, the same idea and the same tales are common. In Ancient Egypt, in a story recorded in 1300 B. C., in the story of Saifu'l-mulûk, in stories amongst the Kabyls, the Magyars, the Tâtârs, the Mughals, and the Malays, and in a tale from Nias near Sumatra, we have samples of identical notions among peoples who are not of Aryan origin.

Folk-customs from various parts of the world prove that these folk-tales are mere reflections of a real article of primitive belief. Thus, in the Celebes the priests collect the souls of the whole family in a bag, to keep them out of harm's way when entering a new house. There, too, the soul of a lying-in woman is given to the doctor to keep in a piece of iron until all danger is past. In Amboina cutting off the hair is more terrible than torture, because it destroys the strength. Trees containing the lives of newly born children are planted or exist in Western Africa, in the Cameroons, and the Celebes, among the Papuans, the Maoris, and the Dyaks. Families in Russia, Germany, England and France plant trees on the birth of children. Something of the same custom obtains among the Royal family at Osborne. The custom of passing children through trees seems to be connected with the same idea. The Karens believe that the life of a new-born infant is bound up in the knife that severs the naval string. The soul is transferred to an animal among Malays, the Banks Islanders, the Zulus, the Zapotecs, and the Central American Indians generally, where some animal is the second self of every human being.

The close connection between such an animal and the human being whose life is bound up in it, has led to its sanctity, as among the Australians. There owls represent women, and bats men, and are looked upon as brothers and sisters to the human race: *e. g.* all owls are sisters to the women, and all women are owls; so all men are bats and all bats men's brothers. This is

sex totemism, and leads to an interesting set of phenomena.

Tribal totems can be explained in the above manner. "When a savage names himself after an animal, calls it his brother, and refuses to kill it, the animal is said to be his totem." The reason for the belief is that he believes that the life of each individual of the tribe is bound up with some one animal or plant of the species. This is the case even when the current belief is that there is more than one soul to each individual, as amongst the Caribs, Hidatsa Indians, the Laos, and so on. The Battas of Sumatra who believe in seven souls per man, one of which is always outside him, thinks that he dies the moment the outside soul dies.

This view of totemism is confirmed by the **initiatory rites of boys at puberty** amongst many savages, which consist chiefly in **transferring his soul to his totem,** and thus causing his temporary death (*i. e.* trance) **and bringing him to life again**. Such rites are observed among the Australians, the Fijians, the Africans of the Congo and elsewhere, the North American Indians, the inhabitants of Polynesia, and the Malays. The idea perhaps survives in the expression **"twice-born"** among the higher castes of India, and in some of the ceremonies of tying on the sacred thread, and so on.

The argument, then, is that Balder's life was in the mistletoe, and that when the mistletoe struck him he died. Balder was the oak-spirit, and the life of the oak was in the mistletoe which was between heaven and earth, and to kill the oak-spirit it was necessary to get at the mistletoe. That **the Golden Bough was the mistletoe** may be inferred from Virgil, who describes it as growing on an oak and compares it with the mistletoe. The priest of the Arician Grove — the King of the Wood — was the personification of the tree on which grew the Golden Bough, *i. e.* the oak-spirit; so it was necessary to pluck the Golden Bough in order to kill him. And it was necessary to kill him, to carry out the annual fire festival held at midsummer at the Arician Grove, no doubt, for the benefit of the crops and herds.

Why was the mistletoe called the Golden Bough? This is the last question to be answered. It is so in Welsh, and we have an analogy in the **golden fern-bloom or fern-seed** of folklore. This is supposed to bloom like gold on Midsummer Eve or at Christmas, and in a German story it was got by shooting at the sun on Midsummer Day at noon. Three drops of blood fell down and were the fern-seed. Thus, the golden fern-seed is clearly the golden blood of the sun. The power of the fern-seed was to procure gold for its possessor.

Now, mistletoe is gathered at the solstices in the same way as the fern-seed, and in Sweden is used as a divining rod for discovering gold, no doubt in its character of the Golden Bough. **Like the fern-seed, is the Golden Bough an emanation of the sun's fire?** The midsummer bonfires were sun-charms to give the sun new fire annually. These fires were supplied by the oak the home-fire, whose life was in the mistletoe, which therefore contained the seed of the sun's fire. **So the sun's fire was an emanation of the Golden Bough.** So also Virbius, as the spirit of the oak on which grew the Golden Bough, would be the Sun — as he was, — and Balder would be "so fair of face and so shining that a light went forth from him."

The result of the whole argument is, that the Rule of the Arician priesthood at Nemi represented the original worship of the Aryans, and that the Rex Nemorensis lived and died as an incarnation of the supreme Aryan god, whose life was in the mistletoe or Golden Bough.

We have thus followed Mr. Frazer through some 800 pages of most interesting discussion, backed in his case by innumerable facts gathered with immense pains from an extraordinarily large number of sources, and the only fault we have to find with his book is the way in which it is printed. There is nothing from end to end in the typography to enable us to distinguish his argument from a discussion on the value of data, or his main argument from a side issue. The book, therefore, though pleasant and entertaining throughout, is exceedingly difficult to follow; so difficult, indeed, that, if we have not been able to do so clearly, we claim that it is not our fault. No doubt. in its present shape, the book is more saleable than perhaps in any other; but to the scientific student, for whom it appears to be primarily meant, the free use of numbered paragraphs, thick type. upper and lower case, italics, and other devices for differentiating the components of an intricate argument, would have been invaluable. So would a table in the form of a paragraphed and suitably indexed list of contents, or in the form of a tree, have been an important aid in following the argument,—had either been given.

With this one criticism we take leave of **Mr.** Frazer with feelings of gratitude for an unusually important and interesting work.

SANSKRIT PLAYS, PARTLY PRESERVED AS INSCRIPTIONS AT AJMERE.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

AMONG the papers of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, transmitted to me by Mr. Fleet, I have found rubbings of **two unique inscriptions**, of which even an imperfect account cannot fail to interest my fellow-students. For these inscriptions contain portions of two unknown plays, one of which, entitled **Lalita-Vigraharâja-nâṭaka**, was composed in honour of the king **Vigraharâjadêva of Śâkambharî**, by the *Mahâkavi* **Sômadêva**, while the other, called **Harakêli-nâṭaka** has for its author no less a personage than **the king Vigraharâjadêva** himself. Actual and undoubted proof is here afforded to us of the fact that powerful Hindu rulers of the past were eager to compete with Kâlidâsa and Bhavabhûti for poetical fame. And it shews the strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the stones, on which a royal author, who could boast of having repeatedly exterminated the barbarians and conquered all the land between the Vindhya and the Himâlaya, made known to his people the products of his Muse, should have been used as common building-material for a place of Muhammadan worship, by the conquerors of his descendants.

According to a note on the back of the rubbings, the two inscriptions, which I shall call A. and B., are at the Arhai-din-kâ Jhonpra, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Târâgaḍh hill, at **Ajmere**, the administrative head-quarters of the Ajmere-Mêrwârâ Division, Râjputânâ. **The inscription** A. consists of 37 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3′ 5″ broad by 1′ 11″ high. The writing of lines 1-18 and 21-32 apparently is in a state of perfect preservation, though in the rubbing the first line is very indistinct. Portions of the lines 19 and 20 have suffered by the peeling off of the surface of the stone; and at the commencement of lines 33-36 some *aksharas* are missing, owing to the lower proper right corner of the stone having broken away. The lines 1-36 cover the whole breadth of the inscribed surface; the line 37 measures only $9\frac{1}{2}$″ in length, and is placed below the centre of the preceding line. The size of the letters is about $\frac{7}{16}$″. The characters are Nâgarî of the 12th century A. D. They were well and regularly written and carefully engraved by the learned **Bhâskara**, the son of **Mahîpati** (line 37). The languages employed in the inscription are Sanskṛit and several Prâkṛit dialects; and, as regards orthography, the only thing to note is that the consonant *b* is throughout written by the sign for *v*. The inscription bears no date.

The inscription B. consists of 40 lines of writing which originally covered a space of about 3′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ broad by 1′ $11\frac{1}{2}$″ high. But at the upper proper left corner a piece of the stone, measuring about 7″ broad by 13″ high, is now broken away, causing the complete loss of the concluding portions of lines 1-23. Besides, the rubbing of part of these lines is very faint. The writing of lines 24-40, on the other hand, is well preserved, and may be read with certainty throughout. The size of the letters in lines 1-39 is about $\frac{3}{8}$″; of those in the short line 40, which is placed below the centre of the preceding line, $\frac{1}{4}$″. The characters are in every respect the same as those of the inscription A., and they were written by the same writer, **Bhâskara**, of whose descent we have here (in lines 37 and 38) a somewhat fuller account. **Bhâskara's** father **Mahîpati** was a son of the learned **Gôvinda**, who was born in a family of **Hûṇa** princes, and was, on account of his manifold excellencies, a favourite of a king **Bhôja**. The languages employed in this inscription are, again, Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit; and in respect of orthography we have only to note the use of the sign for *v* to denote the consonant *b*, and the occasional employment of the sign for the *jihvâmûlîya*. The inscription is **dated** (in lines 38 and 39) in the year 1210, on Sunday the 5th of the bright half of Mârgaśirsha, while the moon was in the *nakshatra* Sravaṇa and in the sign Makara, during the *yôga* Harshaṇa and *karaṇa* Bâlava. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, I find that the corresponding date, for Vikrama 1210 expired, is **Sunday, the 22nd November A. D. 1153**, which satisfies all the requirements of the case.

Below I shall give nearly the whole of the text of the inscription A., and the concluding

(really important) portion of B. As the language of the originals is generally plain and easy to understand, my own remarks on these texts need not be many.

The inscription A. contains the end of the third act and a large portion of the fourth act of the **Lalita-Vigraharâja,** a *nâṭaka* composed, evidently in honour of the king **Vigraharâjadêva of Sâkambharî,** by the *Mahâkavi,* the learned **Sômadêva.** It opens with a conversation between Śaśiprabhâ and the king **(Vigraharâja),** from which we may conclude that the king was in love with a daughter of a prince **Vasantapâla.**[1] The two lovers, one of whom apparently has seen the other in a dream, being separated, Śaśiprabhâ, a confidant of the lady, is sent to ascertain the king's feelings; and, having attained her purpose, she is about to depart to gladden her friend with her tidings, when the king confesses that he cannot bear to part with Śaśiprabhâ, and proposes to send Kalyâṇavatî to the princess instead. Accordingly Kalyâṇavatî is despatched with a love-message, in which the king informs the lady that his march against the king of the **Turushkas,** a battle with whom appears to be impending, will soon give him an opportunity of joining her. Suitable preparations having been made for making Śaśiprabhâ's stay with the king comfortable, the latter goes to attend to his mid-day ceremonies Thus ends the third act.

At the opening of the fourth act two **Turushka** prisoners appear on the scene, which represents the camp of the king **(Vigraharâja) of Sâkambharî** or a place close to it, in search of the royal residence. In their perplexity they luckily meet with a countryman, a spy, sent to the camp by the **Turushka** king. This man tells them how he has managed to enter the enemy's camp, in the guise of a beggar, together with a crowd of people who went to see the god[2] Sômêśvara. He also informs them that the army of the **Châhamâna (Vigraharâja)** consists of a thousand elephants, a hundred thousand horses, and a million of men; in fact, that by the side of it the ocean would appear dry. And having pointed out the king's residence, he departs. The two prisoners take their places near the royal quarters; they meet with the king, who is thinking of his beloved, address him (in verses which unfortunately are greatly damaged in the text), and are sent away richly rewarded.

Vigraharâja now expresses his surprise that his own spy, whom he has sent to the camp of the **Hammîra,** has not returned yet. But just then the spy comes back and informs his master of what he has been able to learn regarding the enemy's forces and his movements. According to his account, the **Hammîra's** army consists of countless elephants, chariots, horses and men, and his camp is well guarded. On the previous day it was three *yôjanas* distant from **Vavvêras,**[3] the place where **Vigraharâja** then is, but it is now located at a distance of only one *yôjana.* There is also a rumour that the **Hammîra,** having prepared his forces for battle, is about to send a messenger to the king.

The spy having been dismissed, **Vigraharâja** sends for his maternal uncle, the *Râja* **Siṁhabala,** and, having explained the state of affairs, consults with him and his chief minister **Srîdhara** as to what should be done. The cautious minister advises not to risk a battle with the powerful adversary. But the king, intimating that it is his duty to protect his friends, is too proud to enter upon peaceful negotiations, and is encouraged by Siṁhabala to act according to his own views. While they are still consulting, the arrival of the **Hammîra's** messenger is announced. The stranger is admitted into the royal presence, expresses his wonder at the

[1] I know of no prince Vasantapâla who lived in the 12th century A. D.; but the name looks as if it might belong to one of the Tômara princes of Delhi. See *Archæol. Survey of India,* Vol. I. p. 149.

[2] *Sômêśvaradêva,* of course, might also be the name of a prince, and it should be noted that the Châhumâna Prithvîrâja was a son of Sômêśvara.

[3] I give this name in its Prâkrit form, because I am not sure how to transcribe it in Sanskrit. An inscription published in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.,* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, apparently in line 12, mentions a place *Vyâghrêraka,* which possibly might be the place intended by the *Vavvêras* of the play. If this were really the case, the place would be the modern Bâghêra, about 47 miles to the south-east of Ajmere. See *Archæol. Survey of India,* Vol. VI. p. 136.

splendour and the signs of power which surround the king, is struck with **Vigraharâja's** own appearance, and cannot conceal from himself that the task entrusted to him will be a difficult one to perform.

Here the inscription ends. It may be assumed that Vigraharâja and the Hammîra on the present occasion did not fight, and that the king eventually was united with his lady-love. From the Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscription[4] we know that in reality Vîsaladêva-Vigraharâja repeatedly and successfully made war against the Muhammadan invaders by whom, it may be added, a successor of his was utterly defeated and put to death in A. D. 1193.

The inscription B. contains the concluding portion of the fifth act, called **Krauñcha-vijaya,** of the **Harakêli-nâṭaka,** which in line 40, as well as in lines 32 and 35, is distinctly called the composition of the poet, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara,* the illustrious **Vigraharâjadêva of Sâkambharî** (line 37). It opens with a conversation, held by Śiva, his wife Gaurî, the Vidûshaka, and a Pratîhâra, in which, so far as the fragmentary state of the inscription permits me to see, the worship rendered to Śiva by Râvaṇa is spoken of with approval. Śiva and his attendants then, for reasons which are not apparent, turn into Śabaras or mountaineers. Noticing some fragrant smell, as of some oblation presented to him, the god despatches his attendant Mûka to ascertain the cause of it. Mûka returns and reports that Arjuna is preparing a sacrifice. He is told to assume the form of a Kirâta, to go near Arjuna, and there to await Śiva. As soon as he has left, Śiva perceives that Mûka and Arjuna, who were enemies before, begin fighting with one another. He therefore goes himself, as a Kirâta, to assist his attendant; and behind the scene a terrible battle ensues between the god and Arjuna, the progress of which is related to Gaurî by the Pratîhâra, and which ends with the god's acknowledging the valour of his opponent, and bringing him onto the stage. — It is hardly necessary to say that the poet here has imitated the *Kirâtârjunîya* of Bhâravi.

The remainder of the act is given in the original text below. The two deities, Śiva and Gaurî, reveal to Arjuna their real nature; and Arjuna asks their forgiveness for whatever he may have done to offend them, and praises Śiva as the most supreme divine being. Śiva, pleased with Arjuna's valour and piety, presents him with a mystical weapon and dismisses him. After Arjuna's departure, Śiva tells Gaurî that the poet **Vigraharâja** has so delighted him with his **Harakêli-nâṭaka** that they must see him too. **Vigraharâja** then himself enters, and after a short conversation, in which he pleads in favour of his **Harakêli,** and the god assures him of the pleasure which that play has afforded to him, and tells him that his fame as a poet is to last for ever, he is sent home to rule his kingdom of **Sâkambharî,** while the god with his attendants is proceeding to Kailâsa.

The inscriptions have been executed with such minute care and accuracy that, in writing out the following texts for publication, I have had little else to do than to follow the rubbings before me. In the Sanskṛit passages, I have taken the liberty of writing the letter *b* for *v*, wherever it seemed necessary, and to use the nasal letters of the several classes instead of the sign for the *anusvâra* which is employed in the originals, just as if I were editing a text from a MS. The Prâkṛit passages I have considered it necessary to give exactly as they appear on the stone.

It will be seen that the Sanskṛit of our authors is throughout correct and fluent; and the only phrase which strikes me as unusual and for which I cannot quote an analogous example, is the sentence *sôḍhuṁ kathaṁ yâsyati* 'how will it be borne?,' in A., line 4, where the verb *yâ* has apparently been employed simply to give to the infinitive *sôḍhum* a passive meaning. The metres of the 28 verses which my extracts contain are Śârdûlavikrîḍita (in 10 verses), Vasanta-tilakâ (in 7 verses), Sikhariṇî (in 4 verses), Sragdharâ (twice), and Anushṭubh, Âryâ, Pushpitâgrâ,

[4] *ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 218. — It is very desirable that the various inscriptions relating to the history of the Châhumânas should be properly re-edited.

Hariṇî, and Mandâkrântâ (once each). None of these verses[5] occurs in either Śârṅgadhara's *Paddhati* or Vallabhadêva's *Subhâshitâvali*, and my friend, Professor Pischel, informs me that none is quoted in any of the works on Alaṁkâra, accessible to him.

The Prâkṛit dialects employed in A. are, besides the ordinary Saurasênî, Mâhârâshṭrî, in the two Âryâ verses recited by the lady Śaśiprabhâ, in lines 2 and 3, and Mâgadhî, spoken by the two Turushka prisoners and the Turushka spy, in lines 13-18. According to Professor Pischel, to whom I have submitted the Prâkṛit passages with my Sanskṛit translations and to whom I am indebted for several suggestions, the Prâkṛit furnished by this inscription is highly interesting, because it agrees more closely with the rules laid down by Hêmachandra, than is the case with the Prâkṛit of any of the known plays. As Sômadêva and Hêmachandra were contemporaries, the former, of course, may have been acquainted with the teaching of the industrious grammarian; but whether this was really the case, it is impossible to say. A few slight irregularities which the text contains will be pointed out in the notes.

Tradition has it that the *Hanuman-nâṭaka* originally was written on rocks. By a piece of good luck I am enabled to put before the reader portions of two plays which undoubtedly were engraved on stone. And I feel sure, that the able officers of the Indian services, to whose disinterested help scholars in Europe never appeal in vain, will endeavour to advise us soon of the existence of many more stones, with similar inscriptions.

[The confident tone in which, little more than three months ago, I wrote the preceding paragraph, has been justified already. For, through the kind offices of Mr. Fleet, I have received from **Mr. Ramchandra Dube** at Ajmere, not only additional rubbings of the inscriptions here described which have enabled me to amend my readings in one or two places, but also impressions of **two other inscriptions**, one of which contains a new portion of the *Lalita-Vigraharâja-nâṭaka*, while the other furnishes a new portion of the *Harakêli-nâṭaka*. And it is only from one of these new inscriptions that I have been able to insert in the above the proper title and the name of the author of the *Lalita-Vigraharâja-nâṭaka*, which do not occur in the inscription marked **A.** The impressions of these new inscriptions are not sufficiently clear to edit from at once, and I have therefore applied to Mr. Ramchandra Dube for additional copies. In the meantime I must confine myself to the following remarks :—

The new part of the **Lalita-Vigraharâja-nâṭaka** consists of 38 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3′ broad by 1′ 10″ high, and contains a large portion of the first act and the beginning of the second act of the play. The writing appears to be well preserved, but the stone has several cracks by which some *aksharas* may have been damaged or lost. In line 32 we have the words :—

iti mahâkavi-paṁḍita-śrî-**Sômadêva**-virachitê **Lalita-Vigraharâj**-âbhidhânê nâṭakê prathamô=ṁkaḥ samâptaḥ ;

and from the commencement of the second act it appears that the name of Vasantapâla's daughter, with whom Vigraharâjadêva is represented to be in love, was **Dêsaladêvi**; and from line 20, that this princess resided in the north, near or at the town of **Indrapura (?)**.

The new part of the **Harakêli-nâṭaka** consists of 41 lines of writing (**written by Bhâskara**) which cover a space of about 3′ 1½″ broad by 2′ 2″ high and contain portions of the second and third acts of the play. Of this inscription too the writing appears on the whole to be well preserved. In line 23 we read —

iti mahârâja-śrî-**Vigraharâja**-kavi-virachitê **Harakêli**-nâṭakê **Liṁgôdbhavô nâma** dvit[îyô=ṁ]kaḥ ||]

[5] The above remark equally applies to the fragmentary verses in that portion of B. which has not been edited here. — In the *Subhâshitâvali*, the verse 1152 is stated to belong to Vigraharâja, who now need no longer be considered to be a prince of Kaśmîr.

A. — Extracts from Sômadêva's Lalita-Vigraharâja-nâṭaka.

2. **Saśiprabhâ** || *sânandam* || (*a*) Deva diṭṭhiâ pasaṇṇaṁ bhaavadâ vihiṇâ va[lla]hena a | achchhariaṁ achchhariaṁ |

Daṁsaṇa-suhaṁ pi aṇisaṁ patthijjaï jeṇa dullahaṁ jassa |
So vi hu jaï tassa kae jhijjaï tâ kiṇṇa pajjattaṁ || [6]

Dâṇi [7] jaṁ bhaṭṭidâriâe tàrisa-kilesâṇala-saṁtàva-paraṁparâe e-

3. risassa a ṇia-ppasâa-vilasidassa aṇurûaṁ taṁ aïreṇa jjeva kijjadu | jado |

Pavala-pavaṇoha-duddhara-dâvàṇala-kavalaṇaṁ taru-varà vi |
Ṇa sahaṁti chchia kiṁ uṇa somâlaṁ màladî-kusumaṁ ||

Ahaṁ tu erisaṁ devîyam[8]=aṇurâam[8]=eârisaṁ cha siviṇaa-saṁvihâṇaaṁ ṇiveiya âsâsaemi sapa-

4. riaṇaṁ bhaṭṭidàriaṁ ||

Râjâ || *svagatam* ||

Sa prauḍha-prasaraḥ priyâ-viraha-jô duḥkh-augha-dâvânalô
vishvag=vâg-amṛitair=mukh-âmbuda-tatair=yên=âdya nirvâpitaḥ |
Âḥ kashṭaṁ sudhay=êva nirmita-tanôs=tasy=âdhun=ôpasthitaḥ
kô=py=êtasya sumânushasya virahaḥ sôḍhuṁ kathaṁ yâsyati || [9]

prakâśam || Sakhi Śaśiprabhê saṁprati pri-

5. yatamâ-viraha-duḥkha-dâvânalas=tvad-viyôga-prabala-prabhañjana-vèga-śatamukhîkṛitaḥ kavalayann=imaṁ dèha-viṭapinaṁ kathaṁ śakanîyaḥ sôḍhum | tatô yâvat=priyâ-samagamò bhavati tàvad=atr=aiva tishṭhatu bhavatî | tatra tu tvadîya-kalyâṇa-pravṛitty-upabṛiṁhitàm=âtmanaḥ kuśala-vârttâṁ nivêdayitum=âtmîyàṁ sakala-viśram-

6. bha-bhuvaṁ Kalyâṇavatiṁ nàma prêshayishyâmaḥ ||

Saśiprabhâ || (*b*) Jaṁ devo âṇavedi ||

Râjâ || Kaḥ kô=tra bhôḥ kaḥ kô=tra ||

Praviśya **purushaḥ** || (*c*) Âṇavedu bhaṭṭâ ||

Râjâ || Bhadra asmad-vachanàd=abhidhîyatâṁ mahâmâtyô yathâ saṁnidhâpit-âśêsha-śayan-âsana-bhâṇḍ-âdy-upakaraṇaṁ tâmbûla-kusuma-karpûra-vilêpana-vasa-

7. n-âdi-samast-ôpabhôgya-vastu-saṁpannaṁ sa-parijanâyâḥ Śaśiprabhâyâḥ sthity-uchitaṁ saṁpâday=âvâsa-bhavanam=iti ||

Purushaḥ || (*d*) Jaṁ devo âṇavedi || *iti nishkrântaḥ* ||

Râjâ || Śaśiprabhê |

Sâ kalpadruma-mañjar=iva hi mama smêra-smarâgni-jvara-
jvàlâ-dhyâmalitair=manôrathaśatair=bhṛiṅgair=iv=âliṅgitâ |
Âḥ kashṭaṁ ⏑ ⏑ —

(*a*) Dêva dishṭyâ prasannaṁ bhagavatâ vidhinâ vallabhêna cha | âścharyam=âścharyam |
Darśana-sukham=apy=aniśaṁ prârthyatê yêna durlabhaṁ yasya |
Sô=pi khalu yadi tasya kritè kshîyatê tat=kiṁ na paryâptam ||
Idânîṁ yad=bhartṛidârikâyâs=tâdṛiśa-klêśânala-saṁtâpa-paraṁparâyâ îdṛiśasya cha nija-prasâda-vilasitasy=ânurûpaṁ tad=achirêṇ=aiva kriyatâm | yataḥ |
Prabala-pavanaugha-durdhara-tâpânala-kavalanaṁ taru-varâ api |
Na sahanta êva kiṁ punaḥ sukumâraṁ mâlatî-kusumam ||
Ahaṁ tv=îdṛiśaṁ dêvasy=ânurâgam=êtâdṛiśaṁ cha svapna-saṁvidhânaṁ nivêdy=âśvâsayâmi sa-parijanâṁ bhartṛidârikâm ||

(*b*) Yad=dêva âjñâpayati ||

(*c*) Âjñâpayatu bhartâ ||

(*d*) Yad=dêva âjñâpayati ||

---

[6] Metre, Âryâ; and of the following verse.

[7] See Professor Pischel's note on Hèmachandra IV. 277, according to which we should read *idâṇiṁ*.

[8] The *m* has been retained through the influence of the Sanskrit. Read *devîaṁ aṇurâaṁ eârisaṁ*.

[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.

8. r=vidhêr=vilasitair=durvâta-vêgair=iva
krûrair=vyâkulatâṁ balêna gamitâ tanvî katham sthâsyati ।
Vidûshakaṁ prati ॥ Vayasya samâhûyatâṁ Kalyâṇavatî ॥

Vidûshakaḥ ॥ (*e*) Hî hî jâṇe vayasseṇa vvavasidaṁ[10] ṇia-vivâha-kajjeṇa । tâ amhâṇaṁ chira-vaḍḍhidâ dâṇi phalaṁtu khaṁḍa-laḍḍuâiṁ maṇoraha-ddu[mâ] ॥

9. *ity=uktvâ nishkramya Kalyâṇavatyâ saha praviśati* ॥

Râjâ ॥ Kalyâṇavati ih=âsana upaviśya. ìm ॥

Kalyâṇavatî *tathâ karôti* ॥

Râjâ ॥ *Kalyâṇavatyâḥ Śaśiprabhâ-svarûpam=âgamana-prayôjanaṁ cha sarvaṁ nivêdya* [॥] Kalyâṇavati vraja tvam=avanipatêr=**Vasantapâlasya** putrîm=asmad-vachanâd=anumôdayitum=â-

10. râdhayituṁ cha । idaṁ=ch=âsmat-saṁdishṭaṁ râjaputrî śrâvayitavyâ ।
Drutataram=itaḥ kâutê viśvaiḥ samaṁ bahir-indriyaiḥ
kvachid=api manô=smâkaṁ nîtaṁ tvayâ prathamaṁ haṭhât ।
Anujigamishôr=jîvasy=aitâny=ath=âsya Śaśiprabhâ-
vachana vihitâd=âśâ-tantôr=abhûd=avalambanam ॥[11]
Idaṁ ch=âgrataḥ kartavyam=asmadîyam ।

11. vijñapanîyâ râjaputrî yathâ **Turushkêndra**-vigraha-prasaṅgêna drutataram=êv=âgatya dêvi bhavatîṁ prasâdayishyamô yatas=**Turushkarâjô**=py=asmân=prati prachalitaḥ śrûyatê ॥

Kalyâṇavatî ॥ (*f*) Jaṁ devo âṇavedi ॥

Râjâ ॥ Vayasya asmad-vachanâd=uchyatâṁ mahâmâtyô yath=êdam-idam-upâyan-âdy-uchitôpakaraṇa-

12. saṁpannâ kṛitvâ sa-tvaraṁ prêshyatâṁ Kalyâṇavatî ॥

Vidûshakaḥ ॥ (*g*) Jaṁ vayasso bhaṇedi ॥ *iti Kalyâṇavatyâ saha nishkrântaḥ* ॥

Râjâ ॥ Śaśiprabhê âvâsaṁ gatvâ vyapagat-âdhva-śramâ bhavatu bhavatî । vayam=api mâdhyâhnikaṁ vidhâtum=uttishṭhâmaḥ ॥ *iti sarvê nishkrântâḥ* ॥

॥ **Tṛitîyô=ṅkaḥ samâptaḥ** ॥

Tataḥ pra-

13. *viśatô vandinau* ॥

Vandinau ॥ (*h*) Ese se **Sâyaṁbhalîsala**-śivila-ṇiveśe । edaśśiṁ alaśkiyyamâṇa-payyaṁde kadhaṁ [lâ]ulaṁ yâṇidavvaṁ ॥ *purô=valôkya* ॥ Vayaśśa eśe ke vi chale vva dîśadi । tâ imâdo edaśśa śivilaśśa śśalûvaṁ[12] lâulaṁ cha yâṇiśśamha ॥

Tataḥ praviśati charaḥ ॥

Charaḥ ॥ (*i*) Aśchaliyaṁ aśchaliyaṁ । aho **Viggahalâa**-

14. ṇaleśala-śilîṇaṁ avayyaṁdadâ ॥ *purô=valôkya* ॥ amhadeśîya vva kevi puliśâ peśkiyyaṁdi । yâ[ṇe] vaṁdîhiṁ edehiṁ huvidavvaṁ ॥

(*e*) Hî hî jânê vayasyêna vyavasitaṁ nija-vivâha-kâryêṇa(°ryam) । tad=asmâkaṁ chira-vardhitâ idânîṁ phalantu khaṇḍa-laḍḍukâni manôratha-drumâḥ ॥

(*f*) Yad=dêva âjñâpayati ॥

(*g*) Yad=vayasyô bhaṇati ॥

(*h*) Êsha sa **Sâkambharîśvara**-śibira-nivêśaḥ । êtasminn=alakshyamâṇa-paryantê kathaṁ râjakulaṁ jñâtavyam ॥ Vayasya êsha kô=pi chara iva dṛiśyatê । tad=asmâd=êtasya śibirasya svarûpaṁ râjakulaṁ cha jñâsyâvaḥ ॥

(*i*) Âścharyam=âścharyam । ahô **Vigraharâja**-narêśvara-śrîṇâm=aparyantatâ ॥ asmaddêśîyâv=iva kâv=api purushau prêkshyêtê । jânê vandibhyâm=êtâbhyâṁ bhavitavyam ॥

---

[10] Read *varasidaṁ*; the word is construed with a double instrumental case.

[11] Metre, Hariṇî.

[12] Read *śalûvaṁ*.

Vandinau || (*j*) Bhadda amhâṇaṁ **Tuluskâṇaṁ** desîye vva tumaṁ peskiyyasi | tâ kadhehi **Châhamâṇa**-sivila-salûvaṁ lâulaṁ cha ||

Charaḥ || (*k*) 'Suṇâdha le vaṁdiṇo suṇâdha | hage **Tuluskalâeṇa** -

15. **Sâaṁbhalîsalassa** sivilaṁ peskiduṁ peside | taṁ cha dûsaṁchalaṁ | yado tatthastehiṁ idale puschaṁde[14] vi ṇi[liskaṁ]de vi a palakîye tti yâṇiyyadi | tadhâvi mae kiṁpi kiṁpi pa[chcha][15]kkhîkadaṁ ||

Vandinau || (*l*) Aschaliaṁ aschaliaṁ | kadhaṁ bhadda tattha uvastidâṇaṁ chadulide[16] aṇuaṁ pi tae laskidaṁ ||

Charaḥ || (*m*) [Su]ṇâdha le vaṁdiṇo ya-

16. dhâ mae taṁ sivilaṁ ṇilûvidaṁ | hage khu sili-Somesalaevaṁ peskiduṁ vaññaṁdassa saṡtassa[17] milide milia a ettha pavisiûṇa bhiskaṁ pastiduṁ[18] lagge | tado yaṁ yaṁ yâṇidaṁ taṁ taṁ tumhâṇaṁ yahastaṁ kadhiyadu | maa-vâli-nijjhala-kalâla-kaḍastalâṇaṁ kaliṁdâṇaṁ dâva sahassaṁ | tulaṁgâṇaṁ u-

17. ṇa laskaṁ | ṇalâṇaṁ uṇa yujjha-skamâṇaṁ daha laskâiṁ ti | kiṁ vahuṇâ yaṁpideṇa | tassa kaḍaassa pâsa-stide sâale vi suske bhodi || *bâhum=utkshipya* || edaṁ cha taṁ lâulaṁ || *iti darsayati* ||

Vandinau || (*n*) 'Sâhule chalâ sâhu ||

Charaḥ || (*o*) Ale le vaṁdiṇo chilaṁ khu me ṇia-stâṇâdo ṇissalidassa | tâ ha-

18. ge vaññâmi ||

Vandinau || (*p*) Gascha le chalâ gascha || *iti charô nishkrântaḥ* ||

Vandinau || *puratô gatv=âvalokya* || (*q*) Taṁ ṇidaṁ lâula-duvâlaṁ tâ idha stidâ eva ṇia-lâa-ppahâvaṁ payâsemha || *punar=avalôkya* | *sânandam* || ese se **Sâaṁbhalîsale** astâṇa-stide pulado dîsadi ||

Tataḥ pravisati râjâ vibhavatas=cha pari-

19. *vâraḥ* ||

Râjâ || *svagatam* || Ahô vaichitryam |

(*j*) Bhadra âvayôs=**Turushkayôr**=dêsîya[13] iva tvaṁ prêkshyasê | tat=kathaya **Châhamâna**-sibira-svarûpaṁ râjakulaṁ cha ||

(*k*) 'Sriṇutaṁ rê vandinau sriṇutam | ahaṁ **Turushkarâjêna Sâkambharîsvarasya** sibiraṁ prêkshituṁ prêshitaḥ | tach=cha duḥsaṁcharam | yatas=tatrasthair=itaraḥ prichchhann=api nirîkshamâṇô=pi cha parakîya iti jñâyatê | tathâpi mayâ kim=api kim=api pratyakshîkṛitam ||

(*l*) Âscharyam=âscharyam | kathaṁ bhadra tatr=ôpasthitânâṁ chatura-svabhâvê(?)=ṇukam=api tvayâ lakshitam ||

(*m*) Sriṇutaṁ rê vandinau yathâ mayâ tach=chhibiraṁ nirûpitam | ahaṁ khalu srî-Sômêsvaradêvaṁ prêkshituṁ vrajataḥ sârthasya militô militvâ ch=âtra pravisya bhikshâṁ prârthayituṁ lagnaḥ | tatô yad=yaj=jñâtaṁ tat=tad=yuvayôr=yathârthaṁ kathyatâm | mada-vâri-nirjhara-karâla-kaṭasthalânâṁ karîndrâṇâṁ tâvat=sahasram | turaṅgâṇâṁ punar=laksham | narâṇâṁ punar=yuddha-kshamâṇâṁ dasa lakshâṇ=îti | kiṁ bahunâ jalpitêna | tasya kaṭakasya pârsva-sthitaḥ sâgarô=pi sushkô bhavati || êtach=cha tad=râjakulam ||

(*n*) Sâdhu rê chara sâdhu ||

(*o*) Arê rê vandinau chiraṁ khalu mê nija-sthânân=niḥsṛitasya | tad=ahaṁ vrajâmi ||

(*p*) Gachchha rê chara gachchha ||

(*q*) Tad=idaṁ râjakula-dvâraṁ tad=iha sthitâv=êva nija-râja-prabhâvaṁ prakâsayâvaḥ | êsha sa **Sâkambharîsvara** âsthâna-sthitaḥ puratô dṛisyatê ||

---

[13] The above is not proper Sanskṛit; the two men mean *asmad-dêsîya iva*.

[14] Originally *puschaṁdo vi ṇi[liskaṁ]do*, but the *o* has both times been altered to *e*.

[15] Originally only a single *ch* was engraved, but it appears to have been altered to *chch*.

[16] Prof. Pischel suggests to me that *chadulide* may stand for * *chaturitê*, an abstract noun derived from *chatura*.

[17] Originally *sâstassa*, altered to *sastassa*. [18] Originally *pâstiduṁ*, altered to *pastiduṁ*.

Âdâv=amṛitamay-âmbudhi-vigâhana-pratimam=avanipati-duhituḥ ।
Smaraṇaṁ davadahan-ôdara-nipâta-nibham=agratô bhavati ॥[19]

. . . .

21. **Vigraharâjadêvaḥ** ॥

22. *pratîhâram=âkârya* ॥ Pratîhâra dâpyatâm=êtayôr=yathâ-dîyamânaḥ kanaka-vasan-âdis-tyâgaḥ ॥

Pratîhâraḥ ॥ Yad=âdiśati dêvaḥ ॥ *iti vandibhyâṁ saha nishkrântaḥ* ॥

Râjâ ॥ Ahô n=âdy=âpy . . . py=âgatô **Hammîra**-kaṭak-âvâsa-svarûpa . . . kaḥ ॥

Praviśya **charaḥ** ॥ (*r*) Jayadu jayadu devo । Deva deveṇa **Hammîra-kaḍa-**

23. a-vuttaṁtaṁ jâṇiduṁ parassiṁ diṇe pesido saṁpadaṁ âado mhi ॥

Râjâ ॥ Bhadra kathaya kiyat=**Turushkêśvara**-śibiraṁ kutra ch=êti ॥

Charaḥ ॥ (*s*) Deva agahida-gaa-raha-turaa-ppavîra-saṁkhaṁ a[ṇâ]a-peraṁtaṁ amuṇida-pavesa-ṇiggama-maggaṁ riurâiṇo kaḍaaṁ । âvâso uṇa kalle ido **Vavveraâdo** joa-

24. ṇa-ttae âsi । ajja uṇa teṇa jjeva sivireṇa samaṁ âachchhiûṇa taṁ ido joaṇekkeṇa âvâsidaṁ pekkhiûṇa âado mhi ॥

Râjâ ॥ Bhadra kîdṛiśî punas=tatra kiṁvadantî ॥

Charaḥ ॥ (*t*) Deva jujjhatthaṁ saalâiṁ pi seṇṇâiṁ saṇṇaddhâiṁ kâriûṇa ettomuhaṁ chalaṁteṇa **Hammîreṇa** tumhâṇaṁ pâse keṇa

25. vi vaaṇeṇa dûdo pesidavvo tti kehiṁpi jaṇehiṁ jaṁpijjadi ॥

Râjâ ॥ Bhadra gachchha tvaṁ viśrâmâya ॥ *iti charô nishkrântaḥ* ॥

Râjâ ॥ Kaḥ kô=tra bhôḥ kaḥ kô=tra ॥

Praviśya **purushaḥ** ॥ (*u*) Eso mhi âṇavedu devo ॥

Râjâ ॥ Âhûyatâṁ mâtulaḥ **Siṁhabalô** râjâ ॥

Purushaḥ ॥ (*v*) Jaṁ devo âṇavedi ॥ *iti nishkrântaḥ* ॥

Tataḥ pra-

26. *viśati Siṁhabalaḥ* ॥

Râjâ ॥ *sâdaram=âsanaṁ pradâpya* ॥ *sarvaṁ vṛittântaṁ nivêdya* [॥] Mâtula kim=idânîṁ vidhêyam ॥

Siṁhabalaḥ ॥

Tair=mâtaṅgair=haribhir=api tais=tair=bhaṭ-aughair=anîkaṁ
Hammîrasya prasarad=akhilâṁ mêdinîm=âvṛiṇôtu ।
Vîrair=êtais=tad=api samarât=tvat-pratâpa-pravṛiddhi-
prâpt-ôtsâhair=iha na hi bhavê-t=tâvakaiḥ kṛityam=anyat ॥[21]

27.

Râjâ ॥ *mantriṇaṁ Śrîdharaṁ prati* ॥ Bhavatâm=atra kiṁ pratibhâti ॥

Śrîdharaḥ ॥ Dêva ।

Vîrâṇâṁ cha vipaśchitâṁ cha gaṇanâsv=âdyas=tvam=êv=âdhunâ
vidvadbhir=gaṇitô=si têna bhavataḥ kvâpy=asti na dvâparaḥ ।

(*r*) Jayatu jayatu dêvaḥ । Dêva dêvêna **Hammîra**-kaṭaka-vṛittântaṁ jñâtuṁ parasmin=dinê prêshitaḥ sâmpratam=âgatô=smi ॥

(*s*) Dêva agṛihîta-gaja-ratha-turaga-pravîra-saṁkhyam=a[jñâta?]paryantam=ajñâta-pravêśa-nirgama-mârgaṁ ripurâjasya kaṭakam । âvâsaḥ punaḥ kalya itô Vavvêraâd[20]=yôjana-traya âsît । adya punas=tên=aiva śibirêṇa samam=âgamya tad=itô yôjan-aikên=âvâsitaṁ prêkshy=âgatô=smi ॥

(*t*) Dêva yuddhârthaṁ sakalâny=api sainyâni saṁnaddhâni kârayitv=aitad-abhimukhaṁ chalatâ **Hammîrêṇa** yushmâkaṁ pârśvê kên=âpi vachanêna dûtaḥ prêshayitavya iti kair=api janaiḥ kathyatê ॥

(*u*) Êshô=smi âjñâpayatu dêvaḥ ॥

(*v*) Yad=dêva âjñâpayati ॥

---

[19] Metre, Âryâ.

[20] See above, note 3.

[21] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.

Kiṁtv=âtmîyatayâ vidhêyam=adhunâ yat=prishṭam=asmâdṛiśâṁ
sva-prajñâm=anusṛitya tat=kathayatâṁ

28. kshantavyam=îśa tvayâ ||[23]

Râjâ || Mahâmatê asmâkaṁ tvam=êva mantriṇâm=agraṇîs=tat=kim=êvam=abhidhîyatê ||

Srîdharaḥ || Dêva saty=upâyântara-saṁbhavê yuddham=anupâya iti dharm-ârtha-śâstra-vidâṁ samayaḥ ||

Râjâ || Bhavêd=êvaṁ yady=upâyântaram=atra syât | kiṁcha durâtmânaṁ **Mlêchchharâjaṁ** praty=upâyântar-ânusaraṇê ma-

29. hatî vrîḍâ ||

Srîdharaḥ || Dêva tathâpi jagad-êkavîrêṇa **Hammîrêṇ**=âsaṁkhya-sainya-svâminâ saha yuddh-âvataraṇaṁ katham=anumanyâmahê ||

Râjâ ||

Akîrtiḥ kâpy=uchchaiḥ suhṛid-abhayadâna-vrata-hatis=
tathâ dhvaṁsas=tîrtha-dvija-su manasâṁ vîrya-vigamaḥ |
Mam=aitêshu vyastêshv=api ⏑ ⏑ [a]sahyêshu sakalân=
imân=aṅgî-

30. kartuḥ kathayata vidhêyaṁ kim=asubhiḥ ||[23]

Siṁhabalaḥ || Mahârâja |

Svayaṁ chêd=urvîśaiḥ samitishu mahâ-sâhasa-rasair=
ajasraṁ yôddhavyaṁ tad=iha karaṇîyaṁ kim=aparaiḥ |
Saśastrair=niḥsaṁkhyair=vijita-bahu-saṁkhyaiś=cha subhaṭair=
mad-ândhair=mâtaṅgaiḥ pavana-javanair=vâjibhir=api ||

Api [cha] |

Kshâtraṁ dhâma tav=êdam=adbhutatamaṁ tva-

31. t-saṁnidhi=sthâyinâṁ
vîrâṇâṁ tanushu dhruvaṁ pariṇataṁ yâsyaty=asaṁkhyâtatâm |
Dîpâd=êkata êva [bha]dra timira-pradhvaṁsa-dhîraṁ ma[ha]ḥ
svîkurvann=iha hi pradîpa-nivahô dṛishṭântatâm=âśritaḥ ||[24]

Api cha |

Yudhyasê svayam=êva tvaṁ saṁnidhi-sthê=pi chên=mayi |
|| *dakshiṇa-karêṇa sva-bâhu ni[rdi]śya* ||
Tad=dôshṇôr=dhig=imaṁ bhâraṁ dhanushi śrân-

32. tayôr=vṛithâ ||[25]

Praviśya **pratîhâraḥ** || Dêva **Turushkarâjêna** prahitaḥ praśânta-vêshaḥ kô=pi viśishṭa iva pumân=saparichchhadô dvâri samâgatas=tishṭhati ||

Râjâ || *Siṁhabala-Srîdharâv=uddiśya* || Kim=ih=âpi têna pravêshṭavyam ||

Tau dvâv=api || Kô dôshô râja-sadanaṁ h=îdaṁ tat=prayôjan-ânurôdhataḥ sarvair=api pravêshṭavyam=êva ||

33. **[Râjâ]** || *pratîhâraṁ prati* || Pravêśaya tarhi drutam ||

Pratîhâraḥ || Yad=âdiśati dêvaḥ || *iti nirgatya dûtêna saha praviśati* ||

Dûtaḥ || *samantatô=valôkya* | *sânandam* || Ahô sarv-âṅga-sundarâbhir=vibhûtibhiḥ saṁpûrṇaṁ râja-mandiram | tathâ hi |

Iha kari-nikarair=ih=âyudh-âḍhyaiḥ purusha-varair=iha vârasundarîbhiḥ |
Iha vi-

34. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ bhir=narêndra-praṇayi-janair=iha râjatê nṛipa-śrîḥ ||[26]

purô râjânam=avalôkya | *sânandâdbhutam* || Ahô sakala-jana-vilakshaṇaḥ kô=py=ayam=apûrva

[22] Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita. [23] Metre, Sikhariṇî; and of the next verse.
[24] Metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita. [25] Metre, Slôka (Anushṭubh). [26] Metre, Pushpitâgrâ

êv=âsya nṛipatêḥ saṁnivêśaḥ ‖ *vimṛiśya* ‖ athavâ । ayaṁ tâvad=akhilam=api râja-maṇḍalam=atiśêta êva prabhâvêṇa । kiṁtv=aparêshâm=api râjñâṁ kṛitê . . . .

35. . . . . êva paurâṇikaḥ pravâdaḥ । katham=aparathâ têshâm=idaṁ vaiśvarûpyam । tathâ hi ।

Chârâḥ kârya-vilôkana-śravaṇayôś=chakshuḥ-śrutî vâg=vayaṁ
vaktuṁ saṁdhi-virôdha-karma samara-krîḍâsu vîrâḥ karâḥ ।
Kṛity-âkṛitya-vivêchana-vyatikarê san-mantriṇô mânasaṁ
hasty-aśvaṁ kramituṁ payôdhiraśanâm=êtâm mahi-

36 — ⏑ — ‖[27]

. . . . vyâhata-vidhêya-dvay-ôpasthânêna paryâkulô=smi । tathâ hi ।

Sâmarthyaṁ yadi na prabhôr=abhidadhê yâsyanti tad-vidvishaḥ
saṁdhêyatvam=asâdhvasâḥ katham=atha prakhyâpayê
‖ *Vigraharâjam=uddiśya* ‖
syât=tadâ ।
Âkṛity=aiva vibhâvyamâna ⏑ ⏑ [kaṁ] dhâm=êdam=âvirbhavat-
kôpaṁ kasya vidhêyam=ity=ubhaya-

37. **Mahîpati-sutêna paṇḍita-Bhâskarêṇa** svayam=âlikhy=ôtkîrṇâny=aksharâṇi ‖

B. — The Concluding Portion of Vigraharâjadêva's Harakêli-nâṭaka.

25. *Dêvau svarûpêṇ=âvirbhavataḥ* ‖

Arjunaḥ ‖ *drishṭvâ* । *sa-bhakti-praṇâmam* ‖

Saṁvartau tanu-chitta-

26. vâṅmaya-malair=ênô mayâ yat=kṛitaṁ
yach=ch=âchyâvi dhiyâ kshaṇaṁ kshaṇam=itô yushmat-pad-âmbhôruhât ।
Yan=n=âdhyâyi pada-dvayaṁ bhagavatôr=advaita-mudr-âṅkitaṁ
tan=nâthau trijagat-sṛijâv=asadṛiśaṁ sarvaṁ kshamêthâṁ mama ‖[28]

Api cha ।

Yat=kâyê niruji tvad-aṁhri-kamalaṁ n=ârâdhitaṁ Tryambaka
svântê śântatamê na bu-

27. ddham=ahaha tvad-dhâma tat=tâdṛiśam ।
Vâchaṁ phalgu-vachaḥ-prapañcha-chaturâṁ saṁyamya yan=na stutaṁ
tan=mê śalyam=iva sphuraty=avirataṁ mam=ântarê Śaṁkara ‖

Api cha ।

Dhâtuḥ kas=tvaṁ Girîśa praṇavam=ajagavaṁ tulyam=êtad=dadhânas=
tisrô bhittvâ purîs=tâ ravi-śaśi-śikhinâm=antar=anyô bahiś=cha ।
Nirvâṇaṁ bandha-vahnêr=Ditisuta-

28. subhaṭa-krôdha-vahnêś=cha kurvañ=
jñân-âjñânê vitanvaṁs=Tripuraharatayâ môksha-saṁsâra-vîraḥ ‖[29]

Api cha ।

Sva-pratyayâya jagataḥ parama-priyâya
prâlêya-bhânu-kalayâ kṛita-śêkharâya ।
Dêvâya durdama-tamaḥ-paṭal-âpahâya
svasmai Śivâya nirupâdhi-mudê namas=tê ‖[30]

Api cha ।

Brahmâdi-viśva-guru-varga-

29. niyâmakâya
svâjñâ-vibhîshita-sur-âsura-nârakâya ।
Yâvad-vidhâyaka-nishêdhaka-vigrahâya
tubhyaṁ namas=Tuhinaśaila-sutâ-priyâya ‖

[27] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse. [28] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and of the next verse.
[29] Metre, Sragdharâ. [30] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the two next verses.

Api cha ।

Tat-pañchakâraṇatayâ jagatâṁ vidhâtrê
tad-bhâva-karma-kṛiti-sâkshitayâ niyantrê ।
Bhâsvat-svachitta-nutayâ sahaj-echchhayâ cha
traiguṇya-tanmayatayâ nama

30. Îśvarâya ॥

Api cha ।

Namô yôga-sthâya sva-vidita-pada-sthâya mahasê
namaḥ puṇya-sthâya prati-tanu sukha-sthâya bhavatê ।
Namaḥ pâpa-sthâya prabhavad-asukha-sthâya bhavinê
namô jñâna-sthâya prasarad-amṛita-sthâya kṛitinê ॥[31]

Api cha ।

Namaḥ kartrê dhâtrê tanushu viśatê saṁyamayatê
namô hartrê bhartrê chaturadhika-

31. shashṭi-praṇayinê ।
Namô vyakt-âvyakta-trijagad-agha-vidhvaṁsa-paṭavê
namaḥ puṇy-âpuṇya-sthitishu mṛidu-ghôr-aika-vapushê ॥

Îśaḥ ॥ Vatsa prîtô=smi tad=gṛihâṇa pâśupataṁ mantram ॥ *iti karṇê mantraṁ dadâti* ॥ Vatsa anêna mantrêṇ=âbhimantritaṁ tṛiṇam=api pâśupatâstrâyatê । **idam=aparaṁ yâvad-astra-** sahitaṁ nija-gâṇḍîvaṁ gṛihâ-

32. ṇa ॥

Arjunaḥ *sa-vinayaṁ gṛihṇâti* ॥

Îśaḥ ॥ Mṛittikâ-liṅg-ârâdhanasya yuddhên=âsmad-ârâdhanasya cha phalaṁ labdhaṁ tad= yath-âgataṁ gachchha ॥

Arjunaḥ ॥ Yath=âjñâpayati dêvaḥ ॥ *iti nishkrântaḥ* ॥

Îśaḥ ॥ *Gauriṁ prati* ॥ Anêna **Harakêli-nâṭakêna** sâdhu prîṇitô=smi **Vigraharâja-kavinâ** tad=ênaṁ paśyâmas=tavat ॥

Ta-

33. *taḥ praviśati Vigraharâjaḥ* ॥

Vigraharâjaḥ ॥ *dṛishṭvâ dêvau praṇamya kṛit-âñjaliḥ* ॥

Smêr[âmu]khê prakaṭa-sarva-rasê=pi bâlê
saṁsâram=apy=amṛita-nirvṛitam=âdadhânê ।
M=âstâṁ prabhô khala-durakshara-vahni-varshair=
abhyarthayê malinatâ **Harakêli**-kâyê ॥[32]

Ûrdhvam=avalôkya ॥

Svar-vâsinô Bharata-śishya-janâś=chirêṇa
Sthâṇôḥ śirâṁsi nanu dhûna-

34. yituṁ sa êshaḥ ।
Pratyakshara-sruta-ras-âmṛita-vâhinînâṁ
kallôla-kêlibhir=itô **Harakêlir**=âstâm ॥

Punar=ûrdhvam=avalôkya ॥ Api cha ।

Stôtâ guṇân=abhidadhat=stutir=Indu-mauliḥ
stutya sa êva phalarûpatayâ sa êva ।
Itthaṁ chaturmayatayâ **Harakêlir**=âstâm=
â-chandram=â-ravi mudê yaśasê śriyê vaḥ ॥

Îśaḥ ॥

Sarvaṁ char-âcharam=idaṁ kha-

---

[31] Metre, Śikhariṇî; and of the next verse.

[32] Metre, Vasantatilakâ; and of the three next verses.

lu mâṁ viditvâ

35\. tvan-nâṭya-darśana-sukh-ôtsava-niśchalânâm ।

Maitrîṁ sukhiny=asukhini pravarâṁ kṛipâṁ cha

tanyâd=bhav-ârti-hṛitayê **Harakêlir**=êshaḥ ॥

Vatsa **Vigraharâja** anêna **Harakêli-nâṭakên**=ârâdhitô=haṁ kiṁ te priyam=upakaiômi ॥

Vigraharâjaḥ ॥ *añjaliṁ baddhvâ* ॥

Yêshâṁ nâma na 'Saṁkar=êti vadanê na brahma pâṇau dhanaṁ

ha-

36\. stê n=âhar-ahar=nirâpa-salilaṁ n=âskhnôḥ kṛip-âmbhaḥ-kaṇâḥ ।

N=âhiṁsâ-ruchayô guṇâs=tanu-manô-vâṇîshu naisargikâḥ

kârshir=mâ 'Saśi-chûḍa tâṁs=tanu-bhṛi[ta]ḥ saṁsâra-kutsâ-sṛijaḥ ॥[33]

Îśaḥ ॥ Idam=apy=astu ।

Yâvad=Vishṇur=bibharti pramada-chiti-rasê bhôga-nirvâṇa-śaktî

Lakshmîṁ Brâhmîṁ cha tâvad=dhavalayatu jagat=tâvakî **kîrtir=êshâ** ।

Prajñâ-dugdhâ-

37\. bdhi-janmâ nava-rasa-laharî-datta-hastâvalambâ

vidvach-chêtaś-chakôrî-kulam=akhilam=api priṇatî chandrik=êva ॥ [34]

Vatsa tvaṁ **Sâkambharî**-râjyaṁ pâlayituṁ gṛihaṁ gachchha । vayam=api sa-parivârâḥ Kailâśam=êva vrajâmaḥ ॥ *iti nishkrântâḥ sarvê* ॥

॥ **Krauñcha-vijayô nâma pañchamô=ṅkaḥ** ॥

Âsîn=nirmala-**Hûṇa**-pâ-

38\. rthiva-kulê **Gôvinda**-nâmâ sudhîs=

tais=taiḥ kôvida-vandya-sadguṇa-gaṇair=yô **Bhôjarâja**-priyaḥ ।

Taj-janmâ sukṛitî **Mahîpatir**=abhût=tasy=âtmajô **Bhâskaraḥ**

sa śrî-**Vigraharâja**-nirmitam=idaṁ prâjñô=likhan=nâṭakam ॥[35]

Saṁvat 1210 Mârga-śudi 5 Âditya-dinê śravaṇa-nakshatrê makara-sthê chandrê **harsha-**

39\. ṇa-yôgê bâlava-karaṇê ॥ **Harakêli-nâṭakaṁ samâptam** ॥ Maṅgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ ॥

40\. ॥ **Kṛitir=iyaṁ mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śrî-Vigraharâjadêvasya** ॥

A NOTICE OF THE GULABNAMA.

BY E. REHATSEK.

(*Concluded from p. 78.*)

After the English army had been thus victorious in the Pañjâb, it encamped near Lâhôr, and **the Governor-General issued a proclamation.** The purport of this proclamation was that the English had defeated the Sikhs in every engagement, and taken from them more than 220 pieces of artillery; that they waged war because the Sikhs had infringed the treaty of 1809 A. D.; and that they would not evacuate the Pañjâb before an indemnity was paid and the fulfilment of the arrangements to be agreed upon by the English and the Pañjâb government was guaranteed. The English government did not desire to increase its possessions, but found it necessary for greater security to annex a portion of the territory now under the jurisdiction of Lâhôr, consisting of the *zilas* situated between the rivers Satlaj and Biyâs, as well as of the Kôhistân,[1] the value of which would be deducted from the indemnity to be paid. Lastly, one of the sons of the late Mahârâjâ Ranjît Siṅgh was to be made sovereign of the Pañjâb, but in case of fresh disturbances arising, the British government would again be under the necessity of quelling them.

The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh at once presented the English prisoners with dresses of honour, placed them on elephants, and despatched them with an escort of sepoys to the camp at Qaṣûr. The Mahârâjâ then consulted the members of the court, *viz.*, Bhâi Râm Siṅgh, Dîwâṇ Dînâ

---

[33] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [34] Metre, Sragdharâ. [35] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[1] Mountain districts.

Nâth, and Faqîr Nûru'ddîn Ṣâḥib, about the conclusion of peace, and they entrusted him with the negotiations. The **Bîbî Ṣâḥiba**, having been requested to give her opinion, not only approved of the decision arrived at by the above-named members of the *darbâr*, but issued a *parwâna* to that effect under her special seal, with the signatures of all the Sardârs attached thereto. Accordingly the Mahârâjâ **Gulâb Siṅgh** started with several Sardârs, *viz.*, Dîwân Dînâ Nâth, Faqîr Nûru'ddîn, Dîwân Dèvî Sahâî and others, taking with them five *palṭans* of Sikh troops, each private of which received five rupees. But as there were turbulent men among them, many had to be left behind, and only one company retained by the deputation arrived at Old Naushahra. The deputation continued its journey to the Governor-General's camp at Qaṣûr, and when the members were at a distance of one *kôs* from it, **Sir Henry Lawrence**, who was at that time Resident in Nêpâl [*sic*], came to invite them to proceed further. When they arrived, **Sir Frederick Currie,** Baronet, Chief Secretary, conducted them to the Governor-General's tent, who came out in person, shook hands, and took them in. When they were seated the **Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh** explained how the Khâlṣa army had become so demoralised and insubordinate, as to venture upon hostilities, and expressed his hopes, that after what had taken place, tranquillity might again be restored, whereon the Governor-General declared that it would be necessary to pay an indemnity of two *karôṛs* of rupees, and to cede the Dôâb to the British government, but Gulâb Siṅgh rejoined that it would be impossible to raise such an enormous sum of money. Then Sir Frederick Currie and Sir Henry Lawrence took the Mahârâjâ aside, and politely reminded him, that as he had lost brothers and other dear relatives in these disturbances, there was no need of his espousing so warmly the cause of the Pañjâb government, the more so as His Excellency the Governor-General desired to make him independent thereof, by constituting him **sovereign of the Kôhistân and Kaśmîr, with the title of Mahârâjâ.** Gulâb Siṅgh replied that the wish of His Excellency was a command to him, but that his relatives had been slain because they were cherished by the Pañjâb government and had served it; that as the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh had not attained his majority, he had been deputed to treat with the Governor-General; and that if his lust for power and independence were to become injurious to the young sovereign, his own reputation and that of his descendants would be tarnished for ever. He begged His Excellency to keep in view the treaty of friendship with the late Mahârâjâ Ranjît Siṅgh and to consider that Dalîp Siṅgh was altogether guiltless of its infringement by the army. The said two gentlemen reported these words to the Governor-General, and after the negotiations had been protracted to a late hour of the night, an agreement was finally arrived at, that the Sikh government should pay one *karôṛ* and fifty *lâkhs* of rupees as an indemnity, and cede the Dôâb. Gulâb Siṅgh at last succeeded in getting his offer accepted, to pay fifty *lâkhs* at once, and the remaining *karôṛ* of rupees in three successive instalments, and the surrender of the Dôâb. A desire for an interview with **Dalîp Siṅgh** having been expressed, Gulâb Siṅgh despatched a letter to that effect to the Bîbî Ṣâḥiba, and accordingly the Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh arrived the next day in a buggy, whereon a salute of artillery was fired, and the Governor-General presented both Dalîp Siṅgh and Gulâb Siṅgh with robes of honour.

Some difficulty arose concerning the entrance of English troops into Lâhôr, to which Gulâb Siṅgh first demurred, but afterwards consented, the English having agreed to march again back to Fîrôzpûr after receiving the fifty *lâkhs* of rupees promised to the Governor-General. The **Bîbî Ṣâḥiba,** however, made an arrangement with **Lâl Siṅgh,** and despatched a letter to the English authorities, informing them that he was her plenipotentiary, and that Gulâb Siṅgh had no power. Lâl Siṅgh accordingly became surety for the payment of the above sum, made arrangements for the stay of the English troops in Lâhôr, and surrendered in lieu of the stipulated *karôṛ* of rupees the districts on the other side[2] of the Biyâs with Kâṅgṛâ, the Kôhistân, Kaśmîr, Hazâra, and Chambâ to remain for ever in the possession of the English, so that even Jammûṅ and other possessions of Gulâb Siṅgh fell into their power. Gulâb Siṅgh, not a little amazed at this transaction, immediately sent the Dîwân Jwâlâ Sahâî to **Sir Henry**

[2] *i. e.* on the British side.

Lawrence with whom he had become intimately acquainted on a former occasion at Pêshâwar. Sir Henry after consulting with **Sir Frederick Currie**, Chief Secretary of the Foreign Department, sent a reply, that the British Government, having the interests of Gulâb Siṅgh at heart, had simply presented him with the said possessions, but would now grant them to him for money. The Governor-General then agreed to let Gulâb Siṅgh have the district between the Biyâs and the Indus, with Kâṅgṛâ, Kaśmîr, Hazâṛa and the boundaries of the Kôhistân for one *karôṛ* of rupees; but as Gulâb Siṅgh had not at his disposal so large a sum, negotiations were begun for giving him a smaller portion of territory, excluding the district between the Biyâs and the Indus. Even this arrangement displeased the Bîbî Ṣâḥiba, who sent the Râjâ Dînâ Nâth, Faqîr Nûru'ddîn, and Bhâî Râm Siṅgh to Sir H. Lawrence and Sir F. Currie, to dissuade them from the transaction, and threatening to go herself to London. But no attention was paid to her protest, and so she sent Khâlṣa troops to capture Gulâb Siṅgh. Major MacGregor arrived, however, in time with a *rasâla* of European troops, and put an end to the strife by carrying him off to the British camp. The terms ultimately arrived at are embodied in the following document :—

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and the Mahârâja Gulâb Siṅgh of Jammûṅ on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Mahârâja Gulâb Siṅgh in person.

Art. 1. The British Government transfers and makes over for ever, as independent possessions, to Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies, situated to the east of the River Indus and west of the River Râvî including Chambâ, and excluding Lâhaul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lâhôr State according to the provisions of Article 4 of the treaty of Lâhôr, dated the 9th March 1846.

Art. 2. The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh respectively for the purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Art. 3. In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh will pay to the British Government the sum of 75 *lâkhs* of Nânakshâhî rupees, 50 *lâkhs* to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and 25 *lâkhs* on or before the 1st October of the current year A. D. 1846.

Art. 4. The limit of the territories of the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Art. 5. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes on questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lâhôr, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Art. 6. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh engages for himself and his heirs to join the British troops with the whole of his military force when these are employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Art. 7. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor any subject of any other European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Art. 8. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh engages to respect in reference to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles 5, 6, and 7 of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lâhôr *darbâr*, dated March 11th, 1846.

Art. 9. The British Government will give its aid to the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Art. 10. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kaśmîr shawls.

This treaty consisting of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the direction of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, and by the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amṛitsar on the 16th March 1846, corresponding to the 17th Rabi, the first A. H. 1262.

(Signed) H. Hardinge (seal). F. Currie. H. M. Lawrence.[3]

On this occasion the Governor-General sent his children on a pleasure trip to Kaśmîr, and enjoined the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Singh to care take of them as if they were his own. He was delighted with the proposal and started the same day to Jasrôtâ, and during his journey Utam Singh, with his troops, as also other chiefs, paid him allegiance. On his arrival at Jasrôtâ he presented the author's father with a *jâgîr* producing a revenue of Rs. 1,000 per annum, and conferred likewise other favours upon him. He also sent Dîwân Harî Chand with Sikh and other troops to conquer the **Hazâra district.** Shortly afterwards, the Mahârânî, spouse of Gulâb Singh, who had been ailing for some time, died, and internal troubles arose in Kaśmîr among his own vassals, which were quelled and the rebels punished, but only with the aid of English troops. The *zamîndârs* of the Hazâra district being also very turbulent, Gulâb Singh desired to exchange it for that of Manâwar and Gharî, which was in charge of Major Abbot on behalf of the Pañjâb government. Accordingly the Hazâra district was made over to it, and the two desired districts to Gulâb Singh, by a *sanad*, dated 5th May 1847.

When the English officials **Ayrton and Anderson,** who had gone to Multân in the early part of A. D. 1848, were both slain by the troops of Mûlrâj, **Major Edwardes** marched with the Khâlṣa army in command of the **Sardâr Shêr Singh Aṭârîwâlâ** to conquer Multân, and encamped at Sûrajkund. The **Sardâr Chhatar Singh Aṭârîwâlâ,** who was in charge of the Hazâra district, then made an **alliance with Dôst Muḥammad Khân,** Amîr of Afghânistân, and attempted to conquer the Pañjâb. Accordingly **Lord Gough** attacked him with the British forces, and defeated him at Râmnagar and Chiliâṅwâlâ, although the Sikhs fought bravely. About this time also Multân fell, and the Sikhs were routed at Gujrât after the English troops had been reinforced by those of the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Singh. After this the Khâlṣa army submitted at Râwal Piṇḍî, and the Pañjâb was reduced to tranquillity.[4]

Multân under the Sikh government had been administered by the Dîwân Sâwan Mall who, having been slain by an assassin, was succeeded by his son, the **Dîwân Mûlrâj.** The latter failed to pay regularly the tribute due. Accordingly the *darbâr* reported the matter to **Sir John Lawrence,** who had, after the overthrow of the Khâlṣa power, been appointed Resident at Lâhôr. The Dîwân Mûlrâj was summoned to Lâhôr, but excused himself by alleging that the province was disturbed, and that his brothers were contending for the supremacy with him, and he said that he would be glad if the British government would send officials to settle the accounts, exonerating him from all responsibility after the payment of the arrears due. Sir John Lawrence, however, procrastinated this business and allowed Mûlrâj to return, but

[3] [The value of this version of the treaty is that it gives the account current in Kaśmîr. — R. C. T.]

[4] These and the following events are narrated also in the last Chapter of the *Ẓafarnâma*, but the account differs in several respects from the above.

when **Sir Frederick Currie** took his place as Resident at Lâhôr, he sent **Mr. Ayrton and Mr. Anderson** to accompany the **Sardâr Kânh Siṅgh Mân,** who had been appointed to supersede the Dîwân Mûlrâj as Ṣûbahdâr of Multân. When these officials paid their visit to Mûlrâj, requesting him to surrender the keys of the fort and his authority over the province, he replied in an abusive and cunning manner, and when they returned to the *'idgâh* where they were lodged, some miscreants assailed them, pierced the breast of Mr. Ayrton with a lance, and killed Mr. Anderson with a sword. Then a great disturbance arose, the troops prepared for hostilities, and the Sikh escort of the English officials joined them, and the Sardâr Kânh Siṅgh was taken prisoner and conveyed to Mûlrâj. Sir Frederick Currie having been informed of what had taken place, at once despatched Sikh troops under the command of the Sardâr Shêr Siṅgh to punish the rebels of Multân. The army of the **Nawâb of Bahâwalpûr** and **Major (Sir Herbert) Edwardes,** who had arrived from the district of Bannû, swelled the number of the troops; but the fort of Multân was taken only after some English troops sent from Bombay had arrived. At this time the **Sardâr Chhatar Siṅgh Aṭârîwâla,** who had been sent by the Lâhôr government to take over the administration of the Hazâra country, from which the author's father had withdrawn when Gulâb Siṅgh obtained the *'ilâqa* of Manâwar in exchange for it, becoming afraid for his own safety, because the Sikh troops under his command had slain an English officer in the service of the Khâlṣa government, conceived that he had no other remedy but to revolt. He persisted in this although Sir Frederick Currie had sent the Râjâ Dînâ Nâth to dissuade him. He also repeatedly sent letters to his son Shêr Siṅgh with orders to join the troops of Mûlrâj, which he obeyed; whilst he himself prepared for hostilities, and was reinforced from every side by great numbers of Sikhs, who, vainly imagining that they would overthrow the government, began to plunder the country in every direction, and burnt the bridge of boats across the Râvî at Râjghât near Shâhdara. **Arjun Siṅgh,** son of the late Hârî Siṅgh, occupied the country as far as Gujrânwâlâ, whilst on the other side the graceless **Râm Siṅgh** kicked up the dust of rebellion at Nûrpûr. Chhatar Siṅgh, having arrived at Pêshâwar, despatched the Khâlṣa troops who had made common cause with him, to Râwal Piṇḍî. Here Messrs. **Lawrence and Boyd** whôm the **Sardâr Sulṭân Muḥammad Khâṅ Bârukzâi**[5] had caused to be captured, were sent to him. **Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ,** the Amîr of Afghânistân, also came to the aid of Chhatar Siṅgh, and intended to conquer Kaśmîr, Hazâra and Râwal Piṇḍi as far as the Jhêlam. Sardâr Chhatar Siṅgh surrendered the fort of Aṭak, which he had taken with his help, to the Amîr.

Gulâb Siṅgh having in former times been on friendly terms with **Chhatar Siṅgh,** the latter now sent envoys to Śrînagar, requesting his aid in this war, which would in that case, said they, terminate by Gulâb Siṅgh becoming the sovereign of the Pañjâb, to whom Chhatar Siṅgh would be glad to pay homage. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh replied with his natural shrewdness, that as the Khâlṣa government had sold him to the English, it is now his bounden duty to remain loyal to the latter, and advised Chhatar Siṅgh, through his own mediation, to crave pardon for what he had done, saying that he remembered well how often the late Mahârâjâ Ranjît Siṅgh had said, that whoever opposes the English ensures only his own ruin. The Bakhshî Hîrânand, who had come to Śrînagar as envoy from Chhatar Siṅgh was detained under surveillance, and the envoy of the Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ, who had arrived with letters and presents of horses and Persian swords to obtain the aid of the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, was not admitted to his presence, or even permitted to enter Śrînagar, and returned without effecting anything. Gulâb Siṅgh had offered the English to march with his troops to the Hazâra district to quell the rebellion. **Sir Frederick Currie** delayed his reply, but at last advised that the rebels should be prevented from entering the mountain districts. The Dîwân Harî Chand then marched from Jammûṅ to Manâwar, and another portion of the troops, commanded by Sayyid Ghulâm 'Âli Shâh and Zôrâwar Siṅgh, was ordered to punish Râm Siṅgh. This force, operating under the direction of **Sir John Lawrence,** who was at that time

[5] This is the name of the author of the *Târîkh-i-Sulṭânî.*

Commissioner at Jâlandhar, did good service, as did the forces of Nûr Muḥammad, commanded by Major Harrison. Orders were also issued to hold the families of all those responsible who might leave Jammûṅ and enrol themselves among the Sikhs, or make common cause with the rebels. For this reason the houses of certain persons in the *'ilâqa* of Jasrôtâ were burnt down. This example was so effective, that henceforth none of the subjects of the Jammûṁ government joined the Khâlṣa forces. On that occasion the English troops, commanded by **General Nicholson,** were encamped at Râmnagar, whilst the Sikh troops, who crossed the Chînâb had taken up a position near Wazîrâbâd. Some *palṭans* of them, however, who were stationed at Jammûṅ, desired to join their comrades there, but the government deprived them, by a stratagem, of their arms and accoutrements, and when they wanted to recover them by force, the *palṭan* of Brajrâj succeeded in foiling their intention. Dharm Siṅgh was, for his bravery in this affair promoted to the rank of colonel.

Whilst the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh was at Śrînagar, **Raṇbîr Siṅgh** governed the district of Jammûṅ with ability; but the whole of the Pañjâb was disturbed. The **Amîr Dôst Muḥammad Khâṅ** joined the Sikh army, while Major Abbot evacuated the Hazâra district and retired to the *mûz'a* of Bhârkôṭ, where Gulâb Siṅgh loyally sent him in leather bags a large sum of money by trustworthy merchants, as well as gunpowder and small pieces of artillery. Qâzî Nâdir 'Alî Khâṅ was also sent, and remained in constant attendance upon him. In the same way the author's father attended upon Sir Frederick Currie at Lâhôr, in order to be of service whenever an opportunity presented itself.

The **Sardâr Shêr Siṅgh** marched from Multân to avoid the British troops, which were besieging it, by order of his father Chhatar Siṅgh, and after joining the rebels encountered the forces commanded by **General Nicholson at Râmnagar,** which crossed the Chînâb and surprised him early in the morning. His troops fought bravely, but they had to yield at last. The next action took place at **Chiliâṅwâlâ** in which **Lord Gough,** the Commander-in-Chief, was present, and used his artillery with terrible effect, but the Sikhs, undaunted by it, followed the heroic example of Shêr Siṅgh who led them, and the contest ceased only when darkness set in. The English remained on the battlefield, and the Khâlṣa army marched on about two *kôs* and encamped at the *mûz'a* of Rasûl, where, however, difficulties arose, provisions being scarce, whereas they were plentiful in **Gujrât.** Accordingly it marched there. Colonel Lawrence now informed the author's father that the English meant to strike a final blow at the Sikhs, and that therefore it would be proper to guard all the roads and passes leading to the country of Jammûṅ and Kaśmîr, and to disarm any Sikhs who might attempt to enter, and to station detachments of troops at Manâwar, Bhimbar, Mîrpûr, and other localities near the mountains. Ṭâhir Khâṅ, agent for the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh in attendance on **Major Mackison,** always communicated the orders of the English officers to the Dîwân Harî Chand, who was stationed with the troops at Mîrpûr, from which *'ilâqa* also the commissariat of the British troops was supplied. At last **the great battle at Gujrât** took place. The English began the action with artillery, and the Sardâr Chhatar Siṅgh attacked one flank with Afghân Cavalry, whilst Shêr Siṅgh rushed upon the other. Here **Râm Siṅgh Chhâpâwâlâ,** who firmly and valiantly stood his ground, lost his life. After the Sikhs had been defeated and dispersed, many of them purchased their safety from the officials of Gulâb Siṅgh in various localities, but were disarmed and deprived of their horses and elephants. A number of them were captured near the fort of Maṅgalâ, and rendered harmless by being deprived of their weapons. The Khâlṣa troops, who had intended to march to Pêshâwar, and were now encamped under the command of Chhatar Siṅgh and Shêr Siṅgh, unanimously laid down their arms and sued for quarter. The disturbances in the whole of the Pañjâb having thus been brought to a conclusion, **Mr. (Sir Henry) Elliot,** the Chief Secretary to the government in the Foreign Department, held with the consent of **Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence** a general *darbâr* in the fort of Lâhôr, where the **Mahârâjâ Dalîp Siṅgh** was living with all the notables. The annexation of the Pañjâb to the British dominions was published, and Dalîp Siṅgh deposed.

Some time afterwards **Lord Dalhousie**, the Governor-General in India, paid a visit to Lâhôr, and sent Dalîp Siṅgh to Karâchî. Gulâb Siṅgh, having remained in Jammûṅ, had no interview with the Viceroy, but when Lord [*sic*] **Napier**, the Commander-in-Chief, arrived, Sir John Lawrence went there and conveyed Gulâb Siṅgh to Siâlkôṭ, where a meeting with the Commander-in-Chief took place.

Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh, at the commencement of the year 1907,[6] travelled *viâ* Râmpûr to Kaśmîr, and Colonel **Sir Henry Lawrence** and Lady Montgomery and Captain Hudson entered it by way of Nihâl. The Dîwân and Raṇbîr Siṅgh went to receive the party, and Gulâb Siṅgh went in a boat as far as Baṭwârâ, and lodged his guests in the Kôṭhî Bâgh, where he enjoyed their company till they departed on a tour to Skârdô and Ladâkh. About this time the auspicious birth of **Miâṅ Partâb Siṅgh**[7] took place. It was celebrated with great rejoicings, and when Colonel Lawrence departed from Kaśmîr, the author's father accompanied him as far as Lâhôr, and then returned to Jammûṅ. Gulâb Siṅgh next proceeded in great state with Raṇbîr Siṅgh, Jawâhir Siṅgh, Môtî Siṅgh, and other notables to Wazîrâbâd. When the party arrived at Suchêtgaṛh, Mr. John Inglis, Deputy Commissioner of Wazîrâbâd, with **Mr. Prinsep,** met it, and on reaching the cantonment the English troops fired a salute of artillery. At Shâhdara, Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence came to meet Gulâb Siṅgh with **Sir Robert Montgomery,** Commissioner of Lâhôr, and **Lord Napier (of Magdala)** who bore at that time the rank of colonel. When the cavalcade approached the cantonment of Wazîrâbâd, Brigadier-General Horsey and other officers came to meet Gulâb Siṅgh, and escorted him to his residence. The regiment of infantry and the *rasâla* of cavalry stationed there were drawn up, and the artillery fired a salute. Mr. [Sir Henry] Elliot, Chief Secretary, with Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence, then paid a visit to Gulâb Siṅgh, but for a day or two no interview could take place between him and **Lord Dalhousie,** the latter having sent excuses through the Secretary that he was suffering from a boil on the leg. When, however, afterwards Gulâb Siṅgh proceeded to the tent of the Governor-General, accompanied by the Brigadier and other officials, the troops were drawn out, and a salute was fired. On Gulâb Siṅgh's entering the tent the Viceroy went as far as the edge of the carpet to meet him, shook hands with him cordially, and seated him on his right hand. A salute of artillery having again been fired, the distribution of presents began, and the Viceroy spoke in a friendly manner, especially when he bestowed a robe of honour on **Raṇbîr Siṅgh.** Then he said : "Your father has risen to his high station under the sway of the late Mahârâjâ Raṇjît Siṅgh, whose image he is said to be still worshipping, and I hope that you will, in your turn, be likewise loyal to Her Majesty the Queen." At the same time he handed him her miniature set in a ring. Raṇbîr Siṅgh replied, that as he had greatly profited by his father's services to Raṇjît Siṅgh, he had himself gained ten-fold more from the graciousness of Her Majesty whom he would loyally serve with body and soul. The Dîwân received a robe of honour, and obtained, in addition, at the request of Sir Henry Lawrence, a horse with a golden saddle, the Viceroy observing that they were given to him as a reward for his loyalty to the government. When the robe of honour was bestowed upon the Dîwân Harî Chand, Major-General **Sir Walter Gilbert,** commanding officer of the forces in the Pañjâb, rose, and, addressing the Governor General, said that when the British forces pursued the rebels and crossed the Bhôṭ River, they could not have effected the crossing so easily nor obtained the aid of the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh's army without the help of the Dîwân. Accordingly he received further presents. Various other officers also obtained dresses of honour, and among them the author of this book. Next day the Viceroy paid a return visit to the tent of the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh and was met half-way by the Mahârâjâ, who distributed on that occasion costly gifts and fleet horses. The next day a grand review of the troops took place, after witnessing which the Mahârâjâ took leave and departed to Jammûṅ.

[6] A. D. 1850.

[7] This is the present Mahârâjâ, whose father, the late Mahârâjâ Raṇbîr Siṅgh, died on the 12th September 1885.

In St. 1907,[8] the **Dârdû** people, who possessed, on the north-western frontier of **Kaśmîr,** the strong and inaccessible fort of **Chilâs** in the mountains, made incursions and plundered the adjacent possessions of Gulâb Siṅgh. The severity of the winter prevented their punishment. So he despatched in the spring of the following year Dîwân Harî Chand with sufficient forces and officers, including the Wazîr Zôrâwar, Colonel Bijai Siṅgh, Colonel Jawâhir Siṅgh, Pûjan Siṅgh, and Dîwân Ṭhakurdâs to attack the fort. They accordingly besieged it in spite of its extreme height, expecting to starve the garrison into surrender, but did not succeed. The commissariat of the besieging force was defective, and no provisions were obtainable on the spot, whilst the male portion of the garrison was indefatigable during the night, and the women continued firing musketry during the day. A portion of the troops in command of Colonel Dêvî Siṅgh Jaṇḍîwâlâ erected a stockade in a place called Saṅgal, but he was attacked in the night by the population of the surrounding district, and in the fight the commander barely escaped with life. Meanwhile the besiegers attempted to take the fort by storm, but the scaling ladders were too short. The garrison hurled stones as well as fired upon the assailants and killed about 1,500 of them, among whom were also several brave officers. For all that, however, the besieging force did not lose heart, but subsisted on the leaves and bark of trees for food. During this campaign **Gulâb Siṅgh's health declined,** as he suffered from diabetes, and **Raṇbîr Siṅgh,** being stationed at Sôpûr, carried on the administration of the district with the aid of the author of this work, who had been attached to his service. Meanwhile the besiegers, who knew that the garrison of the fort of Chilâs would be compelled to surrender if it could be deprived of water, dug a mine, and caused all the water to flow out from the only tank in the fort, whereon the garrison drank oil for three days, and was from thirst under the necessity of beginning negotiations for surrender. While these were going on the people of the fort began gradually to leave it, whereon most of them were slain or retained as prisoners. The grain stored in the fort relieved the troops from the miseries of hunger but before they departed they burnt the place, taking with them some chiefs of the district whom they had made prisoners, such as Dûri Khâṅ, Raḥmatu'llah and others. They were however, set free on promising to pay tribute, but their sons were retained as hostages.

As already noticed Gulâb Siṅgh became sick during this campaign, but when the information reached him that his troops were suffering from hunger, he averred that his malady had disappeared and insisted on marching in person to the scene of hostilities. His courtiers dissuaded him, and suggested that any one of them would gladly undertake the duty, whereon he appointed for that purpose Dîwân Nihâl Chand and the Paṇḍit Râja Khâk. On that occasion also **Jotishî Brajlâl, who was a perfect astrologer,** came forward, and told him to be of good cheer, because the fort of Chilâs had been, or would be, taken on that day by his brave warriors, who would find in it boundless stores of grain. The Mahârâjâ was incredulous, but the prediction was nevertheless fulfilled, and he rewarded the astrologer amply.

Having partially recovered from his diabetes, Gulâb Siṅgh left Srînagar and went to Jammûṅ. He was joined during the march by **Môtî Siṅgh,** who had a grievance against the **Râjâ Jawâhir Siṅgh** and met him at a distance of one *farsang* from Jammûṅ. The two Râjâs, Môtî and Jawâhir, were brothers, and as their dispute could not be settled locally, it was submitted to the English authoritie., for which purpose they departed to **Lâhôr.** From Jammûṅ Gulâb Siṅgh went to Riâsî, which is four *farsangs* to the north of it, and there he was informed that **Santôkh Siṅgh, the Ṭhânadâr of Gilgit,** had left the fort with the garrison, trusting to the false promises of the **Râjâ of Nagarî,** and was slain by the rebels. But Dêvî Dâs commanding the fort of Manâwar held out for some time, and at last sallied forth to be killed by his antagonists, who amounted to more than 4000. **He had, however, taken the precaution of slaying all the women to save their honour,** and then sacrificed his own life, fighting bravely. The same fate overtook Bhûp Siṅgh who held the fort of Pûrî, for he too was compelled by hunger to come out and give battle to the Râjâ of Nagarî, who had sworn that he

[8] A. D. 1850.

would spare the lives of the garrison, but treacherously attacked and slew it, as soon as it came out from the fort. The ringleader of the rebellion was one **Gauhar Raḥmân** who had conquered Gilgit and sold his captives into slavery. He was ultimately subdued.

Just at this period, when Gulâb Siṅgh's troops were fully occupied at home, **Colonel Lawrence** sent him a *kharîta* to the effect, that as the rebels of the **Hazâra district** were again disturbing it, he ought as quickly as possible to despatch some forces there. He sent four regiments which acquitted themselves so well that they earned the approbation of the British government. Meanwhile **Jawâhir Siṅgh,** who was of an ambitious turn of mind, had been reminded by some of his turbulent friends, that when the English authorities settled the government they had not increased his *jâgîr* by adding to it **Jasrôtâ** with other estates that had belonged to the late Râjâ Hîrâ Siṅgh, and that his journey to Lâhôr had remained fruitless. Maulavî Maẓhar 'Alî, who was in the service of Gulâb Siṅgh and had become intimate with Jawâhir Siṅgh through 'Abdullâh Khâṅ the Afghân, also persuaded him that he might obtain one-half of the dominions of Gulâb Siṅgh. This man's intrigues, however, ended in his capture by the English when he was in Pêshâwar for the purpose of enlisting men in the Swât district and his deportation to the Pañjâb, where he was imprisoned. Jawâhir Siṅgh then went again to Lâhôr in the hope of inducing Sir John Lawrence to make him independent of Gulâb Siṅgh, whose vassal he was, but could not succeed, and so he at last made preparations for hostilities which proved to be of no avail in consequence of the precautions taken by Gulâb Siṅgh.

The **Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh** had, on a former occasion, when suffering from his chronic malady, informed Colonel Lawrence of his wish to entrust **Raṇbîr Siṅgh** with the entire administration of the government, and had met with the Colonel's acquiescence. Accordingly he placed, on the 6th of the month Phâgun, St. 1912,[9] his adopted son Raṇbîr Siṅgh upon the throne of dominion, and put with his own hand the saffron-mark on his forehead. The same day also the author of this book was elevated to the rank of Dîwân, received a costly dress of honour, and a handsome inkstand from the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh. The ceremony of installation, to which also the officers of the cantonment of Siâlkôṭ had been invited, took place at Maṇḍî, where a *darbâr* was held, in which all the notables were present, and the father of the author delivered a speech, reminding the young sovereign of his duties towards his subjects, and recommending him to be loyal to the British government. After that day the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh altogether retired from public affairs, and abandoning all worldly pursuits prepared himself for death. He departed to the delightful abode of Kaśmîr, and being troubled also by gout in the hip, fainted one day from weakness whilst bathing. Raṇbîr Siṅgh, having been apprized of his condition, at once hastened from Jammûṅ to pay him a visit. Just then the **Pûrbiâ troops** in the service of the English **burnt the cantonments of Mêraṭh**[10] **(Meerut) and Dehlî,** killed their officers, and mutinies were spreading all over India. The Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh immediately despatched his Dîwân to Râwal Piṇḍî, where Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Pañjâb, happened to be at that time, in order to place the whole of his army and treasure at the disposal of the British government as a proof of his loyalty. He also placed the forts in his possession, but more especially the stronghold of Mangalâ at the disposal of the English troops, and promised to give a cordial welcome to the ladies sojourning in the mountain retreat of Maṛhî (Murree), who were invited to Kaśmîr to remain there in safety. Sir John Lawrence accepted the offer, desired the Dîwân Hari Chand to take command of the troops, and to send ten *lâkhs* of Śrînagarî rupees.

When the Mahârâjâ Gulâb Siṅgh felt his end approaching, he one day gave instructions to the Paṇḍit Śib Śaṅkar for the arrangements to be made for his funeral. He also reminded the author of this book that he had been ordered to write a biography of the Mahârâjâ, but had not yet found time for the work, and hoped that he would not fail to execute it after his demise. The condition of the Mahârâjâ gradually became worse, and a burning fever attacked

[9] A. D. 1855.

[10] On the 11th May 1857.

him repeatedly, which his physicians were unable to subdue; whereon he gave away as alms one *lâkh* and twenty-five thousand 'Srînagarî rupees, a *jâgîr* with a revenue of Rs. 10,000, as well as beautiful gardens, fleet horses, mountain-like elephants, jewellery, and costly garments. He expired on the 20th of the month Sâwan in St. 1914,[11] regretted and lamented by all.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M.F.L.S.

No. 36. — The Wise Men of Puṅganûr; the Madrâsî Gotham.[1]

A generation or two before Mahâmûḍha,[2] there lived in the **kingdom of Puṅganûr** a king named **Nirbuddhi** ('the witless'). Beyond eating, sleeping, and hunting wild beasts, he knew of no pleasures. He was extremely weak in intellect, and as usual was surrounded by equally stupid ministers. Stupidity was the sole possession of His Majesty and the officers of his court; stubbornness and ready execution of orders, their rule of life; and as to knowledge of any thing but what came before their eyes, they had none. One virtue of Nirbuddhi's court was — if it may be termed a virtue — that, whatever the sovereign commanded, the court was ready to obey, and that too at the cost of life!

It is the custom at courts, in villages, and at bathing *ghâṭs* in India, for a Brâhmaṇ to read out of a palm-leaf book, generally called the *pañchâṅg*, the asterism, lunar date, &c., of each day, so that people may know them and be careful to perform the prescribed rites so essential for a Brâhmaṇ and others of the twice-born caste. In accordance with this rule, a poor Brâhmaṇ of Puṅganûr used to proceed to the palace and read out the particulars of each day from the *pañchâṅg*. This he did of hereditary right, as his father and grandfather had done before him, and so there was nothing unusual about it.

On a certain day, just as the king had got out of his bed and sat outside his palace on a cot with a big vessel full of water to wash his face and teeth in, the *pañchâṅg*-reading Brâhmaṇ appeared at his regular morning duty, and read out from a palm-leaf book which he carried under his left arm, thus: —

"Ôṁ! This day is Sunday, the fifteenth day of the month of Mâgha in the year Khara. The lunar day (*tithi*) to-day is Êkâdaśî.[3] Êkâdaśî lasts up to the eleventh *ghaṭikâ*. Then **Êkâdaśî goes out, and Dvâdaśî comes in.** The *râhukâla* (evil time) to-day is at twenty-six and a quarter *ghaṭikâs*. May there be prosperity to all!"

Having thus read out, the Brâhmaṇ was slowly closing his oblong book with a stealthy look at His Majesty's face to see how Nirbuddhi appreciated his remarks. But the storm had already begun. The royal face changed colour.

"Stop, you mischievous Brâhmaṇ!" he said.

The unfolded book dropped down, and the timid creature stood shivering with fear and confusion.

"What is the meaning of this stuff that you are daily muttering? You cannot deceive me as you deceive the public, by the holy ashes so profusely smeared over you and your *rudrâksha* beads. You come to my court daily in the morning and mutter that Dvitîyâ[4] goes out, Tritîyâ[4] comes in; Êkâdaśî[4] goes out, Dvâdaśî[4] comes in; and so on, and so on. I understand! Some one goes out daily and some one comes in without my knowledge; I do not like such a state of affairs in my kingdom. **So I now order that neither shall Êkâdaśî go out, nor shall Dvâdaśî come in.** Will you see to it or not?" roared out the king.

---

[11] A. D. 1857.

[1] Related by a friend from North-Arcot who had spent a great part of his life at Puṅganûr in the North-Arcot District.

[2] See Tale No. 35, *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 78.

[3] The eleventh day of a lunar fortnight.

[4] The 2nd, 3rd, 11th and 12th days of a lunar fortnight.

The harsh tone of His Majesty made his numerous ministers assemble round him and wait with impatience for the Brâhmaṇ's reply!

After bowing, he said respectfully: — "Most gracious sovereign!, permit this mean dog from your wide kingdom to say that **Êkâdaśî and Dvâdaśî are tithis, not to be perceived by mortal eyes, and that it is altogether impossible to prevent the one from going out or the other from coming in."**

"Stop your mouth! you vile Brâhmaṇ," roared out many voices, and for very fear he had to do so.

"Neither shall Êkâdaśî go out, nor shall Dvâdaśî come in," roared out His Majesty, and when the Brâhmaṇ again said that it was impossible, he was at once ordered to jail. A hundred hands were at once at his throat, and he was pushed out of the palace and thrown into prison.

Then His Majesty thus addressed his chief minister: — "Did you hear what that vile wretch said? That Êkâdaśî and Dvâdaśî are *tithis*, not to be perceived by mortal eyes. Do you think that there is anything in this world which would escape our sight?"

"No, my most gracious sovereign!" said the chief minister.

"Then to business," continued the king; "you must set a strict watch over the town and guard every nook and corner, and see that **no person goes out of the town at the eleventh ghaṭikâ to-day, and that no person enters the town at that time."**

"Agreed," said the minister, "I shall keep so strict a guard that even the breeze will find it difficult to move in or out."

"Again," said the king; **"Êkâdaśî and Dvâdaśî may be jugglers,** and they may assume some curious shapes, and thus, defeating our vigilance, may go out or come in. Take care that **no object, either animate or inanimate, brute or mortal, comes in or goes out at the eleventh ghaṭikâ.** Let the time-announcers be strictly warned to give out every second of each *ghaṭikâ* to-day, that you and your soldiers may have your eyes wide open at that exact time."

"All this shall be duly attended to," nodded the chief minister. And many voices were heard extolling the king to the skies at his sagacity in giving such very strict injunctions. His Majesty, not to take up any more of the precious time of his chief minister, ordered him off to his duty, and went into his palace.

The chief minister was entirely lost in admiration for some minutes at the forethought with which the king had given him so many valuable instructions, congratulated himself on his good fortune in having been placed under the benign rule of such an intelligent monarch, and, not to lose any more time in mere praises, got up from his seat. Every soldier in Puṅganûr was proud of his service that day, and of shewing his zeal and energy in guarding the kingdom, and swore an oath that he might be called a bastard if he allowed the Êkâdaśî to escape. The minister too was very proud to see so many faithful followers, and, assembling all the soldiers, arranged them in a circle round the city. Every inch was thus most carefully guarded, and the minister, as he rode round and round, saw many a soldier stretching out his hands and swearing that he would break the head of Êkâdaśî just as he would a ripe cocoanut, if he would only pass his way. Thus was the town most carefully guarded. The minister went his rounds, and the time-announcers bawled out every second with all their might all day long, and there was only one second more for the eleventh *ghaṭikâ* to be finished!

"Attention! Care!" roared out the minister. There was no stir anywhere. Even the elements dreaded on that occasion the power of the minister and his zealous soldiers!

"Eleventh *ghaṭikâ*," roared the time-announcer. Just at that moment a rat ran out close by the minister.

"Êkâdaśî is going out in the disguise of a rat," he shouted.

"Catch him, pull him to pieces," responded many voices. But alas! the rat had already disappeared into his hole in the ground!

"Out upon you, fools! What will our sovereign say when he comes to know that so many of us were on guard to-day, and still allowed Êkâdaśî to escape?" mourned the minister.

"No, my lord, let us bore holes and trace out the disguised Êkâdaśî," said many voices, and at once the operation commenced.

The news, that, at the exact time declared by the Brâhmaṇ, Êkâdaśî in the disguise of a rat had escaped and thus gone out, spread like wild-fire throughout the town. Cursing himself for not being on the spot, the king appeared on the scene, and it was a great consolation to him that Êkâdaśî had entered into a hole, for, wherever he might have gone, he would trace that hole to its very source and take Êkâdaśî prisoner. Thus consoled, after a volley of abuse, he told his minister to go and govern his kingdom in his stead, exercising paternal care over every one, until he came back bringing Êkâdaśî prisoner, It might be the work of a few hours or weeks or months or years, but until the return of the sovereign the minister was to reign over Puṅganûr. Thus was the matter settled. The minister cursed himself for his carelessness at the eleventh *ghaṭikâ* and his failure to catch the runaway *tithi*. However, he consoled himself that he had yet ample opportunities of regaining his lord's favour by good government during his absence in pursuit of Êkâdaśî.

The king set to work with two hundred of his most faithful soldiers, and went on tracing the holes, for one led into another, and before the close of the day he was over five *kôs* away from his kingdom. First a rat, then a mouse, and then a bandicoot, would run out and hide itself in another and yet another hole.

"There goes Êkâdaśî disguised as a mouse, and now as a bandicoot," bawled out the soldiers.

Thus the search continued for several days. Every one worked hard from morn to eve, and rested his weary limbs all night, to begin work with renewed energy the next day. Still Êkâdaśî remained uncaught, and the soldiers undiminished in their zeal and energy as long as the runaway was yet at liberty and the king in the camp.

Meanwhile the minister, true to his master's orders, governed Puṅganûr as a father would his family. The oppressors were punished, the weak were protected, and justice in the peculiar fashion of Puṅganûr was administered to every one who asked for it. The ladies in the seraglio of the king were carefully attended to. Orders were issued that the minister was keeping watch over the kingdom day and night, and that every soul might go to him freely at any time, day or night, and claim his attention and service. Thus was the government of Puṅganûr carried on in excellent fashion, and no one felt for a moment the absence of their gracious king who had gone out in pursuit of Êkâdaśî. In this way a full month passed, till there came the first night of the second month, and about the eleventh *ghaṭikâ*, when the minister was sitting on the outer verandah of his house, chewing betel-leaves after his supper all alone, and revolving in his mind certain new plans and methods of government to be adopted next day,

Suddenly there came running a maid-servant of the queen, gasping for breath.

"What is the matter? Is the Râṇî Ammâ well! Quick! Speak!" said the minister, changing colour at the sudden appearance of the woman, and his body perspiring profusely, partly at the fear excited by such an unexpected visit. and partly from the chewing of warm betel-leaves.

"Oh, great minister," gasped the maid, "God alone must protect us. Our Râṇî always sleeps soundly every night, and as usual went to bed at the fifth *ghaṭikâ* to-night and soon fell into a good snore. We stood round her, fanning her, as is our duty, when at the seventh *ghaṭikâ* her snoring stopped and she said '*hâ*,' and turning on her left side, began to snore again

as usual. **We have never heard her say 'hâ' before in her sleep**; so I have come running to consult you as to the cause of it," gasped the maid.

The minister pondered a while and said: — "The utterance of '*hâ*' usually succeeds a poisonous bite. **I fear that some serpent has stung Her Majesty.** But let us not be rash. You had better fly back to her again and continue your strict watch. If again you observe her say '*hâ*' in her sleep and turn on her side, report it at once to me. Be off at once to your duty."

The maid ran away, and the minister, thinking it unwise to sleep that night, kept wide awake. If a leaf was stirred by the breeze, he imagined it to be the maid coming in again. And at last even so it was, for she appeared again at the fifteenth *ghaṭikâ*, and reported that **a second 'hâ' was uttered in her sleep by the Râṇî.**

"Be not confused! Patience is the motto of great men! Let us hear it a third time, and then we shall be certain that the poison is working. And it won't be too late to commence the cure. Go and watch over Her Majesty,"

Thus the minister again dismissed the maid, but two *ghaṭikâs* were scarcely over before the maid appeared for the third time, with tears in her eyes and said: — "Alas! minister, God is cruel! We are all undone! **The Râṇî uttered 'hâ hâ;' twice, this time!** What shall we do?"

The minister did not know what to do, and **despatched a hasty messenger to fetch the** serpent-doctor.

"Say that the minister requires his services to attend on the Râṇî, who has been bitten by a serpent," said the minister, and off the messenger flew with the swiftness of a kite.

The doctor's house was reached, but he was not at home, for he had gone out on the previous evening to a neighbouring village five *kôs* off, and a messenger went in pursuit of him. Meanwhile the doctor's son, who was also a serpent-doctor on a smaller scale than his father came to the minister.

"Your father is not here then?" said the minister.

"No, my lord; but he will be here early in the morning; but what does your lordship require? My services are at your disposal. I have been for the last ten years a regular student at the feet of my venerable father," replied the boy-doctor.

"Then," said the minister; "the Râṇî is stung by a serpent. You must cure Her Majesty at once of the poison."

"Alas," continued the boy, "I have not yet come to that chapter of the book, but I have heard my father say often that the curing of poisonous bites is an extremely easy thing, provided that the poison has not ascended up to the head. So, as a precaution, **I would advise that the head be separated from the body,** so as to make sure that the venom has not ascended there. If this advice is followed, the cure may be commenced at any time."

"You are a clever doctor, though still a boy. It is most unfortunate that your studies have not yet reached the chapter on poisons. But let us not be wasting time. Well, maid, go back at once to the seraglio, and without the least disturbance **sever the head of the queen from her body and keep it detached.** We shall know if the poison has killed her, when the doctor arrives in the morning. Here is my signet-ring, which will stop any one who might want to prevent you from carrying out my orders."

Thus, giving his signet-ring to the maid-servant and sending the boy-doctor home, the minister retired for a short sleep.

The head of the Râṇî was, alas!, in strict accordance with the orders of the minister, severed from her body, and in a second life went out of her, for no other cause but that of the

extreme stupidity of the Puṅganûr State! Morning dawned, and the old doctor with the messenger returned home, bringing with him his bag containing the rare medicines. He was no doubt a clever man in his profession, but his son, who had reached the Puṅganûr standard of wisdom, reported to him the advice he had given. The father cursed himself for having begotten such a son, and his only thought now was how to rescue himself and his son from the consequences of the murder of the Râṇî. Luckily, nothing was impossible in the kingdom of Puṅganûr. So, hiding his confusion, he stood before the minister, who took him without the loss of a moment to the seraglio. There the body of the queen lay in its blood, minus its head.

"What do you say now? Put the head straight at once and begin your cure," cried the minister.

"Alas! most mighty minister! The maids have been a little careless in placing the severed head. **It should not have been placed exactly opposite the trunk.** The poison has taken the opportunity to travel into the head by the direct road left open! There is no hope of life now! If they had kept the head in any other direction but that exactly opposite, I could have opened my bag and ground my medicine. Now even Dhanvantari[5] himself would find it impossible."

Thus said the old doctor, and put on a mournful face. The minister believed every word he had said, and so did the maids, and fell to quoting the fatalistic argument that the queen had lived out her destined life. So what was the use of mourning over the past? The dead body must be cremated.

"The dead close their eyes in peace: the living have to undergo all the trouble and expense of cremating the body," as the proverb has it, argued the minister to himself. "The queen is dead. The king is now absent in the pursuit of Êkâdaśî. He won't return till that wretched *tithi* is caught. The corpse cannot wait till then. I cannot cremate it in the ground reserved for that purpose; for this is not an ordinary corpse. The king might think himself insulted. She was his queen, while living. I shall not diminish her honour in death, **but will cremate her body in the palace,** at the very spot where she died. If a portion of the palace is burnt down, I can easily have it repaired; but it is impossible to repair the displeasure of an enraged king."

Thus pondering and pondering over the subject, the Puṅganûr minister gave orders for the funeral pile to be heaped upon the very spot where the queen had died. Sandal-wood, black-wood and every costly wood were used: *ghî* was poured on the pyre in profusion; and none had the courage to gainsay the orders of the minister, or the sense to foresee the evils they would produce. The body was set on the pile, and the fire lighted, and not only the pyre but **the whole palace was in flames!**

Now, it is considered the greatest of insults in Hindu society, to put out the fire of the funeral pyre until the body is consumed. So, notwithstanding that the whole palace was in flames, the minister never thought of putting out the fire.

Pondered he: — "What would the king think of me if I, his minister, — his servant, — put out the fire before the body of the queen was consumed? Let the palace, or even the whole town, be burnt down; but let no one dare to quench the funeral fire." Thus did he order, and **almost half of the town was in flames** by the time the body of the queen was entirely burnt. By that time, the fire raged so severely that no one dared to approach it. No amount of ordinary water could quench it. What was to be done?

Just then a thought came into the mind of the minister, that **it would be the wisest course to break open the embankment of a big lake five kôs long and five kôs broad,** situated at the western end of the town and on a higher level! The order was executed in a moment, and a huge volume of water rushed down in full force, and in the twinkling of an eye **had carried**

[5] The god of medicines.

away almost the whole town, and of course quenched the fire. The minister and other high officials of the State, guided by the instinct of self-preservation, had located themselves, with many others who were destined to live, on the embankment, and were thus saved.

When the body of the queen had been thus cremated, and the fire quenched, **the minister thought it his duty to send a full report of his administration to the absent king.** He filled several pages with a florid account of his good government, in terms which may be left to the imagination. He dwelt at length on his administration of the Puṅganûr kingdom since his master had left it, on the queen's death from the poisonous bite, on the remedies he adopted, on the supremacy of fate, on his own ideas of cremating her body, on its successful accomplishment, on the iron hand of fate that had set the town in flames, on the course he followed to quench the conflagration, and on the procedure he adopted to relieve the sufferers.

He had two very trustworthy peons under him: one a *Nâyak*, named **Koṇḍal Nâyakan,** and another a Muḥammadan named **Mîrâṅ Sâ.** These two were **jealous of each other,** and each wanted to have the honour of carrying the report in person to His Majesty. **The minister chose Mîrâṅ Sâ,** and giving the document to him, ordered him to proceed to the king.

Great was the joy of Mîrâṅ Sâ, not that he himself was chosen, but that Koṇḍal Nâyak was *not* chosen. He took the huge document, tied it in a kerchief round his loins, and marched off in haste. In his joy at the special honour conferred upon him, he walked fast the whole day and almost the whole night, till at last nature began to exert her influence and overpower his zeal. Just at the third *ghaṭikâ* before the dawn of the second day of his journey, he lay down under a tree to rest a while, and fell into a profound sleep. The spot where he slept was near the kingdom of Kârvêtnagar, and in a neighbouring village **there lived a barber,** who used every morning to go to the palace of Kârvêtnagar to shave the king; but, however fine and sharp his razor might be, the king always found fault with him for being a bad hand at his work. Now the barber happened to pass by the spot where Mîrâṅ Sâ was asleep, and thought he to himself:—

"The king always accuses me of being a bad hand at shaving. I shall just test the truth of his remarks. Here is a person asleep, and if I successfully shave him without rousing him, what doubt will there be then that I am a first-rate barber?"

Thus resolving, he placed his cup with water in it before the sleeping peon and set to work. First he **shaved Mîrâṅ Sâ's beard** clean off, and **twisted up the Muḥammadan's moustache into the form and cut of a Nâyak's.** He then **applied the Nâyak caste mark to Mîrâṅ Sâ's forehead,** and setting a glass in front of the sleeper, replaced his razor and cup in his bag, and, glad at heart that he had shaved a sleeping person without disturbing him and that he was a very clever hand at his work, he proceeded to Kârvêṭnagar.

A *ghaṭikâ* or two after the barber had left, **Mîrâṅ Sâ awoke** from his sleep. He saw his face reflected in the glass in front of him. The Nâyak cut of his moustaches, and the mark on his forehead, were prominently noticed by him.

Said he in amazement to himself: — "What, after all, the minister has deceived me! I prided myself yesterday that the minister had sent Mîrâṅ Sâ to the king.[6] Now I see that the person that goes to the king is not Mîrâṅ Sâ, but Koṇḍal Nâyakan! Ah! vile minister. You have deceived me. You have not sent Mîrâṅ Sâ, but Koṇḍal Nâyakan, to the king. However, I shall soon have an opportunity of carrying tales to the king. **I shall report to His Majesty how you deceived me, by sending Mîrâṅ Sâ first and Koṇḍal Nâyakan afterwards."**

Thus argued the transformed Mîrâṅ Sâ, and rose up and proceeded to the king and handed him the administration report. The king read over the whole document with the greatest imaginable pleasure, and was apparently satisfied with every act of his minister! What

[6] This is an extremely fine specimen of Puṅganûr wisdom, where a person, forgetting his own identity, imagines to himself that he is a different person, and argues to himself as if he were sometimes himself and sometimes another.

else could the readers expect from a fool who was in pursuit of Êkâdaśî? At the last page His Majesty stopped and said: —

"What a fool the minister is! He has filled so many pages with every possible information, but is **silent on a most important point. There were several kinds of fish in the Puṅganûr lake.** He has not said a word about them. **Where did they go when the embankment was cut open?** What became of them? Why has the fool not put in a word about it?"

Just as the monarch finished his last sentence, the transformed Mîrâṅ Sâ said: —"Most gracious sovereign, I can give Your Majesty the information needed, for I was that day on the very spot. As soon as the embankment was cut open and the waters rushed out, **all the fish** in the lake **climbed up the babûl trees** which are so numerous on the bank, and **building their nests there, are living safe in them at this very moment!**"

Thus said Mîrâṅ Sâ, or Koṇḍal Nâyakan, as you may choose to term him. The king was highly pleased, as he was sure to see his fish in their nests on the *babûl* trees on his return to his kingdom! For the great consolation thus given him in good time, he **appointed Mîrâṅ Sâ to the minister's post and ordered him to govern Puṅganûr in his absence,** and degraded the minister who had omitted to remark on the fish in his report. Thus Mîrâṅ Sâ, without any effort of his own, got the minister's place, and receiving the order, started back for Puṅganûr **But all the way he was in great doubt as to who had been made minister** — Mîrâṅ Sâ or Koṇḍal Nâyakan! "God must descend from his high place in heaven to clear up such a doubt!" said he, as he returned to Puṅganûr, and took his seat as Viceroy of Puṅganûr.

While all these changes were taking place, **Êkâdaśî remained uncaught.** The more they searched, the more distant seemed the hope of ever catching him. Sometimes he took the form of a bird and flew away, and sometimes he was transformed into a hare. Thus there was no end to his jugglery, transformations and transmigrations. The king had already been in pursuit of him for nearly a year, and there was still no hope of Êkâdaśî being caught, and of the king returning to Puṅganûr.

In the Kârvêṭnagar State, there lived an intelligent Brâhmaṇ who had long been witness of the mad acts of Nirbuddhi, and it seemed to him that there would be no end to them. He pitied the stupidity of the monarch, and wanted to convince him of his foolishness by a simple example. He hired a palanquin and half a dozen bearers. Seating himself in it, he ordered the bearers to carry him with a loud sing-song howl through Nirbuddhi's camp.

"If the king asks you who goes in the palanquin, **tell him that Êkâdaśî, the Brâhmaṇ, rides in it.**"

Thus instructing the bearers, the Brâhmaṇ proceeded in his palanquin, and Nirbuddhi heard a great sing-song howl near his camp.

"Stop that palanquin! Who is he that dares to ride in it so boldly, notwithstanding that Our Majesty is encamped here?" Thus said the king, and the bearers replied as already instructed by the Brâhmaṇ.

Thought the king: — "Blessed be my life to-day! I have been searching almost a whole year for Êkâdaśî! This Brâhmaṇ, who is named after him, must be able to give me some clue as to how to catch him."

Thus thinking, he saluted the Brâhmaṇ, and requested him to help in catching Êkâdaśî.

The Brâhmaṇ came down from the palanquin, and said: — "Most gracious monarch! We are all men. **Êkâdaśî is a god.** We cannot catch him. Since you have been in pursuit of him, he has been to Puṅganûr twenty-four times,[7] and returned back to his palace."

"What!" said the astonished king. "How can he go to Puṅganûr, while so many of us are pursuing him? I saw him last evening running away as a hare."

[7] Quite true: there had been 24 *Êkâdaśîs* in the interval.

"No, my supreme lord ! you are wrong. Can you prevent the sun from going to Puṅganûr by all your vigilance ? It must go and return every day : is it not so ? Even so Êkâdaśî travels with the sun, and appears once on every fifteenth day at Puṅganûr as the sun appears there every day."

This simple illustration at last convinced the king, that all his efforts to catch the Êkâdaśî were a mad-man's project after all ! He returned to his kingdom, and, appointing Êkâdaśî, the Brâhmaṇ, as his minister, reigned for a long time. Owing to the intelligence of this minister, the kingdom improved a little, but they say that it took several generations for it to reach the level of the intelligence of its neighbours !

MISCELLANEA.

THE SINES OF ARCS IN THE PANCHA-SIDDHANTIKA.

I have just seen Prof. Thibaut's *Pañchasiddhântikâ*, and would call attention to ch IV., translation, pp. 23, 24. In ś11. 6—11 we are told that the 'sines' of the twenty-four arcs are — '7 minutes 51 seconds,' '15 minutes 40 seconds,' &c. Comparing these values with those given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, we remark that, if we read *degrees* and *minutes* instead of 'minutes' and 'seconds,' we have rather more than double the values given for these sines in later astronomical works : in fact we find that the radius or sine of 90° is in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* made equal to 3438′ or 57° 18′ or the *chord* of 60° ; but in the *Pauliśa-Siddhânta* it is made equal to 120′ (or perhaps *degrees*). Now we find Ptolemy, in his table of 'right-lines' or chords, divides the radius into 60 parts (or 'degrees') and subdivides them sexagesimally for the values of the chords of each arc. The *Pauliśa-Siddhânta* had followed the same system, if it did not derive the actual values from Ptolemy, by the shortest and best way, dividing the arcs by 2, while retaining the values of the chords as the simplest method of preserving the exact values of these ratios without fractional parts of a minute. The agreement is shown in the following table, where the 'arcs' are multiples of 3° 45′ in the Hindu table of sines, and of 7° 30′ in Ptolemy's table of Chords :—

No of arc.	Pa°-Siddh.° sines.	Ptolemy's chords.	No. of arc.	Pa°-Siddh.° sines.	Ptolemy's chords.	No. of arc.	Pa°-Siddh.° sines.	Ptolemy's chords.
1	7° 51′	7° 50′ 54″	9	66° 40′	66° 40′ 7″	17	107° 38′	107° 37′ 30″
2	15° 40′	15° 39′ 47″	10	73° 3′	73° 3′ 5″	18	110° 53′	110° 51′ 52″
3	23° 25′	23° 24′ 39″	11	79° 7′	79° 7′ 18″	19	113° 38′	113° 37′ 54″
4	31° 4′	31° 3′ 30″	12	84° 51′	84° 51′ 10″	20	115° 56′	115° 54′ 40″
5	38° 34′	38° 34′ 22″	13	90° 13′	90° 13′ 15″	21	117° 43′	117° 41′ 40″
6	45° 56′	45° 55′ 19″	14	95° 13′	95° 12′ 9″	22	119° 0′	118° 58′ 25″
7	53° 5′	53° 4′ 29″	15	99° 46′	99° 46′ 35″	23	119° 45′	119° 44′ 36″
8	60° 0′	60° 0′ 0″	16	103° 56′	103° 55′ 23″	24	120° 1′	120° 0′ 0″

From this it will be seen that most of them agree to the nearest minute, and only a very few differ by a full minute; and in the case of the 24th we must suppose an error in the text, as it differs from the radius. The others may have arisen from errors of computation when fractions are rejected, or from inaccuracies in the MS. Whether the values are to be expressed in minutes and seconds, as Prof. Thibaut has rendered his text, or in degrees and minutes, must depend on the manuscripts ; all that is meant by these in Ptolemy and this *Siddhânta* is *equal parts* of the radius or diameter, and nothing of the nature of arcs.

The differences too of these sines, given in ś11. 12—15, are also included in Ptolemy's table, and he explains their use for interpolation. No use is assigned to them in the *Siddhânta*; but if the second differences are noted it will be seen how irregular they are, especially towards the end of the series, — a proof of slight errors in the sines themselves.

From śl. 1 of this chapter IV., we find $\pi = \sqrt{10}$ or 3·1623, and the circumference being 360° this gives the radius equal to the arc of 56° 55′: the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* makes this 57°18′ or 3438′, and employs this as the sine of 90°, which is a distinct and important advance on the method of the older *Siddhânta*.

Lastly, the ratio of 57° 18′ to 120° being nearly as 21 to 44, or, better, as 191 to 400, the *Pauliśa-Siddhanta* values of the sines may be compared with those of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, by multiplying the former by 21 and dividing by 44 ; or more accurately, by multiplying by 191 and dividing by 400.

J. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 24*th March* 1891.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

BY E. SENART, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

Translated by G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., and revised by the Author.

(*Continued from p.* 170.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE AUTHOR AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

IT has been my intention, when undertaking this re-investigation into the epigraphical monuments left by Piyadasi, that it should not be concluded without bringing together the conclusions to which they lead or of which they furnish the essential elements, both from the point of view of history and chronology, and also from that of palæography and grammar. It is the varied problems which these curious inscriptions raise, and to the solution of which they contribute, that give them such inestimable value. We cannot well leave them aside. We shall have, in turn, not only to sum up results arrived at, but sometimes, also, to offer new remarks.

The task divides itself naturally into two parts; the first devoted to the author of the inscriptions, his date, his character, his administration, his moral and religious ideas, — in short, his place in historical development; and the second dealing with palæographic and linguistic facts, and the information derived therefrom regarding the literary culture of ancient India.[1]

I. — THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

A number of chronological and historical problems are connected, directly or indirectly, with our inscriptions and their author. The end which I have in view does not compel me to take up all, and I desire to limit myself as much as possible to summing up and classifying the items of information that the edicts, which we have passed in review, contain.

Three questions force themselves at first upon our attention as being of importance for further investigations. We must know if all the inscriptions, on which we have commented, belong certainly to the same author; who that author really is; and in what chronological order the epigraphic documents which he has left us range themselves.

Regarding the first point, doubts can only arise with respect to the inscriptions more lately discovered at **Sahasarâm, Rûpnâth, and Bairât.** The author calls himself simply by the epithet of **Dêvânaṁpiya,** and omits the proper name Piyadasi. No one can doubt that all the others emanate from one and the same person. Wilson has indeed put forward a singular theory on this subject.[2] According to him, the different inscriptions were probably engraved by local sovereigns. or by influential religious personages, who, to give themselves more authority, have usurped the celebrated name of Piyadasi; but this hypothesis depends upon so many errors of translation and apprehension, is so evidently contradicted by the unity of tone which reigns throughout all the edicts, by their perfect agreement and the natural way in which they complete each other, and has besides found so little echo, that it appears superfluous to pause for its consideration.

The same is not the case with regard to the doubts which have been raised by competent judges touching the origin of **the Edict of Sahasarâm and Rûpnâth.** It is known already that I do not consider these doubts to be any better founded than the others. Dr. Bühler, when publishing this edict for the first time, clearly shewed most of the reasons[3] which lead us **to refer**

---

[1] It is, of course, impossible in such a matter, when new contributions are frequently issuing from competent hands, to keep one's own particular work up to date. In these concluding chapters, however, I have tried to avail myself of such new comments as have appeared since the conclusion of my own, whenever they bore upon some topic which necessarily came under consideration. I refer specially to the article, throughout at once learned and ingenious, which Dr. Pischel has devoted to my first volume in the *Göttinger Anzeigen,* and to the *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśôka inschriften* published by Dr. Bühler in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* which are here quoted according to the continuous pagination of the reprints.

[2] *J. R. A. S.* XII. pp. 249 and ff.

[3] *ante,* Vol. VII. pp. 143 ff.

this inscription to the same Piyadasi as he who was the author of all the others;[4] and it is useless to go again over the considerations which he has so well put forward. I have in the examination just concluded, indicated a new reason, drawn from chronological considerations, which could not have struck Dr. Bühler, because it depended on an interpretation altogether different from that which he has proposed. I must here repeat and complete my demonstration, and this will be an opportunity for passing in review the dates, unhappily too rare, which the king furnishes for certain events of his reign.

According to the 13th Edict, the conversion of Piyadasi should date from the ninth year after his coronation. It was immediately after the conquest of Kaliṅga that there awoke in him, under the direct impression of war and its horrors, the intense desire for the *dhaṁma*. With this it is important to connect a piece of evidence in the 8th Edict, of which every one, myself as well as other interpreters, has hitherto misunderstood the bearing.

Since my commentary appeared, this passage has been the subject of two revisions, one by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî[5] and the other by Dr. Bühler. The important sentence is the third. It runs as follows at Girnâr: *sô dêvânampriyô priyadasi râjâ dasavasâbhisitô saṁtô ayâya*[6] *saṁbôdhi.* The text is practically the same in the other versions, the only difference consisting in the substitution of *nikhami* (or *nikhamithâ*) for the verb *ayâya*. The construction and translation of the Paṇḍit cannot be sustained, but Dr. Bühler has made some very just objections against my interpretation, although in his turn he has missed the translation which I now consider to be the true one. It is impossible to credit Piyadasi (as I have indeed always carefully abstained from doing) with pretending to have attained to the Perfect Intelligence, and it would be hazardous to admit that a term so important as *saṁbôdhi* could have been used, at the date of Piyadasi, in a sense so widely different from its technical employment, which is testified to by the whole range of Buddhist literature. It is also certain that the phrase *saṁbôdhiṁ nishkrântuṁ* could hardly be rendered as meaning 'to attain to the Intelligence.' I translate it, therefore, exactly as suggested by Dr. Bühler himself '(der König) zog auf die *saṁbôdhi* aus,' — '(the king) put himself on the way, set out for the *saṁbôdhi*.' But we must adhere to this translation, and not substitute for it, as my learned critic does immediately afterwards, another interpretation which spoils the sense, — 'he put himself on the way, with a view to, on account of, the *saṁbôdhi*.' We recognize here a simple variation of an expression familiar to Buddhist phraseology, *saṁbôdhiṁ prasthâtuṁ*, 'to set out for the Perfect Intelligence put oneself on the way for the *bôdhi*.'[7] As is proved by the passages of the *Lotus*, the expression is commonly applied to men who, tearing themselves from lukewarmness and indifference, engage seriously in the practices of a religious life, or, as we should say, of devotion, the final aim of which is, in the eyes of every orthodox Buddhist, the conquest of the Perfect Intelligence. It is to this idiom that the king here refers; he himself applies it to himself; and, if he has slightly modified it, it is to render more obvious the double meaning which he had in view. He wishes to connect more clearly this ideal march towards perfection with the tours and excursions of former kings, by means of the very real tours and excursions to which he had been inspired by his religious zeal. It is, therefore, to his *conversion* that Piyadasi here alludes, and thus the fact is explained that he can give a positive date to 'tours' which he would often have to repeat.

[4] I have only to make reservations concerning some of the details where my interpretation differs from that of my learned predecessor. For instance, the word *âhâla*, which means simply, as I believe I have shewn, 'nourishment, alimentation,' cannot be quoted to establish the Buddhist inspiration of the passage, although that inspiration is incontestable and proved by more solid arguments. I do not now speak of the chronological question, with which I shall shortly deal.

[5] *J. R. A. S., Bo. Br.*, XV. pp. 282 and ff.

[6] I now believe that this is certainly the correct reading, and that the *anusvâra* is only imaginary. This idea of reading *âyâya*, which agreed badly with the *nikhami* of the other texts, contributed not a little to lead me astray at first as to the true sense of the passage.

[7] Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 316 and ff.

We henceforth find ourselves, so far as regards the conversion of the king, in the presence of two dates; the 13th Edict giving his ninth year, and the 8th his eleventh. Now, it is just the Edict of Sahasarâm, the meaning of which we have already explained on purely philological grounds, which does away with and explains this apparent contradiction. We have seen that the king, after a first conversion, remained 'during more than two years and a half,' in a lukewarmness with which he subsequently bitterly reproached himself. If we admit that the conquest of Kaliṅga and the conversion which accompanied it ought to be placed eight years and three months (*i. e.* in the ninth year) after the coronation of Piyadasi, his actual and decisive conversion, being more than two and a half years later (say for example two years and seven months), would exactly fall in the eleventh year, as indicated by the 8th Edict. The agreement is so perfect, and accounts so completely, not only for dates, but even for the expressions (*saṁbôdhiṁ nishkrântuṁ*) designedly employed by the king, that I am persuaded that the verbal interpretation on which it rests is this time really definitive. We shall shortly deal again with other features which appear to me to furnish further verification of it, but at present we are entitled to draw one conclusion, — that it must be admitted that the 8th and the 13th Edicts refer to the same person as the Edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth, and that this edict certainly emanates from the same sovereign as all the others.

But as I have already shewn in explaining the 6th Columnar Edict of Dehli, this is not the only coincidence. The king declares that he only commenced having his religious edicts engraved in the thirteenth year after his coronation; as a matter of fact, none of the group of inscriptions formerly known either carries or implies an earlier date. The Sahasarâm tablet itself (cf. Sah. n. 2.), being written 'more than a year' after the second conversion of the king, ought to belong just to the commencement of the thirteenth year. Now, it alone speaks of the religious edicts as in the future, and, as can be seen from my translation of its concluding words, it contemplates their execution. It directs the representatives of the king to engrave them both upon rocks and upon columns, and it is thus almost certain that this edict and its fellows were the first, — they are certainly among the first, — which their author had engraved. They relate to his thirteenth year, and this is another strong reason for believing that this author is no other than that king, the author of the inscriptions of Dehli, who commenced in his thirteenth year to have inscriptions of the same class engraved.

Regarding the two other dates with which the king supplies us, we have at present nothing to say, except that they agree very well with the preceding ones. He mentions the thirteenth year of his coronation (3rd Edict) as that in which he organized the *anusaṁyâna*, which was thus one of the first manifestations of his religious zeal; and he tells us that he created in the fourteenth year the office of the *dharmamahâmâtras*.

These chronological indications are, it is true, too rare to satisfy our curiosity, but they at least suffice to allow us to answer with full confidence the first of the questions which we have just put. It is certain that all the inscriptions which we have examined[8] must be referred to one and the same author. Who was that author?

He gives himself no other name than that of Piyadasi, = Priyadarśin, usually accompanied by the adjective dêvânaṁpriya, 'dear unto the dêvas.' Sometimes this epithet alone is used to designate him. Whether, during the epoch of the Mauryas, this title had the extended application conjectured by Dr. Bühler[9] or not, it is certain that it is only an epithet, and

[8] *viz.*, the 14 Edicts; the Columnar Edicts; those of Dhauli and Jaugada; of Sahasarâm, Rûpnâth and Bairât: and of Bhabra; and the inscriptions of Barâbar.

[9] Buhler, *Beitrage*, VIIIth Edict, n. 1. In the first line of this edict (at Khâlsî, Dr. Bühler's new materials allow him to read: *atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ dêvânaṁpiyâ vihâlayâtaṁ nâma nikhamisu* (at Kapur di Giri, also, the true reading is *dêvanaṁpriya* instead of *java jaraya*). It looks as if *dêvânaṁpiyâ* corresponded here purely and simply to the *rôjânô* of Girnâr and Dhauli. Dr. Buhler, adopting the opinion of Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî (*J. Bo. Br., R. A. S.*, Vol. XV p. 286, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 108) considers that this epithet was a title which, at the epoch of the Mauryas, all kings bore without distinction.

that the real name is Priyadarśin. This name, which does not appear in any known list of kings, naturally much embarrassed Prinsep. Since, however, Turnour[10] shewed that Aśôka, the grandson of Chandragupta, received sometimes, and specially in the *Dîpavaṁsa*, the name of Piyadassi or Piyadassana, I do not believe that the identification proposed by him has ever been seriously doubted.[11] The publication of the complete text of the Sinhalese chronicle has only given his proof a higher degree of certainty.[12] Although all the reasons which he advances are not equally cogent,[13] still the conclusions of Lassen[14] on this point remain in general impregnable.

Dr. Bühler has attempted to give him a precise date, by shewing that there existed a perfect agreement between the chronology of the Sinhalese books, and that of the inscriptions. These suggestions are founded upon an interpretation of the Edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth, which, as has been seen, I consider inadmissible. Ingenious as they are, they fail in their foundations. Everything rests upon the translation of the text in question, to which I will not revert here: but I must add that, on the one hand, the interpretation of the 13th Edict which has become possible since the article of Dr. Bühler was written, and, on the other hand, the more exact interpretation of the 8th, oppose insurmountable difficulties to his attempts at chronological adjustment.

The only date which we are permitted to take as a starting-point, the only really authentic date for the conversion of the king, is that which the king's own inscriptions give, that is to say, at the earliest, the ninth year of his coronation and not the fourth as given for the conversion of Aśôka by the chronicles. This correction would place the Edict of Sahasarâm, if we accept as exact the date of 218 for the coronation of the king, at the earliest in the year 260, and not 256, of the *nirvâṇa*.[15] We must, therefore, at the very first give up this exact agreement between the traditional dates and the so-called monumental dates which Dr. Bühler has sought to deduce. I would add here, in opposition to the interpretation proposed by that eminent scholar for the first phrase of the edict, one last observation, which I should have fully developed in my commentary on the passage. Intent on establishing from a chronological point of view harmony between the sense which he draws from the inscriptions and the traditions given in the Sinhalese books, he has not considered the profound contradictions which he creates in other respects, not only between this edict and the traditions concerning Aśôka, but between the edict and our other inscriptions, which he nevertheless, like us, refers to the same author. How is he to reconcile the inscription which would shew the king remaining 'more than two and thirty years and a half without displaying his zeal,' and the chronicle which attributes to him, from his seventh year (see below), all the manifestations of the most indefatigable religious activity? What agreement can there be between such an inscription, and all those edicts according to which the most characteristic of his religious institutions, the *anusaṁyâna*, the *dharmamahâmâtras*, &c., belong invariably to a long anterior epoch of his reign, — to his thirteenth or his fourteenth year? Was he neither active nor a zealot, when he insisted with so much energy on the necessity of effort and of the most persevering zeal (VI, *in fine*; X, *in fine*, &c.)?; when he himself proclaimed his efforts (*parâkrama*, *parâkrânta*, *&c.*) as incessant (Girnâr, VI, 11; X, 3, &c.)?

[10] *J. A. S. B.* 1837, pp. 790 and ff., 1054 and ff.

[11] The paper of Latham (*On the date and personality of Priyadarsi*, *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII. pp. 273 and ff.) and his whimsical attempt to identify Priyadarśin and Phrahate, deserve notice only as a curiosity.

[12] Cf. *Dipavamsa*, ed. Oldenberg, VI. I, 14, &c.

[13] It is not, for example, in any way certain that the Edict of Bhabra is necessarily addressed to the third council held, according to tradition, in the reign of Aśôka. Cf. subter. On the other hand, certain new proofs can be added: for instance, that the tradition of numerous 'edicts of religion,' *dhaṁmalipi*, is indissolubly connected with the name of Aśôka. See the *Aśôka-avadâna* in Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 371, &c.

[14] *Ind. Alterth.* Vol. II², p. 233.

[15] Dr. Bühler, however, clearly recognized that, in the absence of specific statements, the years of Aśôka are, in the Sinhalese chronicles, calculated from his coronation. Instances like *Dîpavaṁsa*, VII. 31, not to cite others leave the point in no doubt.

I should not dwell on this point at such great length, were I not confronted by so high an authority as that of Dr. Bühler. I believe that I have expressed myself sufficiently clearly to shew that the agreement put forward by him rests upon weak and crumbling foundations; but should we, therefore, conclude that we must give up all hope of finding any points of contact, between **the details furnished by the monuments concerning Piyadasi and the Sinhalese traditions about Aśôka,** which would be of such a nature as to confirm the identification of both forced upon us by so many other considerations? By no means. But we must give up the hope of finding them in a date which is in my opinion imaginary, claiming to be expressed in the era of the *nirvâṇa*. On the other hand, I believe that the chronicles have, in certain points of detail, under the name of Aśôka, preserved memories of our Piyadasi sufficiently accurate, not only to allow an agreement to appear clearly, but even to contribute usefully to a more precise explanation of certain passages, in our monuments, which are a little vague. The *Mahâvaṁsa* and the *Dîpavaṁsa* note the conversion of Aśôka to Buddhism as an event of high importance. They attribute it to the intervention of his nephew Nyagrôdha, and surround it with circumstances which are not of a nature to inspire us with an implicit confidence in their account. But the general fact alone interests us here. The two chronicles agree in making it occur in the fourth year after the coronation of the king.[16] That is, as we see from the monuments, an error of four years and a fraction: we shall deal with it immediately. To the same period they refer the conversion of the king's brother, Tishya, who held the position of *uparâja*, and who betook himself to a religious life.[17] What interests us more, is to find that the tradition, almost void of religious incidents in the interval, fixes at about three years from then, in the seventh year of the coronation,[18] an important and significant event.

It is evident that the capital fact in their eyes, the very kernel of the story, the occurrence which gives it its character, is not the inauguration of the eighty-four thousand *stûpas* raised by order of the king, which is the part most loaded with miracles, and by itself the least credible. The moment is certainly decisive in the life of Aśôka: for from that day, according to the *Mahâvaṁsa*, **he received the name of Dharmâśôka**;[19] it is in short the first time that he

[16] *Dîpavaṁsa*, VI. 18, 24; ***Mahâvaṁsa***, p. 23, l. 3.

[17] *Mahâv.* p. 34, l. 7. I may add, *en passant*, that the *Dîpavaṁsa*, if it does not enter into any detail regarding this conversion, at least contains a reference to it in a passage of which Dr Oldenberg appears to me to have misunderstood the meaning. I refer to the mnemonic verse, VII. 31, —

Tiṇi vassamhi Nigrôdhô chatuvassamhi bhâtarô
chhavassamhi pabbajitô Mahindô Asokatrajo

Dr Oldenberg translates and fills up the sense as follows:—"When (Aśôka) had completed three years (the story of) Nigrôdha (happened), after the fourth year (he put his) brothers (to death), after the sixth year Mahinda, the son of Aśôka, received the *pabbajjâ* ordination." There is nothing to object to in the first and third dates, but for the second his interpretation is inadmissible. The two chronicles agree in placing, as indeed is probable, the murder of Aśôka's brothers immediately after his accession to the throne, and present it as the principal method which he employed for assuring his power. We should have to understand 'four years *before* his coronation,' while the other dates, as is natural, take the coronation as a *terminus à quo*. That is incredible. It is only necessary to take *bhâtarô* for a singular, which is nothing extraordinary in the language of which this verse gives a specimen, and to translate 'in the fourth year of his coronation, his brother (i. e. Tishya, the *uparâja*), entered a religious life.'

[18] And not in the sixth, as appears from a passage (*Mahâv.* p. 37, l. 5), which would thereby contradict perfectly explicit former statements. The same follows clearly from the *Samantapâsâdikâ* (*loc. cit.* p. 306), according to which Aśôka is in the *tenth* year of his coronation *three* years after the ordination of Mahêndra. The same conclusion follows on a comparison with the *Dîpavaṁsa*, according to which Mahêndra, who was ten years of age when his father came to the throne (VI, 21), had *accomplished* twenty at the moment when he renounced the world (VII, 21). Dr. Oldenberg has accordingly well translated the expression *chhavassamhi Asôkassa* (VII, 22), 'when Aśôka had completed six years,' and it is perhaps this phrase, which would make everything agree in the tradition of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, which we should substitute on p. 37, l. 5, for the expression *chhaṭṭhe vassê*, although the same reading reappears in the new edition of Sumaṅgala (V, 21). As for the propriety of this translation for a phrase like *chhavassamhi*, it can be seen from the *Dîpavaṁsa*, VII, 31, which we have just been considering, that this idiom can be used both to mark a current year (*e. g.* in *chatuvassamhi*, which must mean 'in the fourth year'), as well as to mark the number of years passed, as in *tiṇi* (?) *vassamhi*, which can only mean 'after three years had passed.'

[19] The same statement is also found in a verse cited by the *Aśôka-avadâna* from the *Divya-avadâna* (Burnouf *Introduction*, p. 374), which in the same passage remarks that 'the king had not long been favourably disposed to the law of Buddha,' — a clear allusion to the 'first' conversion.

appears to us making a public profession of his religious belief;[20] it is then that he shews the genuineness of his devotion to Buddhism in the most decisive way, by making his son Mahêndra, and his daughter Saṁghamitrâ, enter into the religious order. Everything invites us to consider that here was really a serious evolution in the religious career of the king.

In the narration of these incidents, the principal fact, on which all the others, and in particular the ordination of the king's son, depend, which is described to us in all detail, and to which the chronicler evidently gives a particular importance, is the State Visit which the king pays to the *saṁgha* in the midst of which he takes his seat: — saṁghamajjhamhi aṭṭhâsi vanditvâ saṁgham uttamaṁ.[21]

One cannot help here recalling to mind the passage in the Edict of Rûpnâth and Bairât (perhaps the same expression is also employed at Sahasarâm, but a lacuna renders the point doubtful), in which Piyadasi refers to his **second and definite conversion.** It will be recollected that the reading proposed by Dr. Bühler is in the one *aṁ sumi haka saṁghapapitê*, and in the other *aṁ mamayâ saṁghê papayitê.* I have already explained why I am unable to accept his translation, as involving the idea that the king entered into the community and became himself a monk. If we take the words, in the meaning I have proposed, as referring without metaphor to a real material entering into the Assembly Hall, then we have here an allusion to the very ceremony which the *Mahâvaṁsa* describes to us. The king could well refer to it a year subsequently as a known event, for it had been solemn and striking enough for its memory to be preserved living for so long afterwards. All the difficulties which surrounded the first interpretation of the phrase fall together to the ground; and this agreement would be decisive, if the state of the preservation of the inscription permitted an entire certainty. As we have it at present, it appears to me to receive a remarkable confirmation from a comparison with the 8th Edict.

We have seen that the 8th Edict refers to the same moment of the life of the king, to the same date, and the same event. Now, there again, the idea of the conversion of the king is associated by him with the memory of 'setting out' from the palace, of an 'excursion' out of it. No doubt the expressions used by the king are before all inspired by the Buddhist phraseology about 'setting out for the *bôdhi*,' but this word-play, and the comparison with the 'pleasure excursions' of his predecessors, only become really natural if his conversion is connected by an intimate and close bond with the 'excursion' which he describes immediately. It is clear that this kind of 'excursions' must have become habitual to him.[22] It is equally clear that the commencement of this practice, the first example of these 'excursions,' is closely associated in the king's mind with his active conversion to Buddhism, and in the expression by which he commemorates it, while admitting that the description does not refer exclusively to the visit narrated by the *Mahâvaṁsa*, several traits (*samanânaṁ dasanê, hiraṁnapaṭividhânê, dhaṁmânusasṭi, dhaṁmaparipuchhâ*) agree perfectly with it, and really appear to preserve its memory. These coincidences of detail between the Sinhalese chronicle and our edicts seem to me to be remarkable and instructive, but at the same time I do not pretend to exaggerate their certainty. What is sure is that tradition has more or less obscurely preserved the memory of **two stages** which were said to have been **traversed in his religious life by the king whom it calls Asôka**; the first corresponding

[20] In the narrative of Buddhaghôsha (*Samantapâsâdikâ*, in *Suttavibhanga*, ed. Oldenberg, I. 304), the miracle which shows to the king the 84,000 *stûpas* at once, has for its object to make him altogether believing (*ativiya buddhasânanê pasîdêyyâ ti*); at that period, therefore, his faith had great need of being stimulated.

[21] *Mahâv.* p. 35, l. 8.

[22] I am at present much inclined to believe that this idea is expressly contained in the last sentence of the edict that *bhûyaḥ* ought to be taken in the sense of 'again,' and that it is necessary to understand: 'in the future this virtuous pleasure is again (*i.e.* has been, and will be on occasions) the portion of Piyadasi.' I should then prefer to take *dhaṁmayâtrâ* in the preceding sentence as a singular, as a kind of collective which should embrace probably several series of 'excursions.' It is true that the pronoun *tâ* of most of the versions seems to indicate the plural; but *sâ* or *esâ* of Girnâr, the most correct of all, requires the singular. In any case, and in either sense, it will be necessary, therefore, to admit an inaccuracy.

to his entry into the bosom of the Buddhist church (*upâsakatvaṁ*), and the second marked by his State Entry into the assembly of the clergy, by the ordination of his son Mahêndra, and by the application to the king of a name at once new and significant. Tradition separates them by an interval which corresponds exactly with that (more than two years and a half) which is vouched for for Piyadasi by his epigraphic evidence. Such a coincidence could not be accidental, and it is perhaps the more striking because it rests after all upon a fact of secondary importance.

It is true that this agreement is not free from certain limitations. The Sinhalese chronicles attribute to the fourth year (always counting from the coronation) the conversion which the 13th Edict attributes to the ninth; and they place in the seventh year, that which, according to Sahasarâm and the 8th Edict, belongs to the eleventh. Here there is certainly an error, and the source is not difficult to discover. According to the chronicles, **the coronation of Aśôka** falls in the fifth year, that is to say, four years and a fraction (to us indeterminate) after he took possession of the throne. It is evidently this period which, wrongly deducted, has troubled the figures of tradition. As I have previously remarked in dealing with the Sahasarâm inscription (n. 2), this error could be introduced in one of two ways. Either the coming to the throne and the coronation, which may have been in reality simultaneous, have been subsequently separated, or the writers have at some time or other erroneously taken the coming to the throne as the point from which to count the traditional dates, and not the coronation of the king. Then in reducing tradition to a continuous system, with the coronation of the king as its initial point, they have been led to contract one or more of the periods given for the various events of the reign, by the space of time elapsed between his coming to the throne and his coronation. Several reasons lead me to incline to the second explanation.[23] It is hardly probable that Buddhists would have invented in all their details the incidents which, according to them, marked the youth of a king whom they held in such high esteem. The agreement with our inscriptions which we shall prove subsequently, is rather of a nature to heighten in a general way the authority of the Sinhalese tradition. The manner in which **Piyadasi dates his inscriptions from his coronation,** seems to indicate that **that date was not the same as that of his coming to the throne.** Finally, if the intermediate period between his accession and his coronation were an arbitrary invention, it would be surprising that there should be allotted to it, — instead of a period expressed in round numbers — a period evidently very precise, which we are in a position to ascertain with approximate accuracy. For, according to the inscriptions, the first conversion is referred to the first months of the ninth year, say 8 years and 2 months after the coronation, and the second to the last months of the eleventh, say 10 years and 10 months after the coronation. The common quantity which must be deducted from these figures to refer the first event to the fourth year, and the second to the seventh, can only vary between 4 years and 3 months at a minimum, and 4 years and 7 months at a maximum. If, therefore, **we conjecturally place the coronation at 4 years and 5 months after the accession,** there is a great chance that we shall not be very far wrong.

To sum up: — I believe I am entitled to draw from the preceding discussion a general conclusion; *viz.*, that, in spite of a certain error in the Sinhalese chronology, an error which is

[23] Dr. Kern, in *Geschied. van het buddh.* II, 298, wishes, it is true, to set the Sinhalese tradition in contradiction with itself. From the passage of the *Mahâvaṁsa* (p. 23, l. 2) in which it is said that the father of Aśôka supported 60,000 Brâhmaṇs, and that he himself did the same for *three* years, he concludes that, in reality, the coming to the throne and the coronation occurred at the same time; as, otherwise, it would have been during seven years, and not three, that Aśôka would have preserved his preference for Brâhmaṇs. But that is taking an unfair advantage of the chronicler. Everyone, I believe, has always considered that, taking all the dates as starting from the coronation of the king, he did just the same here, and the passage has always been understood as meaning 'during three years, *after his abhishêka.*' There is no reason for abandoning an interpretation, which every one has found sufficiently natural to accept at once, without even considering it necessary to stop *en passant*. It will be perfectly justified, if necessary, by comparing with the verse of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, the expressions of Buddhaghôsha in the introduction to the *Samantapâsâdikâ* (*Suttavibhaṁga*. ed. Oldenberg, I. p. 300).

clearly explained by a mistake in the starting point of the calculation, there exists between the written tradition and the monumental data a striking coincidence;[24] and this coincidence does not allow us to doubt that the events related on one side about Piyadasi, and on the other side about Asôka, concern in reality one and the same person, designated under different names.[25]

It is, therefore, correct to maintain, as has long been done, that the Piyadasi of the monuments, and the Asôka of literature, are really the same king. That is the second preliminary point which we had to establish.

It now remains to determine the chronological order of our inscriptions.

A fixed point from which to set out is given by the 6th (columnar) edict of Delhi. The king declares that it was in the 13th year from his coronation that he had the first dhaṁmalipis engraved.[26] It is not easy to decide the exact extension which the king gave in his own mind to this expression. It is allowable to doubt if Piyadasi had intended to include under this letter, as relating to religion, short inscriptions such as these of the caves of Barâbar. All that we can say is that hitherto none, even of this class, has been discovered which belongs to an earlier date, the two most ancient dedications of Barâbar dating exactly from this thirteenth year. It is also certain that all the edicts now actually known to us belong to the category of *dhaṁmalipis*; and as a matter of fact none of them is earlier than this thirteenth year, which is referred to by so many different monuments.

The Edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth,[27] later by 'more than a year' than the active conversion of Piyadasi, also belongs to the commencement of this thirteenth year. It should be the most ancient of all, because it speaks of inscriptions on rocks and on columns as a desideratum, as a project, and not as an already accomplished fact. The execution of this project, however, must have soon followed. The fourth of the fourteen edicts is expressly dated the thirteenth year: but the fifth speaks of the creation of *dharmamahâmâtras* as belonging to the fourteenth. It is the same with respect to the columnar edicts. The first six are dated in the 27th year, and the seventh (7--8) in the 28th. Now, this last is missing in most of the versions. It is only preserved on the Dehli column. It is, besides, less symmetrically engraved than the others and the greater portion runs round the shaft.

Under these conditions one is tempted to conclude that, on the same monuments, the edicts have been engraved at various times, according as the king judged it opportune to promulgate new ones. This conjecture would appear to be confirmed, so far as regards the rock edicts, by the fact that Dhauli and Jaugada, which agree with the other versions as regards the first ten edicts, have not the corresponding readings for the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth. This absence of a portion of the edicts can be explained by the theory of successive additions.

---

24 I quote here only as curiosities one or two instances of agreement in spirit between certain passages of the chronicle and certain idioms of our inscriptions. For example, the question which the king addressed to the *samaṇo* (according to *Dîpav.* vi. 87), although unfortunately obscured by the alteration of the text, causes us, by the word *gaṇana*, to think of the final sentence of the 3rd edict. When we read, at verse 28 of the same chapter —

Itobahiddhâpâsaṇḍe titthiye nîsâdh'thiké
sârâsâraṁ gavésanté puthuladdhî nimantayi,

we cannot help thinking of the 12th edict, and we are tempted to translate, after this analogy (*sârâsâra*, like *phalâ-phala*), 'seeking the essence of each doctrine.' This would be a singularly precise remembrance of Piyadasi's manner of speech and thought. It is again a phrase commonly used by the king which the *Samantapâsâdikâ* employs (apud Oldenberg, *loc. cit.* p. 305), when it represents that Moggaliputta, at the moment when he induces the king to cause his son to enter a religious life, is penetrated by this thought, — *sâsanassa atîva vuddhi bhavissatîti*.

25 The use of *birudas* appears to have been at this epoch particularly common. Cf. Jacobi, *ZDMG*, XXXV 629.

26 The correct interpretation of this phrase shews the error of the opinion expressed by Lassen (*Ind. Alterth.* II². 227), according to which this edict would be dated from the 13th year of the king.

27 It may be noted that the Barâbar caves possess those inscriptions which are nearest of all to Pâtaliputra and that the Sahasarâm inscriptions are the next nearest. Barâbar is about 40 miles due south of Patnâ, Sahasrâm is about 60 or 70 miles to the south-west of that city. Pâtaliputra was situated on the banks of the old river Sôn on a narrow spit of land between the Sôn and the Ganges. Sahasarâm is close to the upper reaches of the Sôn.—G. A. G.

But this idea is contradicted by several considerations. The most important is that which results from the presence of the 14th edict, in all the versions, and from its tenor. It suffices merely to allude to this. It is clear that, if the references contained in this edict could have been added to the series of inscriptions which precede them, it is because the whole has been considered as forming one *ensemble*, and must have been engraved at the same time. The amplifications to which the king alludes, do not appear to refer to verbal differences in the text of any particular edict. The variations of this kind between the differen versions which we have noticed are not worthy of being pointed out in this manner. They can only refer to the number of edicts, greater or less, as the case may be, admitted into each series of inscriptions. This pre-supposes a deliberate choice, and excludes a gradual and successive growth of each whole. The presence of the 14th edict. moreover. implies that the inscription is considered as definitely closed. It leaves no opening for any future addition. There has been discovered at Sôpârâ, — the ancient Sûrpâraka, a little to the north of Bombay, — a short fragment of the 8th of the fourteen edicts. We have no means of recognizing to which of the categories alluded to by the king, — amplified versions, abridged versions, and versions of moderate extent, — the group of edicts of which this fragment made a part, belonged. But at any rate, there is no appearance that the 8th edict engraved was separately in this locality; and the conviction of the learned and ingenious Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî, a conviction based on various indications, is that this fragment has been detached from an extended whole, analogous to the other collections of eleven or fourteen edicts. I may add that in general the arrangements of the edicts is too symmetrical to raise the idea of accidental and successive additions. The changes of handwriting even are hardly apparent, or at least, where they can be allowed to exist, for example, at Khâlsi from the 10th edict, they do not correspond to the grouping which would depend on internal arguments founded on dates (group composed of I —IV), or on comparison between different versions (group composed of XI—XIII).

There is, therefore, every reason to believe that, where a certain number of edicts are united in a series, the whole has been engraved at one and the same time, and that, as a consequence, the inscription cannot be older than the latest date mentioned in the whole. Thus the 3rd edict, which bears the date of the 13th year, was probably, *in the versions which have come down to us*, not engraved before the 14th, to which the 5th edict refers.

Whatever may be the result of this argument, it appears to be without practical importance. There is no reason for believing that the king ever ante-dated or committed an anachronism,[28] and we are, therefore, entitled to maintain that **the edicts**, supposing them to have been reproduced at any epoch of his reign, have been faithfully given under their original form; and that so far as their dates go, they **have the force of documentary evidence for the date which each carries.** I may add that the indications furnished both by the fourteen edicts and by the columnar edicts, entitle us to conclude that **the different tablets follow each other in the exact order of their original promulgation.**

This settled, we have little else to do than to record the dates which are given, directly or indirectly, for each of our inscriptions. **The edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth is the most ancient of all,** and goes back to the thirteenth year dating from the coronation. The 4th of the fourteen edicts being dated in the thirteenth year, edicts 1 to 3, which precede it, belong certainly to the same time, and, in the third, we have, in a manner, the deed of institution of the *anusaṁyâna*. which this edict, therefore, refers to the thirteenth year. The conclusion is not without interest on account of the 2nd edict, so important as regards the foreign relations of Piyadasi.

[28] Lassen (*Ind. Alterth.* II², 253 ff.) has justly remarked that the inscriptions in which Piyadasi congratulates himself on religious successes gained in foreign countries and above all in the Greek kingdoms, suppose a sufficient interval between the conversion of the king and the date of the inscription We shall shortly see what kind of influence it must have been that Piyadasi exercised over the Greek kingdoms. It will suffice for the present to observe that as his conversion, even if we take as the starting point his active conversion, dated from the end of the 11th year, there remains, between this time and the most ancient inscriptions (2nd edict) which refer to his foreign relations, an interval of two years, which is sufficient.

If the 3rd edict constitutes this contemporary foundation charter of the *anusaṁyâna*, there is every reason to believe that it is the same with the 5th edict with respect to the *dharmamahâmâtras*, **and that** both the tablet and the office date from the fourteenth year. The following tablets up to the 14th contain no more chronological indications. They can all belong to the fourteenth year, and are certainly not of earlier date. The 12th, for example, mentions the *dharmamahâmâtras*. As for the 8th, which alludes to the second conversion of the king, and places it in the eleventh year, nothing compels us to consider it as contemporary with that fact, any more than the 13th is contemporary with the conquest of Kaliṅga: my corrected interpretation of the passage gives on the contrary, in the last sentence, a positive reason in favour of its later origin.

Taking it altogether, **the date of the fourteenth year for the group of the 14 edicts appears to me to be very probable.** The detached edicts of Dhauli furnish us in this respect, if not with a decisive proof, at least with a presumption of value. Towards the end of the first of these edicts, Piyadasi declares that he will cause the *anusaṁyâna* (see below) to be held every five years. This manner of speaking is only intelligible if the inscription is contemporary with, or at least very shortly posterior to, the origin of this institution. Now the date of this, origin is fixed by the 3rd edict as the thirteenth year. The fourteenth year would, therefore, be a very probable date for the passage in which the king thus expresses himself, and this would necessarily imply that edicts 5 to 14 which precede it, are themselves not posterior to it.

As for **the columnar edicts, the six first belong certainly to the twenty-seventh year,** because the first, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth bear this date. The last (VII. — VIII.) belongs to the succeeding year. They give us the last expression which is accessible to us of the ideas and intentions of the king.

Between them and the series of the 16 edicts, we have nothing but the dedicatory inscription, **No. 3 of Barâbar, which is dated in the twentieth year.** It is much to be regretted that there is no date given in the inscription of **Bhabra.** I know no means, as yet, of supplying this silence of the text. All that I dare to say is that, judging from some details of phraseology, it gives me the impression of being **nearer to the rock edicts than to the columnar ones.** If it is not contemporary with the 16 edicts and with the edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnath, I cannot think that it is much posterior. At any rate, it is altogether arbitrary to defer it to the later times of the reign of Piyadasi, and to place it, as Mr. Thomas has done, without any proof other than a pre-conceived theory to which we shall subsequently refer, after the edicts of the twenty-eighth year.[29]

These facts, however incomplete, have a great value for us. It is important to bear them well in mind, in order to avoid more than one cause of confusion. They suffice to clear away, by impregnable arguments, certain adventurous theories.

The ground now seems sufficiently cleared to allow us to pass to the examination of **the historical questions** which interest us.

The first is naturally **the question of date.** All literary sources, of whatever origin, agree in representing **Aśôka** as the grandson of Chandragupta. The double identification, of Chandragupta with the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, and of Aśôka with our Piyadasi, only allows us to search towards **the middle of the 3rd century** for the epoch of our inscriptions. So far as I can see, they themselves only offer us a single clue for arriving at a more precise date. I refer, as will be readily understood, to the **synchronism furnished by the names of the Greek kings.** Its exact value cannot be appreciated without forming a general opinion as to the relation entertained by **Piyadasi towards foreign nations,** and as to the degree of authority which we should accord to his evidence on this subject.

[29] *On the Early Faith of Aśôka*, J. R. A. S., N. S. IX pp 204, and ff.

This evidence is scattered through the 2nd, 5th and 13th of the fourteen edicts, and in the second separate edict of Dhauli-Jaugada.

In this last passage, Piyadasi expresses himself in a general manner, and without specifying any nation; he describes to his officers the conduct which they should observe towards the frontier populations, not incorporated in his dominions.

These instructions are summed up in the expression of his will that his representatives should learn to inspire his neighbours with an entire confidence in his sentiments and his intentions, that they should persuade them that he only wishes for their welfare, that he desires, so far as he is concerned, to assure them happiness and peace, and that he is like a father to them; he wishes that this conviction may dispose them to observe the *dhaṁma,* so that they may thus deserve happiness, both in this world and in the next.

Elsewhere, in the 13th edict, the king contrasts with his forcible conquests the peaceful conquests of the *dhaṁma,* — of the Religion. It is on these last that he congratulates himself. They are possible, both in his own dominions and amongst all foreign nations (*savêsu aṁtêsu*). "Among them are **the Greek king named Antiochus,** and to the north of (or beyond) that Antiochus, four kings, **Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, Alexander;** to the south, **the Chôḍas and the Pâṇḍyas as far as Taṁbapaṇṇi;** in the same way, **Hidarâjâ (?).** Amongst **the Visas and the Vṛijis, the Yavanas and the Kambôjas, the Nâbhakas and the Nâbhapaṁtis, the Bhôjas and the Pêtêṇikas, the Andhras and the Pulindas,** everywhere are followed the teachings of the religion spread by Piyadasi. And wherever messengers have been sent, there also, after having heard the teaching of the *dhaṁma,* . . . . people practise the *dhaṁma* . . . . ."

In the 5th edict reference is made to a more direct action, to the duties of the newly-created *dhaṁmamahâmâtras.* They must occupy themselves with all sects, for the establishment and progress of the *dhaṁma,* and for the advantage and benefit of the faithful of the [true] religion; amongst **the Yavanas, the Kambôjas and the Gandhâras, the Râsṭikas and the Pêtêṇikas,** and the other frontier populations (*âparâṁta*), they should occupy themselves with the soldiers, with the Brâhmaṇs and with the rich, with the poor and with the old, for their advantage and their well-being, so as to put away obstacles from the faithful of the [true] religion.[30]

[30] I cannot join in the opinion of Dr. Bühler (p. 38), either as to the manner of dividing the sentence or as to the interpretation of the term *dhaṁmayuta.* The word occurs three times in a few lines; and each time Dr. Bühler gives it a different application, or even a different meaning. At line 15 (of Khâlsi) he understands *hitasukhôyê dhammautasa* as meaning 'for the happiness of my faithful subjects;' in the same line, *dhammayutôyê apalibôdhâyê,* 'for suppression of obstacles referring to the law;' and in the following line, *vijitasi mama dhaṁmayutasi,* 'in my faithful kingdom.' In itself this method is perplexing. There is no special information to be deduced from the 1st passage. The construction at least is perfectly clear. As for the 2nd, one should not forget that, instead of *dhammayutâya,* G. has the genitive plural, *dhaṁmayutânam,* and K. the genitive singular *dharmayutasa*; the inevitable conclusion is that in Kh. and in Dh. we must take the dative in the sense of the genitive (we know how these two cases have been confounded in the Prâkṛits), and translate 'for the suppression of the obstacles for the faithful people.' In the third passage we cannot construe together *vijitasi* and *dhaṁmayutasi.* This is forbidden by the position of the two words separated by *mama,* by the certain reading of Dh., *savapathaviyaṁ dhaṁmayutasi,* and by the construction of the rest of the sentence, both members of which, being terminated by *iti,* refer certainly to persons and consequently suppose in *dhaṁmayuta* a collective noun of person. (For the juxtaposition and, if I may use the expression, the super-position of two locatives, cf. higher up in Dh. l. 26, a passage which will be shortly explained, and Col. Ed. IV, 3, *bahûsu pânasatasahasêsu janasi* . . .). I confess that hesitation appears to me to be impossible. I would add that the above, joined to a comparison with Col. Ed. VII, 1-2, where the same construction occurs, confirms me in the explanation which I have given of Col. Ed. IV, 6. It remains to determine the exact sense of *dhaṁmayuta.* Dr. Bühler sees in it a title of the people who lived 'under the law' of Piyadasi, — of his subjects in fact. The constant use of *dhaṁma* in a different sense in the first place renders this interpretation somewhat unlikely; but the expression of Dh., *savapathaviyaṁ dhaṁmayutasi,* proves that the *dhaṁmayuta* (he or they) did not belong only to the empire of Piyadasi; the same conclusion necessarily follows from the former passage which places the *dhaṁmayutas* among the *âparântas.* I can hence only adhere to my translation. It appears to me to be borne out by the recommendation made on the columns to 'exhort the *dhaṁmayutas,*' and elsewhere, 'to teach, to exhort, the *yutas.*' From the passage in Dh. l. 26 (l. 16 in Kh.), it is clear that the *dhaṁmayutas* comprise men 'zealous for the *dhaṁma,* firmly established in the *dhaṁma,* addicted to alms-

The name of **Antiochus** reappears in the second edict, — 'Everywhere, in my empire and also among foreign peoples (*prâchaṁta*) such as the Chôḍas, the Paṇḍyas, Satiyaputa and Kêtalaputa, as far as Tambapaṇṇi, **Antiochus, the king of the Yavanas,** and the kings who are his neighbours,[31] everywhere has Piyadasi spread abroad remedies of two kinds[32] . . . . . . everywhere useful plants have been imported and planted. So also with regard to roots and trees. On the roads, wells have been sunk and trees have been planted, for the convenience of animals and men.'

The last passage is most vague of all. I mean that phrase in the edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth which declares that the proclamations (*sâvana*) of the king have for their aim, that all 'great and small may display their zeal, and that foreign peoples (*aṁta*) themselves may be instructed.'

I have laid all these extracts before the eyes of the reader, as it is important to compare them carefully in order to decide what conclusions may follow from them.

In the first place, one cannot fail to observe **two groups of peoples who are evidently intentionally distinguished.** They comprise, on the one part: —

2ND EDICT.	13TH EDICT.
The Chôḍas, the Pâṇḍyas, Satiyaputa, Kêtalaputa, Tambapaṇṇi, Antiochus and his neighbouring kings.	Antiochus, the four kings who are to the north of (or beyond) Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, Alexander, and, to the south, the Chôḍas, the Pâṇḍyas, Tambapaṇṇi, and the Hida-king (?).

And on the other part:—

5TH EDICT.	13TH EDICT.
The Yavanas, the Kambôjas, the Gandhâras, the Râstikas, and the Pêtêṇikas.	The Viśas, the Vajjis, the Yavanas, the Kambôjas, the Nâbhakas, the Nâbhapaṁtis, the Bhôjas, the Pitinikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas.

The members of the second set are distinguished by the epithet **âparântas,**[33] that is to say 'westerns,' while those of the first set are called **prâtyantas or simply antas**, and it is permissible to believe that it is particularly to these that the instructions given by the king, in the second detached edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada, refer.

giving.' The passage cited in the text shews an instructive shade of difference; among all the religions, the *dhaṁmamahâmâtras* must occupy themselves with the well-being of the *dhaṁmayutas.* This refers to the dominions of Piyadasi: amongst *âparântas,* who were, as we shall just now see, less strictly dependent on the king, they had to watch that they met no obstacles, or in other words that they enjoyed complete religious liberty. This observation agrees exactly with the sense which I have maintained for *dhaṁmayuta.* The punctuation which Dr. Bühler proposes after *apalaṁtâ* appears to me to be inadmissible. It is not possible to construe *yônakaṁ bôjagaṁdhâlânaṁ* with *hitasukhâyê*, because, in Dh., we have the locative *gaṁdhâlêsu.* This locative shews clearly that the genitive has only been introduced in the other texts to avoid an accumulation of locatives in the same sentence. It becomes certain that *yônakaṁbôjagaṁdhâlânaṁ* depends on *baṁbhanibhêsu*, etc. As for making it depend, as genitive or as locative, on *dhaṁmayutasa*, that is repugnant both to the ordinary flow of the construction and to the analogy of parallel sentences: they all commence with the indication of the object or of the scene of action imposed upon the *dhaṁmamahâmâtras*: *savapâsaṁḍêsu . . . . baṁdhanabadhasi . . . . hida cha . . . iyaṁ dhaṁmanisitati . . . . . .*

31 Dr. Buhler contests the reading *sâmipâ* in G., but his reading *sâminaṁ* cannot be admitted. After a new direct inspection of the stones I see no reading more probable than *sâmîpâ*, so that I can but abide by my interpretation.

32 The sense of 'medicine' and not of 'hospital' (Bühler) is alone admissible here. Not only is there proof wanting of the equivalence of *chikichhâ* and of *arôgyasâlâ*, but the erection of hospitals by Piyadasi in Greek territories is hardly likely: the analogy of the words following, *viz.* roots, medicinal plants, useful trees, is altogether in favour of the first translation. We should, I think, adhere to it.

33 It is impossible to take, with the learned Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî, *âparâṁta* as an ethnic term designating some particular province (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, XV, p. 274); the expression *yê vâpi aṁñê âparâṁtâ* forbids this. It should not be forgotten that the spelling, at least at G. and at Dh., is *âparaṁta*; by this long *â* the word is marked, just like *prâchaṁta*, as a secondary derivative. It may be remarked, *en passant*, how well the special meaning attributed to *âparânta* (Cf. Lassen, I. 649; II, 932) agrees with the position which I assign, under the sceptre of Piyadasi, to the populations compressed under this term.

The **two groups** are nowhere mixed up in the same sentence, and the relations of the king with each appear to have been perceptibly different. Amongst the *áparántas*, the Yavanas, &c., Piyadasi expressly gives a positive protective mission to his *dhammamahámátras* (5th Edict). He affirms that they (that is to say, without doubt, a number of individuals amongst them more or less considerable) conform to his teaching of the *dhaṁma*. Towards the *antas*, on the contrary, he only directs his representatives to show themselves as kindly neighbours (Dh. J. det. Ed. II.), or refers to them (XIII) as an object of religious conquests. He marks them sharply as exterior to his empire (*aṁtánaṁ avijitánaṁ*, Dh. J. det. ed. II.; *vijitaṁhi . . . . . êvamapi práčaṁtêsu* . . . 2nd Ed.). The direct action, with reference to them, on which he congratulates himself, is limited to the communication of medicines and useful plants. This could be carried out by merchants or ambassadors, and does not argue, like the institution of *dharmamahámátras*, a tie of dependence, nor does it imply any very close connexion. It is evidently because the *antas* include the most distant populations that he says at Sahasarâm, — 'that the *antas themselves* should be instructed.' In short, I believe that this category, included in the first group, represents **the foreign nations, completely independent of Piyadasi.** The second, that of the *áparántas*, is made up of the **tribes distributed along the western frontier of his empire** and over which he exercised, not an absolute dominion (for he appears to dread obstacles to the free expansion of his co-religionists), but a suzerainty more or less effective. The best proof that the two sets of people were not in identical situations with respect to the king, is that he distinguishes between the Yônarâjas, *i.e.* the Greek kings, with their subjects, and the Yônas, whom he classes with the Kambôjas. These last, not being included in the independent kingdoms, must necessarily have been more or less immediately dependent on the power of Piyadasi.

I hence conclude that, if the language of Piyadasi is not always sufficiently clear and explicit, it is at least exact and truthful. He does not seek to exaggerate the degree of his success. For example, regarding the Greek kings, in one passage he states simply that he has distributed medicines and useful plants even over the dominions of Antiochus, which is in no way improbable; and in the other, he mentions the five kings amongst the lords of foreign countries in which he has endeavoured to spread the *dhaṁma*. Regarding them he affirms nothing as to the practical results which followed. This reserve induces us to be circumspect in the interpretation of his words, and to refuse to admit lightly hypotheses which are based on alleged inexactness or misunderstanding on his part.

We can then safely take, as a point of departure in the chronology of Piyadasi, **the synchronism which the enumeration of the five Greek kings offers to us.** Only the most decisive arguments would authorise us to conjecture, as has been done by Lassen,[34] that the king has mixed up different times in his inscriptions.

The texts are perfectly simple and distinct. In the 2nd Edict, he speaks of **Antiochus** and of kings his neighbours, in the 13th of Antiochus again, and of four Greek kings who are to the north of (or beyond) his kingdom, — Turâmaya, Antêkina, Maka, and Alikasadara. It is impossible for us to decide whether **the "neighbours" of Antiochus** are the same kings as those who are mentioned by name in the 13th Edict. In itself that is hardly probable, for, as we shall see, those would be very remote neighbours indeed, to whom it would have been by no means easy to despatch medicines and useful plants, and moreover it is not specified that *Greek* kings are intended. The reading *alaṁnê* of Khalsi, and *arañê* of Kapur di Giri, would do away with all hesitation; but it appears, according to the revision of Dr. Bühler, that Khâlsi had not *alaṁnê* but *aṁnê*, and that the other reading depends only on an error of General Cunningham. The same is the case with regard to K. It nevertheless appears to me more probable that the 'neighbours' of Antiochus in the first passage are not the four kings specified in the second. However that may be, the transcription of their names has not been controverted;

[34] *Ind. Alterth.* II², 253 and ff.

there has always been recognized, in them, a Ptolemy, an Antigonus, a Magas, and an Alexander. One is immediately tempted to seek for them, at least for the two last, in the countries which would not be too inaccessible to Hindûs and to their sovereign, but the royal qualification, which is expressly attributed to them, forms an obstacle even if we could (which has not been done) find these names as those of governors or Satraps in a region somewhat in the neighbourhood of India. We have no knowledge of Greek kingdoms of which they could have been the sovereigns.

It is certain that the relations of Piyadasi with the Greek world were not posterior to the revolt of Diodotus, and to the creation of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana (about 255 B. C.); for he would have found this prince ... on his way, and would have mentioned him; and the proposed identifications, which have hitherto been universally accepted agree with this postulate. **Antiochus II. of Syria** (260-247), **Ptolemy Philadelphus** (285-247), **Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia** (278-242), **Magas of Cyrene** (d. 258), and **Alexander of Epirus** (d. between 262 and 258),[35] were all alive and reigning contemporaneously between 260 and 258 B. C. On the other hand, the efforts of Piyadasi, whatever may have been their exact extent, to spread abroad his moral and religious ideas, must, as Lassen (*loc. cit.*) justly remarks, have been posterior to his conversion, — we can now add, to his active conversion, that is to say, the second one at the end of the eleventh year after his coronation. As the 2nd Edict belongs to the thirteenth year, we are inevitably led to conclude that **his twelfth year corresponds** to one of the years 260-258 B. C., say, to take a mean, **to the year 259.** This calculation would fix **his coronation at about 269, and his coming to the throne at about 273 B. C.**

If we add to these figures the period given for **the reigns of his predecessors, Bindusâra and Chandragupta,** even by the authorities which prolong them the most, *i.e.* 28 and 24 years, we come to the date 325 B. C., as that of the usurpation of power by the latter. This date is in no way incompatible with the statements of classical writers: we do not know the precise year in which Chandragupta assumed the title of king, and if we accept the tradition related by Justin[36] to be correct, he should have been in a position to do so from the moment when, having escaped from Alexander's camp, he commenced to collect bands of men around him. The statements of the Hindûs regarding the two reigns agree too little amongst themselves, to counterbalance the authority of the synchronism which we derive from the evidence of inscriptions. If we take as a basis of calculation the period of only 24 years given by several Purâṇas[37] to the reign of Chandragupta, we come to 322 as the year in which he seized his power. At any rate, in my opinion, the calculation which would be the most arbitrary and the most venturous one, would be to suppress the interval of four years between Aśôka's coming to the throne and his coronation, which is borne witness to by the Sinhalese chronicles. I have already shown my reasons for this As for Lassen's procedure, which commences with giving, without any positive proof, the commencement of Chandragupta's reign in the year 315, in order to calculate the date of our inscriptions, and thereupon to charge Piyadasi with alleged inaccuracies,[38] — it is evidently the reverse of a sound method.

Unfortunately we get no information regarding the details of **the relations which Piyadasi held with the kings of the Grecian world.** It is probable that they were specially close with Antiochus, his neighbour of Syria. The connection between the two kingdoms had been traditional since the time of Chandragupta and Seleucus. Although ancient evidence has preserved for us the name, Dionysius, of an ambassador, or at least of an explorer, sent to India by Ptolemy Philadelphus, — the Ptolemy to whom Piyadasi alludes, — it may be doubted if this allusion refers to direct relations, which appear hardly probable any more than with Magas, or with

[35] It may be remarked here that, as a feeble exchange for the light which its history receives from Greece, India, by its monuments, lends here a useful indication to Greek chronology. It becomes, in fact, certain that the doubtful date of the death of Alexander, the son of Pyrrhus, is not anterior to 260.

[36] *Justin*, XV, 4.

[37] Wilson, *Vishnupur.*, Ed. F. E. Hall, IV, 186, note 5.

[38] *Ind. Alterth.* II², 254.

Antigonus and Alexander. It may be asked, whether it was not through Antiochus as an intermediary, that Piyadasi had knowledge of the other kings whom he enumerates. The time available for the journey of his emissaries, if they were specially despatched by him, — say about a year and a half, — would scarcely allow them to push so far forward into Hellenic soil, and just about the period to which our edict relates, between 260 and 258, Antiochus II. found himself, by his designs upon Thracia and by his struggles in the Mediterranean, brought into relations more or less unfriendly, but certainly very active, with the sovereigns of Egypt and Cyrene, and of Macedonia and Epirus [39]

Whatever may have been the details, one point appears to be reasonably incontestible, — that the thirteenth year from the coronation of Piyadasi corresponds nearly to the year 258 or 257 B. C., and that consequently **the coronation occurred in 269 or 270.** This date, and the correlative dates of the conversions of Aśôka, of his inscriptions, &c., are the only ones which appear to me to be legitimately deducible from our texts; for the alleged date in the era of the *nirvâṇa* at Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth rests, in my opinion, on an illusion and a mistake.

To sum up: — It is now possible to assign to Piyadasi, with sufficient precision **his chronological position.** That is one of the principal reasons for the great interest which attaches to these monuments; but it is more especially to **the history of religious ideas** that they appear to promise valuable items of information. It is strange that documents, relatively of such extent, and in which the religious sentiment is so overruling, should not have long ago cut short all hesitation regarding the inspiration by which their author was guided. Yet not only has Wilson[40] ventured to dispute the Buddhist faith of Piyadasi, not only, in much later times, has Mr. Edward Thomas[41] endeavoured to prove that, before becoming a follower of Buddhism, Piyadasi had been subject to other convictions, that he had at first adhered to Jainism, — (these attempts partly rest on grossly inaccurate interpretations and are moreover anterior to the last discoveries at Khâlsi, Sahasarâm and Rûpnâth, which have imported new elements into the debate), — but, which is much more serious, Dr. Kern has also, in spite of his greatly superior knowledge of the documents, and subsequently to the publication of the last edicts, appeared to be dangerously near to allying himself to the opinion of Mr. Thomas.[42] He has at any rate sought to prove, in the doctrinal evolutions of Piyadasi gradations, the last expression of which, in the Sahasarâm edict, manifests, according to him, all the symptoms of a veritable madness. Here again the suggestion results from certain incomplete interpretations; for Dr. Kern too hurriedly adopted the first translation proposed for the text of Sahasarâm-Rûpnath. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that our monuments suggest **a religious,** as well as a chronological, **question** regarding which it is necessary for us to be explicit. This question appears to me to be susceptible of categorical answers.

I can only, in several respects, refer to the results arrived at in the foregoing, and to what I have already attempted to demonstrate, especially with regard to the chronological classification of our inscriptions. It is clear and uncontested that, at the period to which the edict of Bhabra refers, Piyadasi is a declared Buddhist. Unfortunately, as we have seen, this edict bears no expressed date, and contains in it no element of information, which would allow us to date it with certainty. It is nevertheless of essential importance for deciding the question with which we are now dealing. It is evident that, until reasons — positive objections — are discovered to the contrary, a piece of evidence so precise should be accepted. It would be conclusive even if the absence, elsewhere alleged, of documents, of categorical statements, awoke suspicion. But there is no room for even this uncertainty.

Our inscriptions divide themselves into two principal groups; the first, including the Edict of Sahasarâm, and the fourteen edicts, belongs to the thirteenth or the fourteenth year; the second, consisting of the columnar edicts, refers to the twenty-seventh or the twenty-eighth. We

[39] Droysen, *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, III[1], p. 314 and ff.
[40] *J. R. A. S.* p. 238 and ff.
[41] *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., IX. p. 155 and ff.
[42] Kern, *loc. cit.* p. 309 note.

have seen that the former group of these inscriptions alleges **two successive evolutions in Piyadasi's religious life,** the first in the ninth, and the second towards the end of the eleventh year after his coronation. We have now to determine the two poles, the point of departure, and the point of arrival. Regarding the former, I believe that no one has any hesitation; the leading statement in this respect, in the text of Sahasarâm-Rûpnath, has not perhaps all the clearness we should wish; but, whether the translation proposed by me, or that of Dr. Bühler is accepted, it cannot be doubted that, in this first period of his reign, previous to the prohibition of bloody sacrifices (1st edict), Piyadasi had, as the written traditions affirm, accepted **the supremacy of the Brâhmaṇs.** On the second point, there is no longer the same agreement. The king declares that he has become an *upâsaka*;[43] this word can indicate a Jain layman, as well as a Buddhist one; nevertheless, the manner in which we find it used at Bhabra, where it is certainly applied to Buddhism, ought *à priori* to incline us towards the same interpretation here. Doubts have been inspired by the use of the word *vivutha* at Sahasarâm, and by the idea that this inscription might not emanate from the Piyadasi who was author of the other edicts. The latter are dissipated by the certainty we have now acquired, that all our edicts must be referred to one and the same author; and the former must fall with the purely arbitrary interpretation proposed for *vivutha*.[44] Whatever reserve may be advisable with regard to the expression *saṁ.hê papayitê*, or whatever be its true reading, it is clear that the king mentions here certain relations which his conversion has established between him and the *saṁgha*; that word can designate nothing but **the Buddhist clergy;** the Edict of Bhabra shews moreover, that this application of it was well established from the time of Piyadasi. We have, however, another proof still more decisive, — the passage of the 8th edict, in which Piyadasi speaks of his practical and active conversion. He defines it by saying that, in the eleventh year from his coronation, he 'set out for the *saṁbôdhi*.'[45] No doubt as to the meaning is here possible. The word *saṁbôdhi* inevitably links Piyadasi with **Buddhism.** Before it was fully understood, the expression appeared to imply a usage of the word different from that which is authorised by literature; but the more exact interpretation, which I have given above, does away with all difficulties; it establishes, on the contrary, a curious agreement with the literary use of the equivalent phrase *saṁbôdhiṁ prasthâtuṁ*, to which the passage refers.

It is, therefore, certainly to Buddhist ideas that Piyadasi was converted. But did he become unfaithful to them? Did he subsequently vary in his opinions? The second group, that of the columnar inscriptions, is very far from furnishing the slightest pretext for such a conjecture. The one which it was deemed possible to draw from the first phrase of the 6th edict, is quite illusory. Nay more; the passage in question, understood as I believe I have shewn that it should be understood, turns directly contrary to any hypothesis of this description. If the king referred expressly to his *dhaṁmalipis* of his thirteenth year, it is certainly a proof that his ideas regarding the *dhaṁma*, his religious opinions, had not in the interval undergone any essential change. Besides, when the two series of inscriptions are compared, the absolute identity of tone and style, the common allusions to the same deeds and the same institutions, the perfect resemblance between the moral exhortations, are such that only the strongest and

---

[43] I do not speak of the word *sivaka* which Dr. Bühler restores at Rûpnâth. I have already explained why I do not consider this restoration as admissible.

[44] It will be understood that I here refer to the translation of Dr. Oldenberg. I may be permitted to take this opportunity to add, with regard to that of Dr. Bühler, a remark which I had omitted in the proper place. One of the arguments which he brings forward to uphold the meaning of the 'passed,' which he attributes to *vivutha*, is the use of the phrase *vivuthê vasê* in the Khaṇḍagiri inscription (l. 5) This argument must be abandoned. It is to be feared that this important monument, which is in so bad a state of preservation, will never become perfectly intelligible to us. One thing is visible, that it contains, year by year, an enumeration of the actions of the king: *dutiyê vasê* (l. 4), *paṁchamê . . . . vasê* (l. 6), *satamê vasê* (l. 7), *aṭhamê vasê* (*ib.*), &c. In line 5 where the facsimile of Prinsep gives *tatha vivuthê vasê*, that of the *Corpus* gives *-i—tathê visê*. It ought certainly to be read as *tatha* (?) *chatuthê visê*, 'in the fourth year.' This indeed is the reading given by Bâbû Rajêndralâla Mitra, *Antiq. of Orissa*, II. p 22.

[45] See above, p. 234 and ff.

most convincing proof could lead us to consider as probable a change of belief in the common author of both. All indications contradict such an idea.

But not only do certain columnar edicts form the natural development of the principles contained in the older tables, —(thus, the 5th Columnar edict is directed to the protection of animal life, and may be compared with the prohibition of bloody sacrifices and of *samâjas*[46] ordained by the first of the fourteen edicts), — but the days set apart in this same 5th edict are consecrated as holidays amongst Buddhists,[47] and the *upôsatha*, to which he appeared to shew a special respect, is known to every one as their weekly festival. The 8th Columnar edict extends the supervision of the *dharmamahâmâtras* over every sect, from the Brâhmaṇs to the Nirgranthas or Jainas; but, when he refers to the *saṁgha*, to the Buddhist clergy, the king changes his expression. He desires that his officers should watch 'the interests of the *saṁgha*' (*saṁghaṭhasi*); it is evident that here, and here only, his sympathies are specially aroused.[48] I will only allude to one more fact, which in the light of the preceding, takes a definite meaning, and becomes really instructive. It will be remembered that, at Khâlsi, the second part of the 14th edict is accompanied by the figure of an elephant, between the legs of which one reads, in characters the same as those of the tables *gajatamê*; I have proposed to translate this, 'the elephant *par excellence*.' This inscription is in a fashion commented upon by that which we have referred to as at Girnâr, in nearly the same place, and which probably accompanied also the figure of an elephant, which has been worn away from the surface of the rock; —'the white elephant who is in truth the benefactor of the entire world (or of all the worlds).' It is the less permitted to imagine an arbitrary and accidental addition, because, at Dhauli, we again find the same figure of an elephant beside the edicts. It is impossible to doubt that these images and these legends are contemporary with the inscriptions. Nor is the meaning doubtful. Not only are we here in the presence of a Buddhist symbol, but the accompanying legends contain a clear allusion to the history of the birth of Buddha descending in the form of a white elephant into the womb of his mother.[49]

In conclusion; — It is certain that **Piyadasi**, at least during the entire portion of his reign to which our monuments refer, from the ninth year after his coronation (and more particularly from the thirteenth, in which he began having inscriptions engraved) to the twenty-eighth, and very probably up to the end of his life, **was a declared adherent to Buddhism.** This is the fixed point, the necessary starting point, for all legitimate deductions. Doubtless a certain difference of tone may be suspected between the Edict of Bhabra, or even that of Sahasarâm, and all the

[46] I content myself with transcribing the term used by Piyadasi. I am not convinced that a definitive translation of it has yet been discovered, in spite of various ingenious attempts. The meaning 'battue' (*treibjagd*) proposed by Dr. Pischel (*Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1881, p. 1324) has not the authority of the known usage of the language. Dr. Bühler has clearly shewn that *samâja* must have a meaning connected with 'festival, rejoicing,' but the meaning must be more precise and circumscribed than this. In the sentence in the 1st edict it cannot well be admitted that with the very positive and precise prohibition *na .... prajûhitaviyaṁ*, should be closely connected one so different, so vague, as 'ye must hold no *festivals*.' Besides, it is plain that the whole edict is entirely devoted to the protection of animal life. *Samâja* must refer directly to some act by which that life was compromised. The connexion of the details which the king gives concerning his kitchen would, on any other hypothesis, be altogether inexplicable. It is this exact shade of the meaning of *samâja*, 'sacrifice, feast,' or some other, which Dr. Bühler has failed to identify. Nor can I accept his translation of the sentence *asti pi tu*, &c.; for, if Piyadasi had meant to approve of 'certain *samâjas*,' he would have specified to what *samâjas* he referred. He would at least have continued his sentence under the form of an antithesis, as he does under other circumstances, and would have spoken of *dhaṁmasamâjas*, or of something of the kind.

[47] Cf. Kern, *loc. cit.* II, 205 and ff.

[48] I am afraid that I should injure conclusions, which I believe are firmly established, if I were to bring forward arguments of less value, so I content myself with reminding my readers of, for instance, the use of *âsinava*, corresponding to the technical term *âsrava* of the Buddhists, and that of *avavad* to mean 'to preach,' 'to teach,' which was familiar to the Buddhists (Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 304 and ff.), &c.

[49] I can only withdraw, before the corrected readings and the new translation of Dr. Bühler, the conjecture which I hazarded with regard to the 9th edict (in Dh. n. 2.), in which I believed that I had discovered an allusion to a certain incident of the legend of Śâkyamuni. The explanation of Dr. Bühler establishes, with a natural sense, a complete harmony among the different versions. It certainly deserves acceptance, in spite of the little difficulties of detail which exist, and of which a final revision of the texts will perhaps reduce the number.

others. But between these two very unequal groups, there is no contradiction, there is only a mere difference of degree. It is explained by the difference of the persons whom the king addressed: at Bhabra, he spoke to the Buddhist clergy; elsewhere he speaks to his people at large, or at least to all his officers without distinction.[59] **Religious toleration** is not an exceptional occurrence in India, but is the customary rule of her sovereigns. From the indications of coins down to the direct evidence of the chronicles, from the inscriptions down to the account of the Chinese travellers, there are abundant proofs of this. **Piyadasi made no exception to the rule**; he forms, on the contrary, one of its most illustrious examples, one of its most positive witnesses. It is therefore, very natural that, in addressing himself to the generality of his subjects, without regard to religion or sect, he should have avoided using too exclusive manifestations of his own private faith, and strictly dogmatical statements. We can at least be certain that none of his inscriptions contains anything contradictory to the Buddhist doctrine, and it is essential to remember this, if we would endeavour to picture to ourselves from the monuments the condition of Buddhism at the time of Piyadasi.

Now that we have determined, both from a chronological and from a religious point of view, the ground on which our monuments lead us, it remains to consider the data which they supply regarding **the administration, the history, and the religious ideas of Piyadasi-Asôka**; comparing them at the same time with those which have been preserved for us by the tradition of literature.

The epigraphical records do not, in any way, give us the materials for a **biographical sketch**, even on the most meagre scale. All we can do is to group the various items of information which they contain under certain general heads, such as the empire and the family of the king, his administrative procedure and his relations with foreign countries, his life and his religious opinions.

Piyadasi gives us no information regarding his lineage. We only learn from a passage of the 5th (Rock) edict, in which the surveillance exercised by the *dharmamahâmâtras* is under consideration, that he had brothers, sisters, and other relatives, settled both in his capital and in other towns. Moreover (Col. Ed. VIII) he pays attention to the distribution of the alms made by all **his children** who live, some near him, and others in the provinces (*disâsu*), and in particular to those made by the '**princes, sons of the queen,**' who are thus distinguished as holding a superior rank. It is to this last category that belong 'the Kumâras' who represent

[59] He exhibits now and then a particular care for his co-religionists, but he does so in order to direct special officers to devote themselves to them, and to give them suitable instruction. It is in this way that I still understand the last sentence of the 3rd edict. Dr. Bühler, following Dr. Kern, combats the meaning which I still continue to attribute to *yuta*, and which is approved of by Dr. Pischel (p. 1325). I cannot accept his amendment. Dr. Bühler is compelled to admit a different meaning for the word in each of the two passages in which it occurs in the 9th edict. That is a first objection, but there are more serious ones. It will shortly appear in what close relationship the *rajjûkas* generally appeared with the *dhammayutas*. This is a first reason for thinking, as has always been done, that *yuta* is only an abridged equivalent for *dhammayuta*, 'zealots,' equivalent to 'zealots for the *dhamma*;' nothing is more natural. What is true for the first *yutâ* is not less so for the second *yutâni* associated with the *parishad*, which is nothing else than the assembly of the *rajjûkas*. But in the first passage it is wished to take *yutâ* as an adjective applied to *rajjûka* and to *pâdêsika* (Dr. Bühler actually approves of my construction of the sentence and defends it against Dr. Pischel). We must then omit the *cha* which, at G., follows *yutâ*. This procedure is in itself violent and suspicious, but it is still insufficient. The turn of the phrase at Kh., *yutâ lajuka pâdêsika*, and the corresponding words at K. without *cha*, imply the co-ordination of the three terms, and not only of the two last; if this were not so, we must have as at Dh., *yutâ lajukê cha pôdêsikê cha*. It is unnecessary to remark that, on the other hand, this last mode speaking very well agrees with my interpretation. *Yutâ* is therefore a substantive, or at least used substantively. Here we must conclude that it is the equivalent of *dhammayutâ*. So also with *yutê* or *yutâni* in the last line. I hav given one reason, founded on its being associated with *parisâ*. The comparison with the sentence of the 8th Columnar edict (l. 1-2), *lajûka . paliyôvadisamti janam dhammayutam*, is very striking. There are also other reasons. First, *âjñâpayati* is much more easily translated with a personal subject. It inust be admitted that the expression 'the assembly will teach *suitable* matters' is singularly feeble and vague, even for our inscriptions. Of course, the neuter form *yutâni* of several versions offers no difficulty; have we not, at Col. Ed. IV. 8, *pulisâni* equivalent to *purushâḥ*; &c.? Perhaps *yutê* of G. also represents the neuter; and we shall thus have side by side a use of the singular and of the plural, exactly as *dhammayuta* is by turns used in the plural and in the singular without alteration in the sense.

the royal authority at Tôsalî (Dh. det. ed. II, 1), at Ujjayinî, and at Takshaśilâ (Dh. J. det. Ed., I, 23, 24). We find an allusion to **his wives** in the fragment designated the Edict of the Queen. In it Piyadasi gives orders, the meaning of which, owing to the partial destruction of the stone, we are unable to grasp exactly, regarding the acts of liberality of the second queen (*dutiyâ dêvî*). Amongst these acts he mentions the granting of mango groves and gardens; it would seem, also, that he praises her religious zeal and her merciful disposition; and she thus appears to us as sharing, as we have a right to expect, the ideas as well as the doctrines of the king.

The royal residence was at Pâṭaliputra, as the chronicles say, and as follows from the Rock Edict, G. V, 7, compared with the other versions. With the exception of the **four towns of Pâṭaliputra, Ujjayinî, Takshaśilâ, and Tôsalî,** which have just been referred to, and of **Samâpâ** (J. det. Ed. I, 1, and II, 1), Piyadasi mentions no name of any people or town expressly as being among those which were directly under his rule (*vijita*). The only exception is **Kaliṅga,** the conquest of which he mentions as having taken place in the ninth year after his coronation. The towns of Tôsalî[51] and of Samâpâ cannot be precisely identified. It is, however, almost certain that **Tôsalî,** which formed the residence of a prince of the blood royal, must have been a considerable centre, possibly the capital of the whole province. **Samâpâ** was probably a town of secondary importance, and cannot have been very far from Jaugada, the site where the inscriptions which mention it were engraved.

Although Piyadasi gives us so few explicit geographical data, the indications regarding his neighbours on different sides, with which he supplies us, allow us to form some idea of the **extent of his vast dominions.** I believe that I have shewn above that the enumerations unfortunately both vague and brief, of the frontier populations, which are contained in the inscriptions, are of two kinds; one set refers to the provinces situated to the west and south-west of the empire over which Piyadasi was suzerain; the other includes the independent bordering nations. Both contain many names of which the identification is more or less hypothetical, and even with regard to those about whose identification we need not be in doubt, we have too incomplete information regarding the exact boundaries to which they extended in the time of Piyadasi, to arrive at very precise conclusions.

In the first category, that of **populations subject to the suzerainty of the king,** appear the Yavanas (V and XIII), the Kambôjas (V and XIII), the Pêtêṇikas (V and XIII), the Gandhâras (V), the Risṭikas or Râsṭikas (V), the Viśas and the Vṛijis (XIII), the Nâbhakas and the Nâbhapaṁtis (XIII,) and finally the Bhôjas (XIII), the Andhras and the Pulindas (XIII). The **Gandhâras**[52] and the **Kambôjas**[53] certainly belonged to the tract of the river Kâbul; it is probable that these **Yavanas,** subjects of a Hindû power, formed a province still further off in the direction of the Greeks of the independent kingdoms, and that the list, commencing with them and continuing through the **Kambôjas** and the **Gandhâras,** follows a regular course from exterior to interior. We have, however, no certainty with regard to this, and this name Yavana could here, if necessary, designate not a particular country, but the elements of the population which were of western origin, and which were at this epoch scattered throughout this part of India.[54] I may remind my readers of the Tushaspa, styled 'Yavanarâja of Aśôka the Maurya,' *i. e.*, probably, under the suzerainty of Aśôka the Maurya, whom the inscription of Rudradâman at Girnâr[55] mentions as having repaired an embankment in the neighbourhood, and who consequently held sway in the peninsula of Kâthiâwâḍ. I would also remind them of the considerable number of dedications which, in the Buddhist caves of Western India, emanate from Yavanas.[56]

[51] Cf. Kern, *J. R. A. S., N. S.*, XII, 384.

[52] Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 509; II, 150.

[53] Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 521.

[54] Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth*, II, 248 and ff. One is reminded of the eastern territories of Gedroia and Arachosia. which Seleucus ceded to Chandragupta (Droysen *Gesch. des Hellenismus*, II², 199 and ff.)

[55] Cf. Burgess, *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, 1874-1875, pp. 128 and ff.

[56] Cf. Bhagwânlâl Indraji, *J. R. A. S., Bo. Br.*, XV, pp. 274-275.

As regards the **Risṭikas**, the very name is doubtful. The word has usually been read Râstikas (transcribed Râshṭrikas), and understood as meaning 'the inhabitants of Surâshṭra.' Dr. Bühler points out that the reading Ristika, which at G. appears to be certain, goes against this interpretation. The identification would, according to him, be in any way inadmissible, 'for the Risṭika-Pêtêṇikas must be amongst the independent neighbours of Aśôka, whereas Sôraṭh and Lâṭa were incorporated in his kingdom.' This difficulty would not appear to us to be decisive, after what we have said regarding the position of the provinces in the enumeration of which the Râsṭikas find entry. If the king delegated officers to them, he could very well have also had inscriptions engraved among them. In fact, if we may attribute some authority to the tradition of which we notice an echo in the inscription of Rudradâman, we should find in it direct evidence in favour of the *régime* which, on other grounds, I believe to have been, under Aśôka, that of Surâshṭra. There remains the orthographical difficulty, but, as against the *risṭika* of G. we find the *lathika* of Dh. and the *rathika* of K., that is not easy to solve. I cannot admit that the two last forms could represent *rishṭika* as well as *râshṭrika;* the wearing away of the rock might certainly have caused the sign for *i* to have disappeared at Dh. and at K.; but the same sign at G. might equally well be only some accidental scratch in the rock. While, therefore, I cannot pronounce between the Rishṭikas proposed by Dr. Bühler, and the Râshṭrikas, I still do not think that, in the present state of our knowledge, the latter reading deserves as yet to be absolutely abandoned. We must, moreover, take into consideration the opinion lately expressed by Prof. Bhandarkar.[57] In the 13th edict, the Râstikas or Ristikas are replaced by the **Bhôjas**, who are similarly associated with the **Pêtêṇikas.**[58] Although the territory of this tribe cannot be exactly defined, and has certainly varied from time to time, the name of the Bhôjas, nevertheless, carries us either towards **the Narmadâ, or towards the coast of the Kôṅkaṇa.**[59] If the two names are not simply equivalent, they agree in bringing us towards the same part of India. Prof. Bhandarkar reminds us that in several inscriptions of the Western caves there appears the name of the Mahâbhôjas; while others have similarly the name of the Mahâraṭhis. Our Râshṭrikas would be to these Mahâraṭhis, as the Bhôjas are to the Mahâbhôjas, and the **Râsṭikas** of Piyadasi would in that case be simply **the Mahârâshṭrîs or Marâṭhâs of the Dekhan.** The **Pêtêṇikas,** being connected with the Bhôjas, should be sought for in the same direction; and, in this respect, their identification with **the inhabitants of Paiṭhâna,** *i. e.* Pratishṭhâna, towards the source of the Gôdâvarî,[60] is extremely tempting, — so tempting indeed, that I am inclined to pass over the phonetic scruples which Dr. Bühler (p. 32) opposes to it. The **Andhras** of the 13th edict would well continue the line of enumeration **towards the east.**[61] The name of the **Pulindas** is too widely spread, for it to be possible to localise it with precision in the present case. It is certainly met towards the centre of the Dekhan, in the very locality where the continuation of the enumeration would lead us to expect it.[62] Regarding the **Nâbhakas** and the **Nâbhapaṁtis** of the 13th edict, supposing these names to be correct, which is still doubtful, Dr. Bühler (Ed. XIII, *n.* 8) has cited from the *Vaivarttapurâṇa* the city Nâbhikapura as belonging to the Uttarakurus. He thence concludes that these Nâbhakas may have dwelt in the extreme north of India, in the Himâlaya. He comes to an analogous conclusion regarding the **Viśas** and the **Vṛijis,** whom he supposes to have been the early predecessors of the Bais and Lichchhavis of Nêpâl. All that is, of course, extremely doubtful. If we take into account the general direction, as I consider it has been followed by our enumerations, it could well be admitted that the king begins with his northern frontiers before going westwards. But the position of the Nâbhakas, coming after the Gandhâras, should be sought for, not so much due north, as somewhere towards the north-west.

The peoples whom the king enumerates as his **independent neighbours** (*aṁtâ avijitâ*) are, together with **the Greeks of the kingdom of Antiochus and his neighbours,** the Chôḍas

[57] *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 9. (Extract from the *Bombay Gazetteer*).
[58] Cf. *Vishnu Pur.*, Wilson, Ed. F. E. Hall, II, 158-159. [59] Bühler, p. 14. [60] Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 216.
[61] Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, I, 215 n. and 970. [62] Cf. *Vishṇu Pur.* Wilson, Ed. F. E. Hall, II, 159.

(II, XIII), the Pâṇḍyas (II, XIII), Satiyaputa, and Kêralaputa (II.) I do not refer to Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), which is each time named at the conclusion, and as the extreme limit (*âva taṁbapaṇṇiyâ*). The general situation of **the Chôḍas and the Pâṇḍyas** on the east coast and at the south extremity of the Dekhan, is sufficiently well known. As for the northern boundary, which divided the Chôḍas from Kaliṅga which was conquered by Piyadasi, it is difficult to fix it. Judging from the terms of the inscription, the territories acquired in this direction by the king would seem to have been of very great extent. They must have gone far to the south. On the other hand, the existence at Dhauli and at Jaugada of an edict specially referring to foreign nations, and to the duties in regard to them which are incumbent on the representatives of the king, leads us necessarily to the conclusion that these inscriptions cannot have been any great distance from the frontier of the empire. **Satiyaputa and Kêralaputa** would appear to correspond in some way, on the west, with the Chôḍas and Pâṇḍyas on the eastern side of the Dekhan. That at least would be the result, on the one hand, of the learned and ingenious conjecture of Dr. Bühler (pp. 12-14) regarding Satiyaputa, and, on the other hand, of the reading Kêralaputa — (according to Dr. Bühler the correct reading at Dh. is Kêlalaputa) — instead of Kêtalaputa at G. Such a conjecture is too convenient not to be a little subject to suspicion, but it has, nevertheless, since Benfey and Lassen, secured general acceptance, and it is difficult to make any other suggestion.[63]

To sum up; — **The empire of Piyadasi** is in its main features sufficiently delimited. It **embraced the whole of Northern India,** although his exact frontiers, both to the east and to the west, remain, more or less, undetermined. It is equally certain that the influence of the king, if not his full authority, **extended to the central plateau of the Dekhan,** and went even further to the south along the coasts. Moreover, we have proved that, at least towards the west, the south-west, and the south, his kingdom, properly so called, was **bordered by provinces over which he exercised a suzerainty** which was certainly active and effectual, but of which we cannot precisely measure the extent.

Piyadasi tells us on the whole but little regarding **the system under which he administered these vast dominions,** his inscriptions being almost exclusively devoted to religious subjects. He only mentions his administration so far as it deals with religious and moral progress. It is merely in that direction that he would appear to have carried his **personal reforms.** These fall under two main classes; according as he **further extends the power and the duties of functionaries already existing**; or as he **creates new functionaries and new institutions.**

The title **purushas,** 'men of the king,' would seem to be the most comprehensive term under which Piyadasi used to include all the representatives of his authority,[64] to whatever rank they belonged. He himself distinguishes them (Col. Ed. I) as superior, inferior, and of middle rank, and he evidently refers to them as officers, for they are mentioned together with the *antamahâmâtras.* He desires that they should conform to his instructions, and that they should direct the people in the good way. They are moreover, in one passage (Col. Ed. IV), contrasted in some degree with the *rajjûkas.* We shall shortly see by what characteristics these last require to be classified outside the category of functionaries properly so called.

Mahâmâtra[65] is also a generic term, analogous to *amâtya,* though perhaps with a more extended signification. It should designate functionaries of every order, but of high rank, and was applied to 'bodies' (*nikâya*) of various officers (cf. XII, 9). Piyadasi, like his predecessors, was surrounded by them, and when he speaks of *mahâmâtras* in general, it is impossible for us to specify what class of officers he had in view, or even to say for certain that he did not address

[63] *Râjaniyukta,* as Kullûka explains the word in Manu, viii, 43.

[64] Regarding the Kêrala, cf. Lassen, I, 188 note. I do not refer to the Hidarâjâ mentioned in the 13th edict. As he is separate from the general list, we are without any index as to the direction in which we are to seek him, and the reading itself is still very doubtful.

[65] Cf. Bühler, p. 37. Kern, *J. R. A. S., N. S.,* XII. p. 392.

himself to all functionaries whose rank corresponded with this designation. In this sense there are *mahâmâtras* in all provinces (Edict of the Queen), whom the king represents as charged with the responsibility of conducting urgent matters (VI). At the commencement of the first detached edict at Dh. and J., he addresses the *mahâmâtras* who are at Tôsali (or at Samâpâ), and who are charged with the administration (probably with the judicial administration in particular) of the town,—*nagalaviyôhâlakas*. It is to similar functionaries that the Edict of Kauśâmbî is directed. But there were also other *mahâmâtras*, each entrusted with the special superintendence of a religious sect, one with that of the Buddhist *saṁgha*, another with that of the Brâhmaṇs, of the Âjîvikas, or of the Nirgranthas (Col. Ed. VIII, 5). The word was thus naturally chosen to form, in composition with special determinatives, the title of functionaries of various orders; such are the *ithijhakhamahâmâtras*, or officers charged with the surveillance over women of the harem (XII), the *antamahâmâtras*, the frontier officers, or more exactly, the officers appointed to communicate with the populations across the frontiers (Dh., J. det. Ed. II);) such, finally, are *dhaṁmamahâmâtras*. As regards these last Piyadasi expressly claims the credit of the institution of the office (IV), and it is natural to conclude that the others existed before his reign. The case is the same with the *pativêdakas*[66] (VI), whose reports he arranges to receive at all moments of the day,[67] and with the *vachabhûmikas* (XII), a class of overseers whose duties we have no means for precisely indicating. But in the case of all, the king has enlarged and in some way or other remodelled their duties, adding to the special functions of these officers those of a moral surveillance, of a sort of religious propaganda, on which alone he insists in his rescripts.

The same idea pervades all his new institutions, at least all those which are borne witness to by the inscriptions. As far as regards the **dharmamahâmâtras**, the name itself is significant Their creation goes back to the fourteenth year of Piyadasi's coronation (V). He also claims. the credit of the institution of the *rajjûkas*: *hêvaṁ mama lajûkâ katâ jânapadasa hitasukhâyê* (Col. Ed. IV, 12). The functions and the hierarchical grade of these officers are enveloped in some obscurity. It is probable that the true form of the word is *rajjûka*, and that Prof. Jacobi has rightly connected them with the *rajjûs* of the Jain texts, whose title the commentators explain by *lêkhaka*, 'scribe.' The *Kalpasûtra* appears to bear witness to their habitual presence, and to their importance at the courts of kings. Dr. Bühler (p. 20), while approving of this derivation and of this meaning, also asks whether we are to see, in these *rajjûkas*, clerks fulfilling the functions of scribes, or a caste of scribes from which the king may have specially recruited the personnel of his administration. The sentence of the 4th Col. edict which I have just quoted, hardly leaves any room for doubt; it is incompatible with the second hypothesis: but the nature of their functions, even taking as a foundation the translation of the word by *lêkhaka*, is capable of diverse interpretations; and it is, therefore, the more necessary to examine our texts as closely as possible.

The **rajjûkas** are mentioned on three occasions, — in the 3rd of the fourteen (Rock) edicts, and in the 4th and the 8th of the Columnar edicts. Of the last passages, the first contrasts them with the whole range of royal functionaries, grouped collectively under the designation of 'men of the king.' The second tends to the same conclusion; the king, after having stated, without specification, that he has appointed over his people a number of persons, evidently officials, to teach them, adds immediately, 'I have also appointed *rajjûkas* over hundreds of thousands of living beings, and they have been ordered by me to instruct the faithful in such and such a manner.' In the 3rd edict, the *rajjûkas*, together with the *prâdêsika* and the faithful, are invited to proceed every five years to the *anusaṁyâna*. These *rajjûkas* must in short have had a position apart from all these functionaries, for the king, in the 4th of the

66 Buhler, p. 47.

67 The word *vinîta* has been, I think, definitely explained by Dr. Buhler, who takes it in the sense of *vinîtaka*, to mean *litter* or *palanquin*. This hypothesis satisfies the desideratum which I pointed out in my commentary on the passage, and on account of which I rejected various tentative interpretations: it furnishes a designation *of place*.

Columnar edicts, stipulates for them, and for them alone, an altogether special privilege, that of being only subject to his direct jurisdiction. Although this edict does not, strictly speaking, make them superior in the hierarchy to the *purushas,* still it attributes at least an authority, a special importance, to the teaching conveyed by them. The king considers it their duty to stimulate the zeal of his functionaries properly so called, so as to make them in their turn active propagators of the good doctrine.

It will be remarked that, wherever the *rajjûkas* are mentioned, they are put in close relationship on the one hand with the teaching of the *dhaṁma,* and on the other hand with the *yuta* or the *dhaṁmayuta.* It is for them alone that the king reserves the technical term for, 'preaching' (*vi-ava-vad, pari-ava-vad*). They are to instruct specially the *dhaṁmayuta* people, that is to say the faithful, but with them also all people (Col. Ed. IV and VIII); if they, proceed to the *anusaṁyâna,* it is in company with the *yutas.*[68] In the last sentence of the 3rd edict, *yutas* are spoken of, without apparently any mention being made of *rajjûkas*; but, even here, nevertheless, I think that they are directly referred to. The **parishad** is charged with the duty of instructing the *yutas* or the faithful. I originally understood *parishad* as an equivalent of *saṁgha,* and I was not, I think, much mistaken. The two Jain texts which mention the *rajjûs,* refer to them in the compound *rajjûsabhâ* (*Kalpasûtra,* I, 122, 147). Judging from the context, *sabhâ* cannot mean specially the assembly itself, but rather the place of the assembly; it, however, supposes a meeting, a college, of *rajjûs,* for the use of which the *sabhâ* was set apart. I feel little hesitation in identifying the *parishad* of the 3rd Edict with this **meeting of rajjûkas.** It will be recognised that the position which the word occupies, beside an order given to the *rajjûkas,* is favourable to this opinion. The *parishad* reappears in the 6th edict. According to the division of the sentences which has been established by Dr. Bühler, the king says, — 'With regard to all that I personally order to be given away or to be promulgated, or to everything that, in urgent cases, the *mahâmâtras* have to undertake on their own responsibility, every dissent or blame which may arise concerning that must be immediately reported in the *parishad.*' It would be unreasonable to contend, *à priori,* that this *parishad* is different from that of the 3rd edict. This **assembly of rajjûkas** thus appears to constitute a sort of council, of a more specially religious character, on which the care of the propaganda and of religious works specially devolved, and to which the piety of the king gave a considerable influence over his own actions. The expression of the 8th edict, according to which the *rajjûkas* were appointed over many thousands of men, and, still more, the indications of the 3rd edict, which applies to all parts of the vast empire of Piyadasi, go far to prove that there was not only one of these colleges, but that they existed in more or less number. The peculiar functions of these persons, perhaps also their religious character, clearly explain both the importance which Piyadasi attaches to their creation and their actions, and the privileged position with which he endowed them, as compared with his other officers. It would be interesting if we could establish a palpable agreement between their name and their office, but unfortunately, though the form *rajjûka* appears to be certain, the etymology of the word remains obscure. The very meaning which the Jain commentator attributes to it, even if we admit that he is right, cannot be the primitive one, and can be no authority for the time of Piyadasi. All that we can state positively is this, that between the meaning of 'scribe,' however it arose, and the application of the word to persons whose duties as teachers suppose a complete religious education, the distance is far from impassable.

It now remains to say a word regarding a last category of persons, the **prâdêsikas.** According to Prof. Kern,[69] they were probably local governors. This interpretation is conformable with the use of the word in the classical language, and, basing his inquiries on this use, Dr. Bühler (p. 20) seeks in them for the local princes, in whom India, with its feudal system

[68] It is unnecessary to remark how this allusion favours my interpretation of the words *yuta* and *dhaṁmayuta.* It proves at least that, in translating, we cannot separate the two terms from each other.

[69] *J. R. A. S., N. S.,* XII. p 393.

and its caste organization, has always been rich, — the ancestors of the Ṭhâkurs, Râos, Râwals, &c., of the present day. In itself the explanation is very plausible. The only passage in which they are mentioned by name, associates them with the *rajjûkas* in their characteristic functions. If my conjecture of *yathâvisayâpi* in the 8th Col. Ed. (l. 1.) is well founded, it is probable that they are referred to in this sentence also, and *yathâvisayâ* would correspond with *prâdêsika*. There also, they seem to be closely connected with the *rajjûkas*, and it is not surprising that the king should devolve upon functionaries of so high a rank, who were in a manner his direct representatives, a share in the mission of preaching.[70]

Piyadasi, while not expressing himself very clearly regarding the character and hierarchical position of his functionaries, is also not as explicit and precise as we could wish regarding **their duties**. He is more occupied with giving them counsels of humanity, of imparting to them moral exhortations, than with detailing their professional work.

So far as concerns the officers, probably of various kinds, grouped together under the generic title of **mahâmâtras**, we see clearly enough that they existed in all parts of his kingdom (Edict of the Queen), and that they were expected, in urgent matters, to come to the necessary decisions on their own responsibility (VI). Some of them, in towns such as Tôsalî and Samâpâ, acted as governors and judges (Dh. J., Det. Ed. I.): they had to prevent arbitrary prosecutions and imprisonments; but, as we have seen, it is, above all, the practice of the virtues most necessary to their positions which is recommended to them; they must flee envy, impatience, want of application. In the frontier provinces, the **antamahâmâtras** (Dh. J., Det. Ed. II) are only encouraged to convince the foreigners, beyond the border, of the pacific and benign intentions which Piyadasi holds in regard to them, and are charged to bring them gradually by these sympathetic feelings to the practice of those virtues, dear to the king, which must assure their welfare both in this world and in the next. All this is very vague. From the 8th Col. edict, it appears that we must conclude, that to each sect, orthodox or dissenting, there was attached a *mahâmâtra*, specially entrusted with its superintendence.[71]

According to the same passage, the **dhaṁmahâmâtras,** created by Piyadasi for the diffusion of the *dhaṁma*, would appear to have had a more extended sphere of action. They were to busy themselves in a general way with all the sects. A reference may be made to the 5th and 12th Rock edicts and to the 8th Col. edict, where the king recapitulates more or less explicitly the services which he expects from them. It is a mission of mercy and charity, unfortunately without positive details, which is entrusted to them. Amongst the vassal populations (V) they appear to have been invested with particularly multifarious duties, amongst others, the special protection of the co-religionists of the king. They are readily confused with the *mahâmâtras*, named thus in a general fashion, for example, in what concerns the distribution of the alms of the king, his wives, and his children (Col. Ed. VIII and Ed. of the Queen). They are charged with a kind of oversight of the king's palace and of all his property, both at Pâṭaliputra, and in the provinces (V), but they evidently share this task with other functionaries, probably of inferior rank, such as the *ithîjhakamahâmâtras* and the *vachabhûmikas* (XII). The king connects all his bodies of officers with each other, as all working together to aid, by mutual tolerance and religious preaching, the progress of the moral ideas which form the essential basis of all sects. We cannot draw many precise ideas from language so vague as this.

The duties of the **prativêdakas** are a little better defined by their name alone. They are the officers whose duty it is to report everything to the king (VI), and Dr. Bühler (47) has

[70] I think that, in any case, Prof. Kern goes beyond his authorities, when he fixes the creation of the *rajjûkas* and the *prâdêsikas* as occurring in the 13th year (*loc. cit.* p. 392). The date given in the 3rd edict evidently refers to the foundation of the *anusaṁyâna*, and not to the creation of the officials whom the king directs to participate in it.

[71] In the edict of Kauśâmbî, the word *saṁghasi*, which is very distinct, seems to indicate that the *mahâmâtras* of the town received, in this instance, orders regarding the Buddhist community. This is an additional reason for regretting that the fragment is so damaged. Should we consider that we have a trace of the continued existence of this organisation in the inscription of Nâsik (West, No. 6, *Archæol. Sur. West Ind.*, IV, p. 98): . . . . *nâsikakêna sâmanêna mahâmâtêna lêna kârita*? We might easily translate it 'the *mahâmâtra* of Nâsik, set over the Śramaṇas.'

certainly good grounds for comparing them with the *charas* (or *châras*) whose employment is recommended to Hindû princes by the Dharmaśâstras. So far as regards them, probably Piyadasi's only innovation was the zeal with which he required and heard their reports.

As for the **rajjûkas,** we have seen that their principal, but not their only (*yathâ añâya pi kammâya*, Ed. III) duty, was the preaching of the *dhamma*, and that chiefly for the benefit of the *dhammayutas*. Although, it is true, the text is not absolutely explicit, it appears likely that to them also was entrusted the execution of the will of the king with reference to those condemned to death (Col. Ed. IV). Piyadasi determined to give these unhappy people a respite of three days before their execution, so that they might prepare themselves for the punishment by fasting and alms, and might practise meditation with a view to their salvation in the world to come. We have here an inspiration which is entirely religious; and the intervention of the *rajjûkas* would perfectly agree with what has been said above regarding the character of their office.

I would have little to add regarding them, did they not play an important part in an institution peculiar to Piyadasi, **the anusamyâna,** which is very characteristic, but the nature and ritual of which are unfortunately not explained with the accuracy which we should desire.

I desire to draw the attention of the reader to two decisive passages. Their translation is, I believe, certain as regards its general lines. We first read in the 3rd edict, — 'Everywhere in my empire let the faithful of the religion, the *rajjûka* and the governor, set out every five years for the *anusamyâna*, for this reason — for the teaching of the *dhamma*, as well as for any other duty. The teaching of the *dhamma*, that is to say, "It is good to obey one's mother and one's father, etc."' The first detached edict of Dh. and J. concludes as follows:—'It is also for this purpose that regularly every fifth year I shall summon [to the *anusamyâna*] every[72] *mahâmâtra* who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life, in order that, hearing these things, he may act according to my instructions. The Prince [Governor] of Ujjayinî also will for this purpose summon an assembly of the same nature, but he shall do so every three years without fail. So also at Takshaśilâ. While repairing to the *anusamyâna*, without at the same time neglecting their other particular duties, these *mahâmâtras* will learn these things. Let them act in accordance therewith, following the instructions of the king.'

It is the exact meaning of the word *anusamyâna* which makes the difficulty. Instead of the 'assembly,' which I have sought for in it, Prof. Kern (*loc. cit.*), and after him Dr. Bühler (p. 21), understand it as a 'tour of inspection.' Dr. Bühler relies on its etymological meaning, and also on the fact that the word is really used in Sanskrit to signify 'to visit in turn.' I willingly admit that, at first sight, this translation would appear to be the most natural one. At the same time, Prof. Kern himself admits[73] that my interpretation is not impossible, and that as a matter of fact, as *sam-yâ* certainly does mean 'to meet together,' *anusamyâna*, could easily, with the addition of the distributive meaning contained in *anu*, express the idea of 'meeting, assembly.' On the other hand, the translation which my learned colleagues propose for the word seems to me to be irreconcilable with the passages which have just been cited.

In fact, it follows from the first detached edict at Dhauli, that the *mahâmâtras*, whom the king intends, or orders, to 'set out for the *anusamyâna*,' are supposed to go there to seek for themselves, and not to carry to others, teaching and moral instruction. I believe that I have shown in my commentary, that the text can bear no other interpretation. Moreover, that is the only one which logically fits into the general bearing of the whole edict. It is addressed to the *mahâmâtras*, and only contains exhortations, a kind of sermon, regarding their duties. 'Fail not,' concludes the king, 'to satisfy me by acting in this way. It is for this purpose (that is to say, quite clearly, to obtain every satisfaction from you) that this inscription hath been engraven ... It is also for this purpose (that is to say, again evidently, to remind you of your duties)

[72] The plural which follows, *te mahâmâtâ*, justifies this translation.

[73] *Geschied. van het Buddhisme*, II, 220 n.

that regularly every fifth year, etc.' If we compare closely the two passages which relate to the *anusaṁyâna*, what do we find? In the first, the *yutas*, the *rajjûkas* and the *prâdêsikas* are every five years, to set out for the *anusaṁyâna*. In the second, it is only stated that the *mahâmâtras* are to set out for it. It has been rather hastily admitted that the two categories must necessarily be equivalent; I myself have fallen into the mistake. It was under this impression that, in order to establish a complete concordance between the two passages, I originally proposed to take,[74] in the first, the phrase *imâya dhaṁmânusasṭiya* in a passive sense, but I should never have admitted this conjecture, which I have since withdrawn.[75] It is, indeed, an arbitrary supposition that these two recommendations, which are intended for different persons, should necessarily be identical. The second is addressed to the *mahâmâtra* who are destined, in the *anusaṁyâna*, to *receive* instruction and encouragement, while the first can very well be addressed to the functionaries charged with *imparting them*, — to the *prâdêśika*, the governor, as immediate and direct representative of the king, and to the *rajjûkas*, of whom we know that the proper function was religious and moral teaching. From this point of view the passage of the fourth columnar edict, which has been discussed several times, shows itself under a new light. It becomes clear why the zeal of the officers is there considered as guaranteed by that of the *rajjûkas*, as these are specially charged with reminding them of their duties. Under these circumstances it is evident that the *anusaṁyâna* to which the king wishes the *mahâmâtras* to repair, can only have been an assembly. Perhaps, after all, both theories might be reconciled, if we suppose that reference is made to a series of meetings convoked by the *rajjûka* and the *prâdêśika* on tour, for the king certainly supposes a considerable number of such assemblies. It will be admitted, at any rate, that a tour of inspection could hardly be changed into a tour of instruction, except with the convocation of numerous successive meetings. Is not also a special assembly necessarily implied by the king's command that his edict should be read (Dh., J., Ed det., I) on the day of the festival in honour of Tishya? I may add that the agreement, established by this explanation, with the custom mentioned for a more modern period by the Chinese pilgrims (and to which I have drawn attention in my commentary), does not appear to me, supposing it necessary, to be an argument by any means to be despised.

There is, too, another agreement which is even more to the point. The 3rd edict invites to the *anusaṁyâna* the *yutas*. I have stated above my opinion as to the meaning of this word. If I am right that we must consider it as equivalent, in a general sense, to 'all the faithful of the true religion,' it is clear that the *anusaṁyâna* to which they are invited cannot be a 'tour of administration.' But, even supposing that my explanation of the word is not considered convincing, and that the translation is not admitted without some reserve, it appears to me that it is impossible to seriously contest the identity of the *yuta* of the 3rd edict with the *janadhaṁmayuta* of the 8th columnar edict. That name must designate at least a considerable category of people, and not merely officials, and would consequently exclude every kind of idea of a 'tour of inspection.'

These assemblies had therefore, in my opinion, the altogether special characteristic, that they were not meant for the entire population. Besides the superior officials who were responsible for them, and who took an active part in them (*rajjûka* and *prâdêśika*), they comprised only the *yutas*, that is to say, the faithful Buddhists. This furnishes the key to a difficulty which occurred to me in the first detached edict at Dhauli (*n.* 25), and of which I did not originally offer a sufficient solution. The reader will remember the phrase, 'I shall summon to the *anusaṁyâna* every *mahâmâtra*, who will be mild, patient, and a respecter of life.' It, as the reader can see from my revised commentary in this translation, appears to me that we must understand the phrase as having a shade of '*possibility*', — every *mahâmâtra* who *may* be endowed with these qualities; and in these qualities I only see a development of the idea

[74] Dh., det. Ed. I, *n* 28.

[75] The constant use in our texts of *dhaṁmânusasṭi* in the active sense, entirely condemns such an hypothesis.

which is expressed in an equivalent manner by the compound *dhaṁmayuta.* In the 3rd edict, addressed to every one in general, Piyadasi convokes to the *anusaṁyâna* all the faithful without distinction; here, where he addresses himself specially to the *mahâmâtras,* he specifies those only among them who fall under the category of *dhaṁmayutas.* The two passages agree in establishing that the *anusaṁyâna* was reserved for Buddhists. It was one of the principal occasions when the *rajjûkas* were given the mission of exercising their ministry of teaching, which was specially conferred upon them over those of the people who believed (Col. Ed. VIII, 1). It will be remarked that this peculiarity agrees very well with the purely religious name of *môkshaparishad,* 'assemblies of deliverance,' given by Hiuen Tsiang to those quinquennial or annual assizes which we compare with our *anusaṁyâna.*[76]

It is curious that these **assemblies of the anusaṁyâna** should have been convoked at different periods, — every five years in the countries directly administered by the king, and every three years or less in the provinces governed by the princes who lived at Ujjayinî and at Takshaśilâ. For Tôsalî, which we see to have been also ruled by a *kumâra* (Dh. J., Det. Ed. II), we find no special instructions, and it is therefore probable that the convocation took place there only every five years. It is difficult to see the reasons of this variation. One conjecture only appears to me to present some probability, *viz.* that towards his west and south-west frontier the king wished to multiply the occasions of meeting and instruction, in the interests of his co-religionists belonging to the vassal populations surrounding his borders, and over whom his usual action would necessarily be less direct and less efficacious.

Of the **other measures of which the initiation belongs to Piyadasi,** some have already been noticed, — such, for instance, as the three days respite which he gives to the condemned, before their execution, that they may prepare for death; while others,—such as the planting of trees along the roads, the construction of wells and tanks,—are common to most of the kings of India.

We have spoken of the suppression of bloody sacrifices (I). The 5th of the Columnar edicts states the restrictions imposed by the king upon the slaughter and mutilation of animals, and on the consumption of their flesh, and we know that in this respect, he practised in his palace what he preached (I). We have already discussed the honour which he claims of having spread abroad, in all places, medicines and useful plants (II). As for certain acts of an altogether religious character, such as the sending forth of missionaries, they will be considered in the concluding portion of these observations.

We learn that he entertained **certain relations with foreign countries,** and more especially with the Greek kings. It is unfortunate that he gives us no particulars concerning this subject. The employment of ambassadors (*dûtas*), whom he mentions in the 13th edict, is to be expected and teaches us nothing. These relations with other lands, and the influences which resulted from them, were certainly no new thing, and our inscriptions, unless I am mistaken, preserve a piece of evidence regarding them, which, although indirect, is worth drawing attention to.

The rescripts of Piyadasi commence, all or nearly all, with this phrase, — **'Thus saith the king Piyadasi, dear unto the Dêvas.'** Now, so far as I know, this formula is an absolutely isolated example in Indian epigraphy. It makes its appearance with our inscriptions, and, after them, appears no more, in spite of the influence which the example of so powerful a sovereign would be expected to exercise. The fact is curious, and is worthy of having its explanation sought for. Now we do find this formula elsewhere. In the entire series of the inscriptions of the Achæmenides, from Darius to Artaxerxes Ochus, the phrase *thâtiy Dârayavaush kshayâthiya,* **'thus saith the king Darius,'** or its equivalent, *thâtiy Kshayârshâ,* &c., inevitably forms the frame of each of the proclamations. In both cases, this phrase in the third person is immediately succeeded by the use of the first person, and we are still further justified in drawing attention to this curious

[76] Beal: *Si-yu-ki,* I, 52, &c.

coincidence by the fact that, again in both cases, the same word (*dipi, lipi*) is used to designate the inscriptions, and that, as we have seen, we are led to admit, on altogether independent grounds, that the Indian form of the word was originally borrowed from Persia. The very idea of engraving long inscriptions upon rocks is neither so natural nor so universal that the coincidence in this respect between Piyadasi and Achæmenide kings should easily be considered to be fortuitous. I certainly do not pretend to discover here a direct and conscious imitation of the Achæmenian inscriptions, but the protocol employed in both cases must have been consecrated by an older custom of the royal chanceries, and in this imitation I cannot refrain from noting **a trace of the influence exercised by the Persian conquest and administration in north-west India.** It was Darius who first carried thither his rule and his arms, and the organisation of the Satrapies,[77] which he instituted about the same time, was exactly of a nature to spread abroad the usages and formulas of administration peculiar to his empire. This remark naturally agrees with a conjecture which I have made elsewhere.[78] It tends to confirm the influence which I thought myself justified in attributing to the Persian administration over the palæographical history of India. It is a subject to which I shall have to return.

The literary traditions are strangely silent regarding the various governmental and administrative measures, which are known to us through the evidence of these monuments. We have, it is true, proved coincidences or points of agreement between the two classes of documents, which are characteristic enough, and from which we can be certain of the identity of the Piyadasi of the inscriptions, with the Aśôka of the books; but it must be admitted that, beyond these valuable concordances, the two series of accounts diverge in a singular manner. It is seldom that they refer to the same facts, so as to render one a direct check upon the other. It is not that they are contradictory or incompatible with each other, but that, simply, they do not speak of the same things. The chronicles, for instance, do not even mention the conquest of Kaliṅga, or the relations of the king with foreign princes. This circumstance is capable of explanation. In the writings of the Northern Buddhists we only possess fragmentary accounts of Aśôka, and the Sinhalese chronicles do not profess to give his biography in detail. If this prince interests them, it is because he is considered as the principal author of the diffusion of Buddhism in Ceylon, and it is only the religious aspects of his life which are of importance in the eyes of the monkish writers.[79] Moreover, it has long been recognized that these traditions, both those of the north and those of Ceylon, are deeply imbued with legendary elements, which are, at least in great part, apocryphal, and which were certainly composed long after the epoch the history of which they reflect. **The sphere of religion** is almost the only one with regard to which some comparisons are possible; and that which gives some interest to the comparisons, limited though they be, which we are able to institute, is, that from them we may hope to recognise in what direction, if not in what degree, tradition has gradually deviated from the truth.

According to **the Sinhalese chronicles,** the coronation of Aśôka did not take place till four years after his coming to the throne, and we have no means for certainly checking this statement. There is nothing to show its improbability, and we might even say that the care with which the king, agreeing in this with the practice of the chroniclers, expressly dates from his *abhishêka* the facts about which he informs us, appears rather to indicate that his coronation, as a matter of fact, could not have coincided with his taking possession of his power. The tradition is most liable to suspicion so far as it deals with the events which are said to have accompanied this act of taking possession, or at least which are said to have preceded the coronation. If we are to believe the Sinhalese, Aśôka seized the throne after putting to death ninety-nine of his brothers, and is said to have spared one only, Tishya, who entered three years later into a monastic life. The commission of this crime is contradicted by the inscriptions, in which he speaks of his brothers, and of their residence in various towns of his empire; indeed,

[77] Cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Alterth.*, II., pp. 328 and ff.

[78] *Journ. Asiatique*, 1879, I. p. 536

[79] Cf. the remark of Târanâtha, *Germ. translat.* p. 29.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskrit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a
आ	ಆ	â
इ	ಇ	i
ई	ಈ	î
उ	ಉ	u
ऊ	ಊ	û
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî
ऌ	—	lṛi
—	ಎ	e
ए	ಏ	ê
ऐ	ಐ	ai
—	ಒ	o
ओ	ಓ	ô
औ	ಔ	au
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ẖ
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	ḫ
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ
Anunâsikâ	—	m̐
क	ಕ	ka
ख	ಖ	kha
ग	ಗ	ga
घ	ಘ	gha
ङ	ಙ	ṅa
च	ಚ	cha
छ	ಛ	chha

Sanskrit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
ज	ಜ	ja
झ	ಝ	jha
ञ	ಞ	ña
ट	ಟ	ṭa
ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ड	ಡ	ḍa
ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ण	ಣ	ṇa
त	ತ	ta
थ	ಥ	tha
द	ದ	da
ध	ಧ	dha
न	ನ	na
प	ಪ	pa
फ	ಫ	pha
ब	ಬ	ba
भ	ಭ	bha
म	ಮ	ma
य	ಯ	ya
र	ರ	ra
—	ಱ	ṟa
ल	ಲ	la
ळ	ಳ	ḷa
—	ೞ	ḻa
व	ವ	va
श	ಶ	śa
ष	ಷ	sha
स	ಸ	sa
ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî **marks of punctuation** than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets**, for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshar* or syllable.

agreement is far from existing amongst the different sources of the tradition, and according to Târanâtha,[80] it was six brothers whom the king made away with. According to **other authorities** there was no murder at all, but it is replaced by other acts of cruelty. In the *Aśôka-avadâna*,[81] the prince slays his officers and his wives, and sets up a 'hell,' in which a number of innocent people are submitted to the most refined tortures.[82] According to **a Sinhalese account,**[83] Aśôka sends a minister to re-establish regular practices amongst the Buddhist clergy, who are troubled by the treacherous intrusion of a great number of false Brâhmaṇical brethren. Infuriated against the monks who refused under these conditions to celebrate the *upôsatha*, the minister decapitates several with his own hand. He only stops, when the very brother of the king offers himself to receive the fatal blow. The king, being informed of what has occurred, falls a victim to cruel anguish of conscience. **In the north,** we are told[84] how Aśôka, to punish profanation committed by Brâhmaṇical mendicants upon a statue of the Buddha, sets a price upon their heads, and how he only desists from his executions when his brother, who is here called Vîtâśôka, is, in mistake, slain as one. All these accounts are at the same time very analogous, and very different. It is equally impossible to accept any of the versions as good historical coin. We can recognise them, without difficulty, as more or less independent developments of two ideas common to both sets. The first is **the antithesis between the criminal conduct of Aśôka** before his conversion, and his virtuous conduct subsequently to it. In this way the *Aśôka-avadâna*[85] places the conversion of Aśôka in direct relation with his 'hell,' by the intermediary of the pious Samudra. The other is **the memory of a certain opposition between the king and the Brâhmaṇs.** It reappears in **the southern account of his conversion,** and is there attributed to the comparisons, unfavourable to the Brâhmaṇs, which arose in the heart of the king, between them and his nephew, Nigrôdha the *śramaṇa*.

In his **inscriptions,** Piyadasi himself enlightens us as to **the origin of his conversion.** He draws for us a mournful picture of **the deeds of violence which accompanied the conquest of Kaliṅga,** the thousands of deaths, the thousands of harmless people carried off into slavery, families decimated, Brâhmaṇs themselves not escaping the miseries of the defeat. It is this spectacle which filled him with remorse, and which awakened in him a horror of war. Here we are upon a solid ground of history. It is very probable that the literary versions are only later amplifications of this kernel of simple and certain truth. The sentiments which Piyadasi explains to us in the 13th edict, would appear to exclude the idea of a career of cruelties and of crimes pursued through several entire years. So much for the first point of view.

As for the second, Piyadasi himself, if I correctly translate the difficult passage at Sahasarâm declares to us that, **after his conversion, he proceeded to deprive the Brâhmaṇs of that almost divine prestige which they enjoyed throughout the whole of India.** Without any doubt, he did not persecute them violently; at the same time he approves of the alms which were given to them; but he must have marked his preference for the Buddhist religion by various means which it is not difficult to imagine. It is this proceeding, doubtless, which has been transformed in the literary tradition into an absolute banishment, — nay rather, a bloody persecution of the Brâhmaṇs.

In both cases, a comparison of the monuments with the legends and the chronicles tends to show, 1st, that **the traditions are marked by grave exaggeration,** and are full of arbitrary amplifications, and 2nd, that **they are dominated by religious and specially by monastic prepossessions,** — prepossessions which were infinitely more precise than any which ever existed in the mind and at the time of Piyadasi. All other observations lead to a similar conclusion.

We know, from the 2nd edict, that Piyadasi claims the credit of having spread abroad

[80] *Germ. translat.* p. 28.

[81] Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 364 and ff.

[82] Târanâtha, pp. 28 and ff., contains yet other variations.

[83] *Mahâvaṃsa*, pp. 39 and ff.

[84] *Aśoka-avadâna* ap. Burnouf, pp. 423 and ff.

[85] *loc. cit.*, pp. 367, and ff.

everywhere medicines and useful plants both for men and even for animals. According to the story of Buddhaghôsha,[86] Aśôka, on learning that a *bhikshu* has died for want of medicine, has four tanks (*pôkkharaṇî*) dug out at the four gates of the city, which he fills with medicines, and offers to the monks. Here, on the one hand, the exaggeration is carried to an absurdity, and, on the other hand, the monkish prepossession stands clearly confessed. Piyadasi takes measures to give to those who are condemned to death, before their execution, a respite which will allow them to meditate with a view to their religious preparation for the event. We also see that, on several occasions, he exercises his prerogative of mercy with regard to criminals. If we now turn to the *Aśôka-avadâna*,[87] we learn that Aśôka absolutely prohibited the putting of any one to death, and he takes this resolution owing to the death of a *bhikshu* who turns out to be no other than his own brother. Here, again, we see the exaggeration and the religious colouring.

The legends of the north, and the southern traditions, each represent Aśôka as an adherent to what appeared respectively to each to be the only orthodox Buddhism. Nothing is more natural. But what we want to know, is, to what degree these pretentions were justified.

Since Kittoe's time,[88] it has been generally agreed, that the Bhabra inscription appears to reproduce a letter from the king to the council, which, according to the Sinhalese annalists, is said to have been held at Pâṭaliputra in the reign of Aśôka. I must except Prof. Kern, who, in his criticism of the data relative to this occurrence, comes to purely negative conclusions, and considers the alleged council as an invention.[89] It is at least certain that the coincidence which has been accepted as self-evident, is met by more than one difficulty. The king explains with entire precision the aim which he has set himself in this letter: viz., that certain lessons should be spread abroad as much as possible, both among the monks and among the laity. He mentions neither a general collection of teachings current under the name of the Buddha, nor any of the circumstances which, in the southern tradition, characterized **the council of Pâṭaliputra.** Can it be admitted that the king designated simply by the name of *Mâgadha-saṁgha* a solemn meeting, assembled under exceptional circumstances, as is depicted by the Sinhalese books? The very manner, too, in which the king puts nearly on the same level the authority of his own orders and the authority of the words of the Buddha, renders it little likely, granting the piety and orthodoxy of which he boasts, that he should be addressing himself to a council assembled to codify those very words of the Buddha. The king, on so solemn an occasion, would assuredly not have employed language so even, so entirely devoid of all allusion to the circumstance which provoked his intervention. I think, therefore, that, in this letter, Piyadasi addresses simply the clergy of Magadha, or, as I have conjectured, the Buddhist clergy in general, in order to recommend to them the active dissemination of the lessons attributed to the Buddha. Moreover, far from admitting that the edict shews the historic reality of the council, I would be rather disposed to think that, in this case also, the memory of the efforts made by Aśôka to extend the Buddhist doctrines and to stimulate the zeal of their natural preachers, amplifying and acquiring definite form as time passed on in the traditions of the schools, has been either the origin or the foundation of the tradition regarding the alleged council.

One of the two chief works attributed by the Sinhalese to this synod, is the initiative which it is said to have taken in sending forth, in all directions, missionaries charged with propagating the Good Law. In this, again, everything points to the conclusion that the chronicle confiscates to the profit of the clergy an honour which, in reality, belongs to the king. The Edict of Sahasarâm-Rûpnâth (*aṁtâ pi cha jânaṁtu*) proves that, independently of any council, Piyadasi was devoted to the propaganda in foreign parts. If I have rightly interpreted the conclusion of the edict, he must have, within a little more than a year of religious zeal, sent forth missionaries (*vivuthas*) as far as possible in all directions. We see, in any case, from the 13th edict, that he sent forth envoys (*dûtas*) to spread his religious ideas, and that, from that period, he prided himself with having, in this respect, obtained a certain amount of success.

[86] *Samantapâsâdikâ*, ap. Oldenburg, p. 306.
[87] Burnouf, pp. 423-424.
[88] Cf. Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 325.
[89] Kern, II, 278 and ff.

There can hardly be any doubt that the monkish tradition, under the influence of its special prepossessions, has transferred to the clergy, an action which, in truth, should be credited to the sovereign.[90]

According to legend, Aśôka would appear as a fervent adorer of the relics of the Buddha, and as a great builder of *stûpas*. In this respect the monuments do not permit us to be affirmative. I can only adhere, in spite of the objections of Dr. Bühler, to my explanation of the 4th edict. Piyadasi there, in my opinion, describes religious festivals celebrated after his conversion. In connection with these processions, I applied the word *vimâna*, in *vimânadasaṇâ*, to shrines filled with relics; but I confess that this interpretation, which was of necessity conjectural, appears less probable to me to-day. It would be hardly consonant with the zeal of a neophyte to put, if we take the word in this sense, the *vimânadasaṇâ*, on the same level with the *hastidasaṇâ*, the *agikhaṁdhâni*, &c. I think then that in the monuments we have no proof that Piyadasi practised the cult of relics, though we have still less proof to the contrary.

There is, on the other hand, one point with regard to which we are entitled to strongly charge the literary tradition with an anachronism. According to the Sinhalese, the canon of the sacred writings is said to have been fixed, as early as the time of Aśôka, by two successive councils. This appears to me to be irreconcilable with the language which the king uses at Bhabra. No doubt, several of the titles which are quoted in this inscription, are to be found in the Pâli scriptures, and the example of the *râhulôvâdasutta* is of a nature to lead us to maintain *à priori*, with respect to the other titles, that the king really did refer to lessons very similar to those of which the text has been preserved to us. Dr. Oldenberg,[91] on the other hand, remarks that the king did not necessarily profess to cite *all* the lessons of the Buddha, the authority of which he recognised. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, if there existed, besides them, a defined and consecrated body of scriptures, it would be quite extraordinary that Piyadasi should choose, in order to sum up the mass of Buddhist lessons, pieces so little characteristic, so short, and so devoid of dogmatic importance, as those which he cites appear to be, and that too, without even alluding to the great collection of which the title alone would have been infinitely more significant, and to which it would be so natural to appeal when addressing the highest representatives of the clergy and of the whole Buddhist church. It will be remarked, besides, that the terms employed by the text, — *suṇêyu, upadhâlayêyu*, — refer only to oral transmission.

These remarks would be incomplete without an examination as to the degree to which they are confirmed by the doctrines which the author of the inscriptions professes.

In the special Edict of Bhabra, the language of Piyadasi is, in several characteristic points, in agreement with the terminology of literary Buddhism. Not only does the king address the clergy (*saṁgha*), but he salutes it by a formula sanctioned on such occasions by the canonical writings. He commences with a confession of faith (*pasâda*) in the Buddhist Trinity, — Buddha, *dharma*, and *saṁgha*. He alludes to the four-fold division of the faithful into *bhikshus* and *bhikshuṇîs*, *upâsakas* and *upâsikâs*, and finally he refers to certain religious lessons of which, as we have seen, several at least are to be found in a more or less equivalent form in the *Tripiṭaka*.

In the other inscriptions the points of contact with the Buddhism of our books are less apparent.

---

[90] On one important and interesting point, — I mean the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon, — our inscriptions do not assist us to come to any certain conclusion. Piyadasi never mentions Taṁbapaṇṇî, except as an extreme limit of his influence. It would appear, however, that we must include this great island amongst the countries evangelised under his direction. It is altogether another thing to decide whether it was really converted then, or whether this was done by his son, &c.; and in this respect, the silence of the monuments seems hardly favourable to the authority of the traditions.

[91] *Mahâvagga*, pref. p. xl. n.

The **great aim of Piyadasi is to teach, to spread abroad, and to encourage the dhaṁma.** This word appears so frequently in his inscriptions, and has so characteristic an importance, that it is indispensable to fix its exact meaning. From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him **dhaṁma ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.**

According to the definition given in the 2nd Columnar edict, the *dhaṁma* 'consists in committing the least possible ill (*âsinava*); in doing much good, in practising mercy, charity, truth, and also purity of life.' The eighth adds 'gentleness.' Several enumerations sum up the principal duties which constitute the essential points of the teaching of the *dhaṁma*: obedience to fathers, and mothers (Ed. III, IV, XI, Col. Ed. VIII), to the aged (Ed. IV, Col. Ed. VIII), to *gurus* (Col. Ed. VIII), respect to *gurus* (Ed. IX), to *brâhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* (Ed. IV, Col. Ed. VIII), to relations (Ed. IV), and even to slaves and servants (Ed. IX, XI, Col. Ed. VIII). charity to *brâhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* (Ed. III, IX), to friends, to acquaintances and to relations (Ed. III, XI), and in one passage (Ed. III), — besides *apavyayatâ* (?), of which the meaning has not yet been satisfactorily determined,[92] — moderation in language; above all, respect for the life of animals (Ed. III, IV, IX, XI).[93]

Here there is nothing exclusively Buddhist, and hence Piyadasi was able to say (Col. Ed. VII) that the kings who preceded him have laboured in order to cause the progress of the *dhaṁma*.

The 13th edict contains an enumeration altogether similar to those which sum up elsewhere the teaching of the *dhaṁma*, yet made in order to prove that the virtues which it records are often practised indifferently by adherents of all religious dogmas: — 'Everywhere,' says the king, 'dwell *brâhmaṇas*, *śramaṇas* or other sects, ascetics or householders: among these men, ... there exist obedience to superiors, obedience to fathers and mothers, tenderness towards friends comrades and relations, respect to slaves and servants, fidelity in the affections.' The *dhaṁma* is here attributed to all sects. It is that *sâra*, that 'essence,' which is common to all, as Piyadasi says in the 12th Edict, and the universal progress of which he desires. 'That is why harmony is to be desired. All should hear and learn to practise the *dhaṁma* from the mouth of one another.'[94]

At the same time, the Edict of Bhabra shows that **the special Buddhist use of dhaṁma was familiar to Piyadasi,** and that the word was already in his time associated with the two other terms, — *buddha* and *saṁgha*, — to constitute the trinitary formula of the Buddhists. Nay, more than that, Piyadasi everywhere puts the idea of the *dhaṁma* in direct relation with his positive conversion to Buddhism. His first conversion he defines in the 13th edict by the words *dhaṁmavâyê dhaṁmakâmatâ dhaṁmânusathi*. As for the second, his 'setting out for the *saṁbôdhi*' is described by the words *dhaṁmayâtrâ*. In the fourth edict, in the sentence, ... *piyadasinô râñô dhaṁmacharaṇêna bhêrighôsô ahô dhaṁmaghôsô vimânadasaṇâ cha*

[92] The explanation proposed by Dr. Buhler satisfies me neither as regards the form (the locative would be unique in the inscriptions), nor as regards the suggested meaning which is entirely hypothetical. As for the translation 'modesty,' proposed by Dr. Pischel, he has himself made the suggestion with the most express reservations.

[93] The moral ideas which Piyadasi expresses elsewhere, as when he contends that virtue is difficult to practise (Ed. V, VI, X, &c.), or when he declares that he considers it his duty to promote the happiness of the world (Ed. VI), and that in his eyes no glory is equal to the practice of the *dhamma* (X), and no conquest to the conquests made for the gain of the *dhaṁma*, and when he maintains (Col. Ed. III) that rage, cruelty, anger, and pride are the sources of sin, — all these observations are of a very general character, and add nothing to what we know from elsewhere.

[94] Ed XII. I now think that it is thus that we should understand this phrase (l. 7). The king never distinguishes between different *dhammas*, and does not take the word to express indifferently any belief whatever, and it is difficult to maintain that he should do so in a solitary passage. I prefer therefore to make *añamoñasa* depend not on *dhammam*, but on *sruṇêyu* and *susuṁsêraṁ*; the genitive thus taking a force equivalent to that which the ablative would have, — an occurrence which is not unusual. In the concluding sentence of the edict, I cannot but accept the correction of Dr. Buhler, and I take *ôtpapâsaṁḍa* as meaning, 'the belief peculiar to each person,' and not 'my own belief.'

. . . . , *dhaṁmacharaṇa* necessarily refers to the conversion of the king,[95] and specially signifies his adhesion to the Buddhist *dhaṁma*. It finds its expression in the ceremonies peculiar to the cult, though, almost immediately afterwards, *dhaṁmacharaṇa* signifies merely the practice of moral duties, in accordance with the ordinary value which the word *dhaṁma* has in the mouth of the king.

Ought we, therefore, to conclude that *dhaṁma*, in our inscriptions, takes successively two different meanings. They would, in that case, be brought together and confounded in such a manner that, *à priori*, such a theory is hardly probable. On the other hand, Piyadasi certainly does profess a large spirit of tolerance; he desires that all religious sects may live everywhere in perfect liberty, because all of them aim at the subjection of the senses and at purity of soul (VII). But, however liberal his intentions may be, they do not reach to indifference. He does not hesitate to interdict bloody sacrifices,[96] dear as they must have been to those very Brâhmaṇs to whom he boasts that he made alms, and he dissuades from, and ridicules, the rites and ceremonies consecrated by Brâhmanical usage, which were celebrated at marriages and births, in cases of sickness, and at the moment of setting out on a journey.

In the Edict of Sahasarâm, the sentence regarding the *misaṁdêvâ* and the *amisaṁdêvâ*, supposing that my translation is accepted as correct, certainly expresses an idea of polemics in regard to beliefs differing from that of the king.[97] It is true that, as Dr. Bühler has remarked (p. 15), respect for the life of animals is a trait common in India to several religions, but it nevertheless appears to me to be proved, by the very care with which the king limits and points out his desires in this respect (Col. Ed. V), that he did not obey a general feeling, but a dogma dear to his personal doctrines, and the practice of which he imposed even on people who did not consider themselves bound by it. The choice of days reserved is specially characteristic, referring as it does to the festivals of the religious calendar of the Buddhists.[98]

This conflict of opinions, or of expressions, is only apparent. There is a means, and I think only one means, of reconciling them. It is certain that **the meaning of dharma or dhaṁma has been gradually circumscribed and brought within definite limits by the Buddhists as a technical term. In place of 'law, moral law, virtue,'** in general, **the word,** taking for them a special bearing, **signified at first 'the law peculiar to Buddhists,'** — the moral rules and the dogmatic principles as they understood them, and **finally the writings themselves in which these principles and these rules are recorded** But nothing compels us to assume that such an

[95] Dr. Bühler, who disputes certain details of my translation, is in substantial agreement with me on this point. Whether we translate with him, 'in Folge seiner (Bekehrung zur) Erfüllung der Gesetzes,' or, as I have done literally, 'thanks to the observance of the religion by Piyadasi,' the meaning is essentially the same, and, in both cases, it is considered that the allusion is to the king's conversion to Buddhism, and that, consequently, the expression *dhaṁmacharana* is, in the eyes of the king, sufficiently characteristic of the practice of the Buddhist religion. It is in regard to the way in which we ought to understand the conjunctive participle *dasayitu*, that Dr. Bühler and I cease to be at one. He lays stress on the *past* sense which the form implies, and refers the allusion to the festivals given by the king before his conversion. The point is, indeed, of moderate importance, but I cannot refrain from adhering to my original interpretation. It seems to me to be indisputable that, if the king had intended to lay stress on the distinction which is maintained between the actual *bhêrîghôsâ* and his former religious feasts, he would have marked it more clearly by his language, and by the turn of the sentence. As for the use of the conjunctive participle with a sense equivalent to that of a participle present, Dr. Bühler knows better than I do that it is of every day occurrence.

[96] The new readings furnished by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl and Dr. Bühler put beyond doubt the interpretation which they have given of *prajûhitaviyaṁ* and its equivalents. In this respect, it is necessary to correct my translation.

[97] Prof. Kern (pp. 312 and ff.) considers that the terms in which Piyadasi expresses himself in regard to the Brâhmaṇs, entitle us to reject the statement of the Sinhalese chronicle, according to which Aśôka is said to have, at the moment of his conversion, ceased to feed *brâhmaṇas*, and to have substituted in their place *śramaṇas*. This is, I think, going too far. It is one thing to tolerate the Brâhmaṇs and to give them alms, and another thing to surround oneself with them regularly and constantly, even in one's own palace. For my part I see no absolute incompatibility between the language of the king and the reminiscences of the Southern Buddhists. It is unnecessary to add that I do not attach any grave importance to this matter of detail. The disfavour which I believe the king himself admits to have shown to Brâhmans, could evidently have been manifested in other ways.

[98] Cf. Kern, *Geschied. van het buddh.*, II., 206 and ff.

acceptation had become fixed in the time of Piyadasi, nor that, in those days, even in the formula *buddha, dharma, saṅgha*, the word had any other signification than 'the moral law.' From this point of view, the literature accepted as orthodox offers us, in a work recognised as one of the most ancient, instructive parallels, and I am surprised that writers have not before this thought of comparing our inscriptions with the language of the Pâli *Dhammapada*.

Taking first the use of the word *dhaṁma*, the *Dhammapada*, like our texts, uses it in the entirely Buddhist formula of the *triśaraṇa* (verse 190). At the same time, the epithets by which it is usually accompanied, — *ariyappavêdita* (v. 79), *sammadakkhâta* (v. 86), *uttama* (v. 115), *sammâsaṁbuddhadêsita* (v. 392), — clearly show that it is not yet crystallized into a narrow and technical acceptation. We may also form a judgment from verses 256 and ff., where the word is applied exactly as Piyadasi might have done, and from verse 393, which is so entirely in the tone of our monuments: — yamhi sachchaṁ cha dhaṁmô cha sô sukhî sô cha brâhmaṇô.

The meaning is still more generalised in passages like verses 167-169, and in the cases in which the word is employed in the plural, as in verses 1, 82, 273, 278-279, 384. *Saddharma* serves more especially to designate the Buddhist law (verses 60,182); but, we may judge from verse 364 how far the two words *dhaṁma* and *saddhaṁma* are mixed up and confounded: —

Dhaṁmârâmô, dhaṁmaratô, dhaṁmaṁ anuvichintayaṁ
dhaṁmaṁ anussaraṁ bhikkhu saddhaṁmâ na parihâya

Verse 183,—

Sabbapâpassa akaraṇaṁ kusalassa upasampadâ
sachittapariyôdapanaṁ: êtaṁ buddhâna sâsanaṁ,—

cannot fail to remind us of the passage in the 2nd Col. Ed., in which Piyadasi defines the *dhaṁma*, — *apâsinavê bahukayânê*, &c.

The general tone and the main points of the moral teaching present in the two cases the most evident analogies. I can only quote a few examples. The king again and again dwells upon the necessity of persevering efforts to advance in moral life (Ed. VI, X, &c.), with an insistence which is quite equalled by that of the *Dhammapada*. It will suffice to refer to the chapter on *appamâda* (verses 21 and ff.). Compare (verses 7, 116, &c.). I cite again verse 23, in which the epithet *daḷhaparakkama* recalls the word *parâkrama* employed by the king with such visible preference; also verses 24, 168, 280, to show a use of the base *utthâ* parallel to that which we find in our inscriptions (G. VI, 9 and 10, and perhaps, J., Det. Ed., I, 7); finally verse 163, in which the remark *sukarâni asâdhûni* is an exact fellow of the ideas expressed in our 5th edict. Both authorities inculcate the necessity of self-examination (*Dhammap.*, verse 50; Col. Ed. III) regard for all, and in particular respect to the aged (*Dhammap.*, verse 109; Ed. IV, V, IX, &c.) and moderation in language (*Dhammap.*, verse 133; Ed. III., XII). Verse 234, which makes truthfulness, mercy, charity the three cardinal virtues, can be compared with the two passages of the 2nd, and of the 7th — 8th Columnar edicts, which bring together the same triad of *sachê dayâ, dânê*. While the king recommends *ahiṁsâ* and abolishes the use of animal flesh at his table, the *Dhammapada* exalts the *ahiṁsaka muni* (v. 225) and recommends a strict temperance (v. 7, al.)

The most striking coincidences are perhaps those which deal with details of form. The formula frequently used by the king, — *sâdhu dânaṁ*, &c., — is found also in the *Dhammapada*, verse 35, *chittassa damathô sâdhu*; verse 360, *chakkhunâ saṁvarô sâdhu*, &c. With the 9th and 11th edicts compare verse 354 *sabbadânaṁ dhammadânaṁ jinâti*, &c.; with the frequent use of the base *ârâdh*, the expression of verse 281, *ârâdhayê maggaṁ*; with the phrase *dhaṁmaṁ nuvaṭṭati*, the *dhaṁmânuvattinô* of verse 86; with *dhaṁmâdhithânê* at Dhauli (verse 26), *dhaṁmaṭṭha* of verses 217, 256 and ff.; with *dhaṁmarati* at Kh. and K. (XIII. 16 and 12 cf. the end of the 8th edict), the recommendation of verse 88, *tatrâ*(scil. *dhaṁmê*)*bhiratiṁ ichchhêya*.

The verses 11-12, — *asârê sâramatinô sârê cha asâradassinô, &c.*, — at least bear witness to a use of the word *sâra* extremely analogous to that which we find in the 12th edict, *à propos* of

the *sâravadhi.* Piyadasi aims at the teaching of the *dhaṁma, dhaṁmasa dîpanâ* (12th Ed.), and according to verse 363, the duty of the *bhikshu* is the same, *atthaṁ dhaṁmañcha dîpêti*; the only true glory which he sees lies in the diffusion of the *dhaṁma* (10th Ed.), and according to the *Dhammapada* (verse 24), — . . . . . *dhaṁmajîvinô appamattassa yasô bhivaḍḍhati*; it is in the *dhaṁma* that he fixes happiness (Col. Ed. I., 9, &c.), and according to the 393rd verse of the *Dhammapada* — *yamhi sachchañ cha dhammô cha sô sukhî* . . .

To the king, happiness is both happiness in this world and in the world to come. It is the very formula of reward which he unweariedly promises; it is found no less often in the *Dhammapada*, verses 16, 132, 168, 177.

The spirit of tolerance shown by the king is not itself altogether unknown to the canonical book. Not only does verse 5 in a general way recommend mercy and the forgetting of hatreds, but, far from treating the Brâhmaṇ and Brâhmaṇism as enemies, it puts the name in close connection with that of the *bhikshu*: —

Santô dantô niyatô brahmachârî
sabbêsu bhûtêsu nidhâya daṇḍaṁ
so brâhmaṇô sô samaṇô sa bhikkhu (verse 142).

By the side of the *Bhikkhuvagga*, it devotes a whole chapter to exalting, under the name of the *brâhmaṇa*, perfection such as it conceives it, while at the same time it does not forget that the *brâhmaṇa* is the representative of a different cult (verse 392). The author does not violently denounce this cult, but, as Piyadasi does with regard to ceremonies (*maṁgala*), he proclaims its inutility (verses 106-107). Finally, he compares the *sâmaññatâ* and the *brâhmaññatâ*, the quality of the *śramaṇa*, and the quality of the *brâhmaṇa* (verses 332), just as the king himself associates *brâhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas*.

These comparisons are far from exhausting the number of possible points of contact, nor can they give one that general impression which has also considerable value, and which can only result from a parallel study of the two texts. Such as they are, they appear to me to be of a nature to justify an important conclusion: that the ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions. A book of canonical repute lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us, — that they correspond to a certain stage in the chronological development of the religion of Sâkya.

It thus happens that **certain indications appear to be of a nature to connect Piyadasi and the Dhammapada.**

We are so accustomed to see Indian kings carrying several different names, that **the double nomenclature of Piyadasi and Asôka need not surprise us.** It would still, however, be interesting to discover its reason; the more so as the word Aśôka is not, either by its meaning or by frequent use, one of those which would appear suited to be used as a surname. We have seen, on the authority of the Sinhalese chronicle, that Aśôka at the time of his conversion took the name of Dhammâsôka. It is probable that **his real name was Priyadarśin,** for that is the only one which he applies to himself, and we are thus led to conclude that **the king took only at his conversion the name of Aśôka or Dharmâśôka,** though he judged it to be inopportune to employ it in his monuments, as he would thus cause in the middle of his reign a very considerable change in the protocols of his chancery. But, on the other hand, this name, naturally dear to the Buddhists whose triumph it commemorated and of which it was the sign, became so established in their memory, that it threw into the shade the one that the king bore in his first years before his conversion, which the literary tradition paints in such sombre colours. This conjecture, which appears to explain sufficiently the facts under consideration, has been suggested to me by two classes of passages which I quote from the *Dhammapada*. The word *śôka*, 'grief,' is

used by the *Dhammapada* with a certain amount of insistence, for instance in verses 212-216: —

Piyatô jâyatî sôkô piyatô jâyatî bhayaṁ
piyatô vippamuttassa natthi sôkô kutô bhayaṁ; etc. . .

or again in verse 336: —

Yô vê taṁ sahatî jammiṁ taṇhaṁ lôkê durachchayaṁ
sôkâ tamhâ papatanti udabindu va pôkkharâ.

In verse 195, the Buddhas and the Srâvakas receive the epithet *tiṇṇasôkapariddava*.

From this use of *sôka* is deduced the adjective *asôka*, as in verse 412: —

Yôdha puññañ cha pâpañ cha ubhô saṁgaṁ upachchagâ
asôkaṁ virajaṁ suddhaṁ tam ahaṁ brûmi brâhmaṇaṁ.

The word is again found in verse 28: —

Pamâdaṁ appamâdêna yadâ nudati paṇḍitô
paññâpâsâdam âruyha asôkô sôkiniṁ pajaṁ
pabbataṭṭhô va bhummaṭṭhê dhîrô bâlê avêkkhati.

The same thought is expressed in verse 172: —

Yô cha pubbê pamajjitvâ pachchhâ sô nappamajjati
so imaṁ lôkaṁ pabhâsêti abbhâ muttô va chandimâ.

The last stanza but one contains six *pâdas*, which would lead one to suppose at first that there has been some interpolation; and, indeed, the middle double *pâda*, — *paññâpâsâdam*, &c., — could be suppressed without in any way altering the general sense; it would appear, moreover, to be wanting in the version which is reproduced by the Chinese translation.[99] To tell the truth, it does not fit in well in meaning with the rest of the passage; we should at least expect a *va* or an *iva*. I cannot help thinking that this half-verse is an addition intended to explain and complete the general idea, by an allusion to our Asôka-Piyadasi. Under these considerations, the use of *pajê*, which may signify the 'subjects' of the king, and the use of the rather rare metaphor, *paññâpâsâda*, 'the palace of wisdom,' take a new meaning. Although we are driven to admit that the half-verse in question is an addition, which did not originally form an integral portion of the stanza, I consider that it does not spoil the sense, and that perhaps the first author had, as a matter of fact, the allusion, which it expresses, in his mind's eye. The theory of a similar allusion in verse 172 explains well what would, under any other hypothesis, appear excessive and too emphatic in the words *imaṁ lôkaṁ pabhâsêti* in this and in the following verse. I may add that the above seems to me to suggest, in regard to verses 212 ff., which have just been quoted, an analogous idea, and it may be asked whether in the first, which has served as a prototype for the others, the contrast between *piya* and *sôka* has not similarly been inspired by a pun on the double name of Piyadasi and Asôka.

These passages are scattered almost throughout the work. Each confirms the other, and I think it may be inferred that the general composition of the book, — I do not say its definite taking of shape, or, in any case, its form as we have it now, — goes back to a time not far from that of Piyadasi, to an epoch when his memory was yet alive. This is not the place to seek if we can discover other grounds of a nature to confirm those which we have just suggested, and it will be sufficient to point out that, for entirely different reasons, it has been generally considered that the *Dhammapada* is one of the most ancient Buddhist texts.[100] At the same time I do not presume to attribute to the hypothesis which I have been led to suggest, either more certainty, or more importance, than is due to it.

To return to my general conclusions regarding the Buddhism of Piyadasi: — In my opinion, **our monuments are witnesses of a stage of Buddhism sensibly different from that to which**

[99] Cf. Beal, *Dhammapada*, p. 70.

[100] Cf. Fausboll, pref. pp. VI. and ff.

it developed in later times. It appears to us as a purely moral doctrine, paying little attention to particular dogmas or to abstract theories, little embarrassed with scholastic or monkish elements having but little tendency to insist on the divergencies which separated it from neighbouring religions, ready to accept consecrated terms and forms when they did not offend its moral ideal, and as yet without texts fixed by writing, or, we may be sure, a regularly defined canon. As far as we are in a position to judge, the character of the texts enumerated by Piyadasi at Bhabra, entirely agrees with such a stage of Buddhism.

One other remark also has its value. Nowhere, amongst the rewards which he offers in the future for virtue, does Piyadasi make any allusion to nirvâṇa. It is always svarga of which he speaks (Ed. VI, IX; Dh., Det. Ed., I). Doubtless the king may have deliberately preferred to choose a term familiar to all intellects, and more conveniently suited to all doctrines. But, in spite of all, this absolute silence appears to me to be significant, as clearly indicating an epoch anterior to the metaphysical and speculative developments of the Buddhist religion.

The history of Buddhism implies, if I am not mistaken, a period, still near its source, marked by a popular character, less determined in its dogmas, less isolated in its legends, in which the essential originality of the doctrine had room to manifest itself freely, an originality which is founded on the pre-eminence attributed to the due carrying out of moral duties over the execution of liturgical forms and practices. Such a period appears to me to be a kind of necessary historical postulate, and I think that the inscriptions of Piyadasi preserve for us not only a trace, but direct evidence of it.

Things soon changed their aspect; and the peculiar features of this ancient epoch were quickly lost by tradition. This follows from the few comparisons which we have been able to make, between the evidence of the monuments, and the *data* given by literature. The very character and person of Aśôka have undergone, both in legend and in chronicle, alterations analogous to the evolution which followed his time.

Aśôka became in them a type without individuality and without life, his history a subject for edifying legends, and his name a peg on which to hang theories of moral development. His early life has been extravagantly blackened, to serve as a counterfoil to the virtues which inspired him after his conversion. He has been depicted at the end of his career as entirely under the feet of the clergy, as a sort of maniac in almsgiving, and as an ideal of monkish perfection, which, however admirable it may appear to Hindûs, cannot seduce us to similar applause. His inscriptions furnish no confirmation whatever of these statements. Prof. Kern,[101] influenced by the legends, considers that towards the end of his life Piyadasi showed himself to be intolerant and a bigot. He discovers in his last edicts the expression of an actual fanaticism, and maintains that the tone and course of ideas suggest that the intellect of the prince must have deteriorated, and that, while all the edicts bear more or less traces of a troubled mind, the last ones are specimens of insensate babbling.[102] This judgment is based on the false idea that the Edict of Sahasrâm belonged to the final period of the reign of Piyadasi, and I confess that, so far as I am concerned, I can discover no pretext for such vehement conclusions. But Prof. Kern is, in general, very hard on the poor Piyadasi. When he considers that the 13th edict, the one which deals with the conquest of Kaliṅga, leaves on the mind an impression of 'hypocrisy',[103] I cannot refrain from fearing that he is yielding to a bad opinion preconceived against a king whose *clericalism* annoyed him.

The character of Piyadasi has generally been more favourably appreciated. It cannot, I think, be denied, without injustice, that he exhibits, in his edicts, a spirit of moderation, a moral elevation, a care for the public good, which merit every praise. He possessed from his birth a taste for enterprise and energetic qualities, borne witness to by the conquest of Kaliṅga. Did his conversion injure the native vigour of his temper? The thing is the more possible, as being the

[101] Kern, II, p. 307, n. [102] *Ibid.* p. 319. [103] *Ibid.* p. 315.

effect which Buddhism generally has produced, not only upon individuals, but upon entire nations; but that does not yet entitle us to view him as the childish and helpless being he has been represented. It was the sentiment of religion which inspired him with the idea of engraving inscriptions throughout his empire. We usually only see him under this aspect, but the desire which he expresses in so great detail, to be kept continually informed regarding his affairs, and to expedite them without any delay, does not give us the idea of an idle prince.

I am afraid also that, in some respects, he bears, more than is justly due, the responsibility for the somewhat clumsy and awkward language which he uses in his inscriptions. It is plain that the style, — at least the style of prose language, — had in his time not yet achieved that experience, that freedom of manner, which give to the thoughts a turn at once elegant and precise. His sentences are often short, even abrupt, and are always wanting in variety. His language is a 'prentice sailor, afraid to venture far from shore. When in an unlucky moment, he ventures on a period, he only makes his exit with great difficulty. The ill-fitting garment does injustice to the intellect whose movements it encumbers. That intellect was not, perhaps, very vast or very decided, but it was certainly animated with excellent intentions, and full of the idea of moral duty and of the sentiments of humanity. By the various efforts with which he was inspired in his religious zeal, by his relations with nations not subject to his empire, nay, with peoples the most distant from the Peninsula, and finally, by the monuments, epigraphic or otherwise, of which he was the creator, Piyadasi certainly rendered services to the general civilisation of India, and the credit of these merits we are in justice bound to render to him.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA KINGS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(Concluded from p. 104.)

16. — Amma I.; Vishṇuvardhana VI.

Seven years; A.D. 918 to 925.

He was the eldest son of No. 15, Vijayâditya IV. In S. his name is given as **Amba**; in all the other grants, commencing with K., it is **Amma**. He had the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya**, 'refuge of all mankind;' the second name of **Vishṇuvardhana VI.**; and the *biruda* of **Râja-Mahêndra**; the latter occurs in one of his own grants (L.), and in U.; and it suggests that **the city of Râjamahêndrapuram** or **Râjamandri** was first occupied, by the Eastern Chalukyas, under him, and was renamed after him (see page 94 above). In his own grants, he uses the title of **Mahârâja**. The seals of his grants bear the motto of **śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa** (see page 100 above). M. and all the subsequent grants agree in stating that he reigned for **seven years**.

L. states that he used his sword against **some feudatory relatives who had joined the party of his natural adversaries**,[1] and won over to himself the subjects and the army of his father and his grandfather. This intimates that some of the members of his family had entered into **an unsuccessful conspiracy with the Râshṭrakûṭas**, to prevent his accession.

Of his time we have two records: —

K. — A grant from Masulipatam in the Kistna District; edited by Mr. Sewell, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 76; I have also my own reading of the original plates. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chalukya**. This grant, or L., is the earliest record that gives **the full historical genealogy**, with the lengths of the reigns.[2] It gives **the opening passage in its final form**,

[1] *prakṛiti-sapatna-paksha*. Compare the description of the Pallava king, as the natural enemy (*prakṛity-amitsa*) of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya II. (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 26, Plate iii.a, last line.)

[2] I have taken K. first, because it was published first.

which was followed, with only a few trifling differences, in all the later grants, and which runs thus: — "Of Satyâśraya-(Pulikêśin II.), the favourite (*vallabha*), — who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; who are of the Mânavya *gôtra*, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are Hârîtiputras (*i. e.* descendants of an original ancestress of the Hârîta *gôtra*); who have acquired sovereignty through the excellent favour of (the goddess) Kauśikî;[3] who have been protected by the assemblage of (*divine*) Mothers; who meditate on the feet of (the god) Svâmi-Mahâsêna (Kârttikêya); who have had the territories of (*their*) enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent crest of a boar which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu); (*and*) whose bodies are purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *aśvamêdha*-sacrifice, — the brother, Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (I.), (*reigned*) for eighteen years." The only substantial difference in this passage, subsequently introduced, is the addition, *e. g.* in M., of the words *Veṅgî-maṇḍalam anvapâlayat*, or, in P., of the words *Veṅgi-dêśam apâlayat*, — "the brother, Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., reigned for eighteen years over the Veṅgî country;" as has been noted above, M. is the earliest grant that makes this specific statement. Minor differences are, the variations in the spelling of the dynastic name and of the word *Hârîtiputra*;[4] and the fact that Satyâśraya-Pulikêśin II., who here and in L. is called 'the favourite (*vallabha*),' is usually called 'the lord of favourites (*vallabhêndra*).' The charter was issued by Amma I. himself. It records a grant of the village of **Drujjûru in the Pennâtavâḍi vishaya**, to **Mahâkâla**, who had been a general of Bhîma I. The *Dûtaka* was **Kaṭakarâja.**[5]

L. — A grant from 'Idara'[6] in the Kistna District; edited by Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 50, and by Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 36, No. 36; I have also my own reading of the original plates. — The dynastic name is given as **Chalukya.** The **genealogy** commences with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the favourite.' The charter was issued by Amma I. himself. It records a grant of the village of **Goṇṭûru in the Kaṇḍeruvâḍi vishaya**,[7] to **Bhaṇḍanâditya**, otherwise called **Kuntâditya, of the Paṭṭavardhinî family,** who has been mentioned above in connection with Vijayâditya IV.

17. — Vijayâditya V.; Bêta.

Fifteen days; A. D. 925.

He was the eldest son of No. 16, Amma I. In T. and X. he is not mentioned at all; but, with these exceptions, M. and all the subsequent grants speak of him, and give his name as **Vijayâditya**; I take his other name of **Bêta**, — which was probably the original appellation bestowed at the naming-ceremony after his birth (see page 95 above, note 9), — from the two records noted in the next paragraph. M. and N. say that, having been **anointed, as a child, by the binding on of the kaṇṭhikâ** (see page 103 above, and note 27), he was **ejected by Tâḍapa.** P., Q., R., U., V., and W., record his ejection by Tâḍapa; but make no mention of the *kaṇṭhikâ-paṭṭabandh-âbhishêka*. O. and S. allude to neither the installation nor the ejection; but S. states that Tâḍapa attacked and imprisoned him. The only records which speak of him as actually reigning, are O. and S.; they state that he reigned for **one fortnight.**

There is nothing in the records to indicate that he died as a child. And, on the contrary, two later inscriptions represent him as attaining to manhood, and as **founding a separate line of descent,** which subsequently came to hold the Veṅgî country again. One of them is a **Piṭṭâpuram** stone inscription, dated Saka-Saṁvat 1124 (*Telugu Sasanams*, p. 501); the other

[3] See page 99 above, note 16.

[4] See pages 95, 96, above, notes 10, 11.

[5] Whether this is a proper name, or an official title (= 'governor of the town or village'), is not apparent. The word occurs again, just as it is here, in P., R., and S. In U. we have Kaṭakâdhîśa; apparently for metrical reasons. In V. we have Kaṭakêśa; without any metrical necessity.

[6] See page 101 above, note 20.

[7] One would expect this Goṇṭûru to be Guṇṭûr in the Kistna District. But, from a note by Dr. Hultzsch (*loc. cit.* p. 38, note 6), it appears that this point is doubtful.

is a copper-plate grant from the Gôdâvarî District (No. 77 in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. II. p. 11). The copper-plate grant states, in the regular place, — between Amma I. and Tâḍapa, — that **Vijayâditya V. had the other name of Bêta.** Both the records continue the genealogy, in the usual manner, down to the time of Vikrama-Chôḍa, who, they say, went to govern the Chôḷa *maṇḍala*, leaving Veṅgî without a ruler or king of its own (*nâyaka-rahita*; *virâjaka*); and at that point they introduce this new line of descent. They record that the son of Amma I., ejected by Tâḍapa, was **Bêta.** His son was **Satyâśraya.** His son was **Vijayâditya,**[8] who married **Vijayamahâdêvî of the Solar Race.** Their son was **Vishṇuvardhana.** His son was **Mallapadêva,** "an ornament of **the Lunar Race** (*i.e.* the Chalukya family);" he married **Chandaladêvî.** Their son was **Vijayâditya,** who is described as "a very moon to cause the increase of the ocean which is **the Chalukya lineage,**" and as "**the king of the Veṅgî country** (*Veṅgî-dêśa-vasundharêśa*);" his wife was **Lakshmidêvî.** And their son was **Vishṇuvardhana.** The Piṭṭâpuram inscription stops here. The transcription of it is imperfect; it does not actually include the name of Vishṇuvardhana, and it seems to call him by the second name of **Malla;** but it speaks of him as "a portion of Vishṇu (*Vishṇu-aṁśa*), and there seems to be no doubt that he is the person who is specifically called Vishṇuvardhana in the Gôdâvarî grant; it states that he was anointed in Saka-Saṁvat 1124, on the tenth *tithi* in the dark fortnight of Jyêshṭha, on Sunday, and under the Aśvinî *nakshatra*; here the given Saka year has to be applied as an expired year, and the corresponding English date is **Sunday, 16th June, A. D. 1202.**[9] The Gôdâvarî grant, also, does not continue the descent any further. At the above point, it introduces the mention of a 'king' named **Bhîma, of the Solar Race,** whose wife was **Chandaladêvî,** and who acquired the hereditary sovereignty of his grandfather and other ancestors, through the favour of the glorious **Châlukya-Chôḍa.** His son was **Vishṇuvardhana,** who married **Gaṅgâ.** And their son was **Mahâdêva.** The charter, addressed to the officials of **the Beṅguṟunâṇṭi vishaya,** was issued by Mahâdêva, who is described as "a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* who had attained the *pañcha-mahâśabda*;" as "born in **the Solar Race**;" as "**a supporter of the Châlukya sovereignty**;" and "as the refuge of all the Brâhmaṇs of **the town of Veṅgî**;" he was plainly a feudatory of the Vishṇuvardhana, son of Vijayâditya and Lakshmidêvî, who was descended from Bêta-Vijayâditya V., son of Amma I. This grant also contains a date; but the passage is partially destroyed, and I cannot make anything satisfactory out of it.[10]

18. — Tâḍapa.

One month; A. D. 925.

He was a son of Yuddhamalla I., mentioned above just before No. 14, Bhîma I.; according to O. and S., he succeeded Vijayâditya V.; according to the other grants, he came immediately after Amma. I. His name occurs, — in M. and N., as **Tâha**; in O., as **Tâḷapa**; in P., R., T., and U., as **Tâlapa**; in Q. and S., as **Tâla**; and in V., W., and X., as **Tâḍapa.** He attained the throne by ejecting the child Vijayâditya V., No. 17; and, in his turn, he was conquered and ejected,

[8] The Piṭṭâpuram inscription names six younger sons of Satyâśraya; but the names of some of them are not quite certain in the transcription. — It also names the wife of Satyâśraya; apparently as Gaṅgamâ-Gaurî.

[9] The year is given in numerical words, — *śâk-âbdê vêda-nêtra-kshiti-śaśi-ganitê*; and is not distinctly specified, either as current, or as expired. Taking it as an expired year, with Prof. K. L. Chhatre's Tables, the *tithi* ended on the Sunday, at about 52 *ghaṭîs*, 5 *palas*, after mean sunrise (for Bombay). With Prof. Jacobi's Tables, it ended on the Sunday, at about 23 hrs. 16 min., = 58 *gh.* 10 *p.*, for Ujjain; but with reference to apparent sunrise, and at Râjamahêndri, it would probably end on the Monday, and so we should have an instance of the use of the current *tithi* with the week-day on which it began. By all the three systems for the longitudes of the ending-points of the *nakshatras*, the moon was in Aśvinî at sunrise on the Sunday, and up to about 11 hrs. 10 min., = 27 *gh.* 55 *p.* — In Saka-Saṁvat 1124 current, the *tithi* began at about 57 *gh.* 45 *p.* on Sunday, 27th May, A. D. 1201, and ended at about 51 *gh.* 25 *p.* on the Monday. But this cannot be the real day; because the *tithi* did not include any hours of daylight on the Sunday; moreover, the moon did not enter Aśvinî till about 19 hrs. 4 min., = 47 *gh.* 40 *p.*, on the Monday.

[10] The extant words are . . . . . . *rô-nayana-muni-ganita-Saka-śarat.Phâlguna-m* . . . . . .; which seem to point to Saka-Saṁvat 721. The syllables *muni* must be a mistake for something meaning 'eleven.'

— and, M. says, slain, — by No. 19, Vikramâditya II. M. and the subsequent grants all state that he reigned for **one month.**

19. — Vikramâditya II.

Eleven months; A. D. 925 to 926.

He was another son of No. 14, Châlukya-Bhîma I., and a (younger) brother of No. 15, Vijayâditya IV. He succeeded No. 18, Tâḍapa. In M. and all the subsequent grants, his name occurs as simply **Vikramâditya.** They all agree that he acquired the sovereignty by conquering Tâḍapa; M. adds that he slew Tâḍapa; and O. states that he ruled over **the Vengî maṇḍala and Trikaliṅga.** U. states that he reigned for **nine months**; M., N., P. to R., and V. to X., say **eleven months**; and O., S., and T., **one year.** We may take the statement of the majority, — **eleven months.**

20. — Bhîma III.

Eight months; A. D. 926 to 927.

He was another son of No. 16, Amma I., and a younger brother of No. 17, Vijayâditya V. He is mentioned only in M., which gives his name as simply **Bhîma**; it states that he conquered No. 19, Vikramâditya II., in war; that he reigned for **eight months**; and that then he was slain by Yuddhamalla II., No. 21, son of Tâḍapa.

21. — Yuddhamalla II.

Seven years; A. D. 927 to 934.

He was a son of No. 18, Tadapa; M. and U. say that he was the eldest son; but, with these exceptions, no reference is made to his having brothers. In M. his name appears as simply **Malla,** for metrical purposes; elsewhere he is always called **Yuddhamalla.** M. represents him as slaying and succeeding No. 20, Bhîma III.; but P. and the subsequent grants represent him as the immediate successor of his father Tâdapa; N. and O. omit to mention him at all, the reason suggested by Dr. Hultzsch being, that his conqueror and successor, No. 22, Châlukya-Bhîma II., probably considered him as an usurper, and purposely ignored him. In his turn, he was conquered and expelled by Bhîma II. M. and P. to X. all agree in stating that he reigned for **seven years.**

22. — Châlukya-Bhîma II.; Vishṇuvardhana VII.

Twelve years; A. D. 934 to 945.

He was another son of No. 15, Vijayâditya IV., and a younger brother of No. 16, Amma I., O. and U. say that he was a half-brother (*dvaimâtura*).[11] His name occurs as simply **Bhîma** in M. line 32, and in P. to X.; U. further calls him **Râja-Bhîma** (l. 41); M. also calls him **Chalukya-Bhîma,** in line 45, and O., line 17, gives this name as **Châlukya-Bhîma**; in N. his proper name is not given at all. He had the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya,** 'refuge of all mankind;' and the second name of **Vishṇuvardhana VII.** M. gives him the *biruda* of **Gaṇḍa-Mahêndra**; and O., that of **Râja-Mârtaṇḍa.** S. also gives him another second name, or *biruda,* — **Karayilladâta**; and describes him as **'the lord of Vengî** (*vengî-nâtha*).' In his first grant, M., he uses the paramount title of **Mahârâjâdhirâja**; in N. the title of **Paramêśvara** is added; and in O. he uses also the third title, **Paramabhaṭṭâraka.** The seals of his grants bear the motto of **Srî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa.** M. describes him as a *paramamâhêśvara,* or 'most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara.' His wife was **Lôkamahâdêvî**; she is mentioned in six records, P. to U. He acquired the succession by expelling Yuddhamalla II., and, according to P., by also successfully resisting some other claimants, who will be referred to below. P. and the subsequent records all agree in stating that he reigned for **twelve years.**

[11] R. describes him as a son of Yuddhamalla II. as well as of Vijayâditya IV. The introduction of the words *tat-putraḥ* may, as Dr. Hultzsch has suggested, be intended to shew that he belonged to the next generation after Yuddhamalla II., but it seems more likely that the insertion of them is purely a mistake.

U tells us that he slew the glorious **Râjamayya**; the mighty **Dhaḷaga, or Vaḷaga**; the fierce **Tâtabikki**; **Bijja**, who was always ready for war: the very terrible **Ayyapa**; a great army that was sent by king **Gôvinda**; **Lôvabikki, the ruler of the Chôḷas**; and **Yuddhamalla**, with his arrays of elephants. Here, **Yuddhamalla** must be his predecessor of that name, the son of Tâḍapa. Gôvinda is **the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda V.**; he and the others appear to be the "other claimants" spoken of in **P. Tâtabikki** is also mentioned in O., by the name of **Tâtabikyana**; and the same record seems to mention **Dhaḷaga or Vaḷaga**, and one other opponent whose name does not occur in the passage in U. **Ayyapa** is very probably the Ayyapadêva of the Bêgûr inscription of the Western Gaṅga king Ereyapparasa (*Epigraphia Indica*, p. 347 ff.); from the Âtakûr inscription, which I shall shortly publish, it is now known that his period was just before A. D. 950, and it becomes quite possible that he really was the Western Chalukya Ayyaṇa I.

Of this reign we have three records: —

M. — A grant from Pâganavaram in the Madras Presidency; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 213. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chalukya**. The **genealogy** commences with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the lord of favourites' (*vallabhêndra*); and this record is the first to state that he reigned over **the Veṅgî maṇḍala**. The charter was issued by Bhîma II. himself; and it records a grant of the village of **Diggubaṟṟu in the Pâgunavara vishaya.**

N. — A grant from apparently Masulipatam in the Kistna District; not yet published; I quote from my reading of the original plates. — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya**. The **genealogy** commences with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the lord of favourites.' The charter was issued by Bhîma II. himself; and it records the grant of **a field at** the village of **Âkulamannaṇḍu in the Gudravâra vishaya**, made on an occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti.

O. — A grant from Kolavennu in the Kistna District; edited by Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. page 43, No. 37. — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya**. It commences with a verse in praise of the water-lily, which grew from the navel of **Vishṇu**, and was the birth-place of **Brahman**. Then follows the usual introductory passage, opening the **genealogy** with Kubja-Vishṇu I., the brother of Satyâśraya;[12] but the words which state that he reigned over the country of Veṅgî, are not included. The charter was issued by Bhîma II. himself; and it records a grant of the village of **Koḍhatalli in the Kaṇḍeruvâṭi vishaya**, made on an occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Saṁkrânti. The grant was made at the request of **a prince named Vâjjaya, of the Pânara family**, who had helped to protect the kingdom of Bhîma II.

23. — Amma II.; Vijayâditya VI.

Twenty-five years; A.D. 945 to 970.

He was a younger son, and the successor, of No. 22, Bhîma II.[13] His name occurs throughout as **Amma**. He had the epithet of **samastabhuvanâśraya**, 'asylum of the universe;' the other name of **Vijayâditya VI.**; and, like his uncle of the same name, the *biruda* of **Râja-Mahêndra** (see Q., and S., line 36, 37). In his grants P. and R. to U., he uses the titles of **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêśvara, and Paramabhaṭṭâraka**; in Q., instead of *Mahârâjâdhirâja* being used, **Mahârâja** is attached to his name of Vijayâditya, and is followed by **Râjâdhirâja**, with the other two titles. The seals of his grants bear the motto of **śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa.** There is a corrupt passage in V., line 46 f., which seems to hint that he had a struggle for the crown with Yuddhamalla II; but, with this exception, it would appear that the family dissen-

[12] In this case no epithet, — neither *vallabha*, nor *vallabhêndra*, — is attached to Satyâśraya's name.

[13] The records with which I am dealing in full, mention only two sons, Dânârṇava and Amma II. But the Piṭâpuram inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1124 states that he had three sons; and seems to give their names as Bhîma (IV.), Amma, and Dânârṇava.

sions, which had existed from the time of Vijayâditya V., were now at an end, and that henceforth the succession went peaceably. U. calls him "**the lord of Vengî** (*vengî-nâtha*)." V, W., and X., state that he reigned for **twenty-five years.** The actual **date of his coronation** is given in one of his own grants (P.); the details are, Saka-Samvat 867, the month Mârgaśîrsha, the thirteenth day in the dark fortnight, Bhriguvâra or Friday, when the moon was in the Anurâdhâ *nakshatra*, when the sun was in Dhanus, and during the rising of the sign Kumbha; and the corresponding English date is **Friday, 5th December, A. D. 945** (see *ante*, Vol. XIX p. 102 f.); he was then in the twelfth year from his birth.

Of his time we have six records: —

P. — A grant from an unknown locality; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 15. — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya.** The **genealogy** commences with Kubja-Vishnuvardhana I., the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the lord of favourites.' The charter was issued **by Amma II. himself.** It records a grant of the village of **Padamkalûru in the Pennâtavaḍi vishaya,** made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The *Dûtaka* was **Kaṭakarâja. The charter was composed** by Mâdhavabhaṭṭa, and written by Jontâchârya. This is the record **that gives the date of the coronation of Amma II.**

Q. — A grant from Masulipatam in the Kistna District; edited by Mr. Sewell, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 73; I have also my own reading of the original plates. — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya.** The **genealogy** commences as in P. The charter was issued by Amma II. himself. It records a grant of some fields at the village of **Pâmbaṟṟu in the Gudrâvâra vishaya,** to the *Yuvarâja* **Ballâladêva-Vêlâbhaṭa,** also called **Boḍḍiya, son of Pammavâ of the Paṭṭavardhinî family.**

R. — A grant from 'Yelivarru' in the Kistna District; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 91. — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya.** The **genealogy** commences as in P. The charter was issued by Amma II. himself. It records a grant of the village of **Elavaṟṟu in the Velanâṇḍu vishaya,** made on an occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Samkrânti. The *Dûtaka* was **Kaṭakarâja.** The charter was composed by Potanabhaṭṭa, and written by Jontâchârya.

S. — A grant from an unknown locality; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 248. — It gives the dynastic name as **Chalukya.** The **genealogy** commences as in P.; but the words "reigned over the Vengi country" are not included. The charter was issued by Amma II. himself. It records a grant of a field at the village of **Guṇḍugolanu or Guṇṭugolanu in the Vengînâṇḍu vishaya,** made on an occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Samkrânti. The *Dûtaka* was **Kaṭakarâja.** The charter was composed by Mâdhavabhaṭṭa, and written by Koṇḍâchârya. The grant was made at the request of the **prince Kâma** and his wife **Nâyamâmbâ, who were the father- and mother-in-law of Amma II.**

T. — A grant from Masulipatam in the Kistna District; edited by Dr. Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 46, No. 38. — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya.** The **genealogy** commences as in P. The charter was issued by Amma II. himself. The order **contained in it is issued to the officials of apparently the Gudravâra vishaya;** but the other **details are lost.**

U. — A grant from an unknown locality; not yet published; I quote from my own **reading of the original plates.** — It gives the dynastic name as **Châlukya.** The **genealogy commences as in P., except that** a verse is substituted for the usual prose ending of the passage **the verse gives the name of** Kubja-Vishṇu, for Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I.; and it does not **include the name of** Vengî. The charter was issued by Amma II. himself. The order contained **in it is addressed** to the officials of **the Mattilinâṇḍu vishaya;** and it recites that, on an occasion of the Uttarâyaṇa-Samkrânti, a Jain *Srâvakî* named Châmekâ, belonging to the Addakali or Aḍḍakali *gachchha* and the Valahâri *gaṇa*, and born in **the** Pattavardhika

lineage,[14] the members of which were servants of the Chalukya kings, gave the village of **Kaluchumbarru** to her *Guru* Arhanandi, for the purposes of the charitable dining-hall of the Jain temple named Sarvalôkâśraya-Jinabhavana. The *Dûtaka* was **Kaṭakâdhiśa**; which name is apparently substituted, simply for metrical purposes, for the customary Kaṭakarâja.[15] The charter was written, and apparently also composed, by Bhaṭṭadêva.

24. — Dânârṇava.

Three years; A. D. 970 to 973.

He was the elder brother by a different mother, and the successor, of Amma II. V. gives his name as **Dânârṇava**; and W., in the same way, and also in the form of **Dânanṛipa**; and both of these records describe him as the *dvaimâtura* or 'half-brother' of Amma II., without any statement as to seniority. X., which again gives his name as **Dânârṇava**, states specifically that he was the elder brother, but does not describe him as *dvaimâtura*. The Piṭṭâpuram inscription of Saka-Saṁvat 1124 appears to give his wife's name as **Âryâdêvî**. V. and W. state that he reigned for **three years**; while X. says **thirty years**. Reckoning forward from the established actual date of the coronation of Amma I., **the accession of Dânârṇava is to be placed in A. D. 970.**

An Unexplained Interval of Thirty years.

A. D. 973 to 1003.

What ensued after the three years allotted by V. and W. to the reign of Dânârṇava, has not as yet been made clear. X., indeed, states that he reigned for thirty years, and was succeeded immediately by Saktivarman. But V. tells us that, after him, "**for twenty-seven years** a feverish desire, to obtain a suitable lord, consumed the earth, which was without a leader (*anâyikâ*);"[16] and that then "her fever was assuaged by Châlukya-Chandra, *i. e.* Saktivarman." The same statement, in almost identical words, is made in the Gôdâvarî grant which has been noticed above under No. 17, Bêta-Vijayâditya V. W. says that "**for twenty-seven years**, through the spite of fate (*daiva-durihayâ*), the land of Veṅgî was without a leader (*anâyikâ*)." And another record (Sir Walter Elliot's *Telugu Sasanams*, p. 777) says that the Andhra country, together with Kaliṅga, was without a master (*asvâmika*). In these passages, the period is twice distinctly specified as twenty-seven years; and the same implication is made in the passage in X. which, omitting this period, puts the reign of Dânârṇava at thirty years. Nevertheless, as Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out (*loc. cit.* p. 32, note 10), if the lengths of the immediately preceding and following reigns, — two on either side, — are stated correctly, this period must have extended to thirty years. This is determined by the actual dates of coronation recorded for Amma II. and Râjarâja I. And the period can be limited to twenty-seven years, only if we assume that the coronation of Râjarâja I. was deferred for three years after his actual accession; which does not appear very probable.

This period has been assumed to have been a time of anarchy (Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, pp. 22, note 6, and 53, note 4); with the suggestion that the anarchy may be fairly attributed to Chôḷa invasions. I suspect that the country was in fact **conquered and held for a time by the Chôḷas**; probably under the immediate predecessor of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Kô-Râjarâja-Râjakêsarivarman. He himself claims a conquest of Veṅgî (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 63); but, as his initial date was in A. D. 1003 or 1004 (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 72), that would not account for the period in question. Moreover, the people of Veṅgî then had a ruler of their own again, in the person of Châlukyachandra-Saktivarman. It would seem, therefore, that his claim is merely an honorary one, based on an event that really occurred before his time.

---

[14] Evidently identical with the Paṭṭavardhinî family, which has been mentioned in two or three places above.

[15] See page 267 above, note 5.

[16] In line 48, *labnum* is a mistake, of the original, for *labdhum*.

25. — Saktivarman.

Twelve years; A. D. 1003 to 1015.

He was the eldest son of No. 24, Dânârṇava; and he succeeded to the throne of Vengî after the unexplained interval of the preceding paragraph. W. and X., and the Gôdâvarî grant, give his proper name of **Saktivarman**; V. mentions him by his *biruda* of **Châlukya-Chandra.** The Piṭṭâpuram inscription appears to mention him by the name of Kîrtivarman; but there is nothing to prevent this being a mistake on the part of Sir Walter Elliot's copyist. Some **gold coins** of his, obtained from Arakan and Siam, have been described by me, *ante*. Vol. XIX. p. 79 ff.; they are stamped with his *biruda*. V., W., and X., agree in stating that he reigned for **twelve years.**

26. — Vimalâditya.

Seven years; A. D. 1015 to 1022.

He was the younger brother and successor of No. 25, Saktivarman. His name occurs as **Vimalâditya** in V., W., and X.; in the Gôdâvarî grant it is given in the same way, and also in the form of **Vimalârka.** His wife was **Kûndavâmahâdêvî,** who is mentioned in the Eastern Chalukya records as the younger sister of Râjêndra-Chôḍa, and the daughter of Râjarâja of the Solar Race. V. calls her specifically **a Chôḍa** (*i. e.* **Chôḷa) princess.** And her father was plainly the Chôḷa king Gangaikoṇḍa-Kô-Râjarâja-Râjakêsarivarman, with the initial date of A. D. 1003 or 1004 (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 72).[17] V., W., and X., agree in stating that Vimalâditya reigned for **seven years.**

27. — Râjarâja I.;[18] Vishṇuvardhana VIII.

Forty-one years; A. D. 1022 to 1063.

He was the son and successor of No. 26, Vimalâditya. In V. and W. he is called **Râjarâja**; X. gives his name as **Râjarâjadêva.** His wife was **Ammangadêvî,** the daughter of Râjêndra-Chôḍa, *i. e.* of his own maternal uncle.[19] He had the epithet **of sarvalôkâsraya,** 'refuge of all mankind;' and the other name of **Vishṇuvardhana VIII.** His titles were **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Paramêsvara, and Paramabhaṭṭâraka.** The seal of his grant bears the motto of **Srî-Tribhuvanânkusa.** The **date of his coronation** is given in his grant, (V.); the details are, Saka-Samvat 944, when the sun was in Simha, *i. e.* in the solar month Bhâdrapada, the second *tithi* in the dark fortnight, Guruvâra or Thursday, when the moon was in the Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ *nakshatra*, and during the rising of the sign Tulâ; and the corresponding English date is **Thursday, 16th August, A. D. 1022** (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 129 f.). Some **gold coins** of his, obtained from Arakan and Siam, have been described by me, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 79 ff.; they are stamped with his name. The exact length of his reign is a little doubtful. X. states that he reigned for **forty-one years.** But W. states that he reigned for **"forty years, and again for one."** While the Piṭṭâpuram inscription of Saka-Samvat 1124, and the Gôdâvarî grant, state that he reigned for **forty years**; and they add one year to the reign of his successor, Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva I. This looks somewhat as if there was a break in the full period assigned to him by X. But, for the present, we may assume that the duration of his reign was **forty-one years.**

---

17 Of his time we have inscriptions in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., pp. 63, No. 40; 66, No. 41; 94, No. 66; and 140, No. 146. As he reigned for at least twenty-six years (No. 41), his final date cannot be placed before A. D. 1028.

18 When I edited his grant (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 48), I rather inconveniently called him Râjarâja the *second*, by way of distinguishing him from his maternal grandfather of the same name; and I spoke of him in the same way in connection with his coins, and with the date of his coronation (*ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 79, 129). But, as already pointed out (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 424, note 3), he was the first king of this name in the Chalukya family; and it is more correct and expedient to speak of him as Râjarâja I.

19 His full name appears to be Kô-Parakêsarivarman, otherwise Uḍaiyâr Srî-Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva. Of his time we have inscriptions in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., pp. 95, No. 67; 100, No. 68; and two more noted on p. 97. As one of the latter is dated in his twenty-fourth year, and as his initial date cannot be placed before A. D. 1028 (see note 17 above), the end of his reign was not earlier than A. D. 1051.

The extant grant of this reign gives us, for the first time, **the complete genealogy of the Eastern Chalukyas, mythical, legendary, and historical.** It was probably devised **in rivalry of the Solar genealogy of the Chôḷas**, with whom the Eastern Chalukyas were now becoming very intimately connected. And it may be conveniently taken in the following divisions : —

(1) The Purâṇic genealogy. This commences with the god **Brahman,** as born from the water-lily that grew from the navel of the god **Vishṇu,** as a result of which the Chalukyas were comprised in the Vishṇuvaṁśa or **lineage of Vishṇu** ;[20] and it is taken through Sôma or the Moon, so that they belonged also to the Sômavaṁśa or **Lunar Race,** as is expressly stated in lines 64 and 73 of this grant, and still more explicitly in W., line 49. As far as the name of Yayâti, it agrees with the Purâṇic genealogy of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 170); and the last specific name in it, is that of Udayana, the son of Satânîka. Another Purâṇic genealogy of the same style seems to be followed in some of the Kâkatîya records (see Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, p. 74). An earlier indication of the reference of the Eastern Chalukya family to **the lineage of Vishṇu,** but one that is hardly pointed enough to lead to the supposition that the idea of the full Purâṇic genealogy had been then contemplated, is to be found in the opening verse of O., of the time of No. 22, Châlukya-Bhîma II., which is in praise of the water-lily that grew from the navel of **Vishṇu,** and was the birth-place of **Brahman.** W., again, though not containing the Purâṇic genealogy, opens with a verse in praise of **Vishṇu** under the name of Mukunda; followed by another in laudation of **the Lunar Race. Descent from Brahman** is claimed for Pulikêśin I. in the Mahâkûṭa pillar inscription (*ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 19). And in the grants of the Western Branch of the family an allusion to the traditional descent of the Chalukyas in **the Lunar Race,** is probably to be found in the passage which mentions Vikramâditya I. as "defeating the lord of the Pallavas, who had been the cause of the humiliation and destruction of **the family which was as pure as the rays of the moon**" (*e. g., ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 151).

(2) The legendary connection of the Chalukyas with the preceding. Without any specification of names, we are told that, including Udayana, fifty-nine emperors sat on the throne at Ayôdhyâ, in unbroken lineal succession. This statement is also preserved in some of the Western Châlukya records (*e. g., ante*, Vol. V. p. 17; also Vol. VIII. p. 12, where, however, after the fifty-nine emperors of Ayôdhyâ, sixteen other unnamed kings, in the south, are introduced before the beginning of the real genealogy). And with it we may compare the statement in the Gaṅga grants, which connects their real with their Purâṇic genealogy, by saying that, after Kôlâhala had founded the city of Kôlâhalapura, his son and seventy-nine other kings reigned there, and then were followed by the historical members of the family, commencing with Vîrasiṁha. When the fifty-nine emperors had reigned at Ayôdhyâ, a member of the family, named Vijayâditya, came to the south, from a desire for conquest, and attacked Trilôchana-Pallava, but lost his life in the attempt. His queen, who was pregnant, escaped with some of her attendants, and, being preserved by a saint named Vishṇubhaṭṭa-Sômayâjin, gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishṇuvardhana. The young prince was nourished; and, having done worship to the goddess Gaurî on the mountain called Chalukya-giri, he at length assumed all the royal insignia of his family, conquered the Kadamba, Gaṅga, and other kings, and established himself as emperor of all Southern India, from the Bridge of Râma, *i. e.* Adam's Bridge or the ridge of rocks connecting Ceylon with the Coromandel coast, up to the Narmadâ. His son, born of a queen of the Pallava lineage, was another Vijayâditya. With the mountain Chalukyagiri that is introduced here, we may compare the Nandagiri fort which, according to the Kâkatîya legend, was founded by Nanda, the son of Uttuṅgabhuja; Nanda's father, in a similar manner, came from Upper India, and settled to the south of the Gôdâvari (*loc. cit.*). And in very similar fashion, the mountain Mahêndragiri, — in this case

[20] This lineage is mentioned in some of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava inscriptions; *e. g., Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. pp. 9, 38.

a really existent mountain, — is introduced into the traditions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. The foundations for this portion of the genealogy are plainly the facts, that the Chalukyas did come originally from the north, and found the Pallavas in possession of some of the territories afterwards acquired by themselves; coupled with a Kadamba tradition, that the founder of that family was Trinêtra or Trilôchana.

(3) **The historical Early and Western Chalukya genealogy,** as far as it is given; being confined to three names, — those of Pulikêśin I., Kîrtivarman I., and Satyâśraya or Pulikêśin II. According to this account, Pulikêśin I. was the son of the second Vijayâditya of the preceding paragraph. In reality, he was the son of Raṇarâga, who was the son of Jayasiṁha I.

(4) **The historical Eastern Chalukya genealogy,** starting with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., and carried on to the time of the reigning king.

The second part of the above genealogy specifies **the Eastern Chalukya insignia.** They are enumerated as the white umbrella, the single conch-shell, the *pañchamahâśabda*,[21] the *pâlikêtana*,[22] the double drum, the boar-crest, the bunch of feathers of a peacock's tail,[23] the spear, the throne, the *makaratôraṇa*,[24] the golden sceptre, the Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, and others which are not particularised. Lithographs of the seals of this grant and of X. have been given, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 253, Plate, Nos. 1 and 2. The seal of the present grant shews, across the centre, the legend *śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa*; above it, a boar, half standing and half couchant to the proper left, the sun and moon, an umbrella, a conch-shell, a double drum, and two objects which are usually interpreted as *chauris* or fly-flaps made from the bushy tail of the *Bos Grunniens*, but which may perhaps be intended for fly-flaps made from the feathers of peacocks' tails; and in the lower part, an elephant- or ox-goad, an expanded water-lily, the bud of a water-lily on its stalk, and a device resembling the letter *ga* which may be intended either for the throne or for the *makaratôraṇa*. The seal of X. omits the sun, the umbrella, the double drum, the bud of the water-lily, and the *ga*; and it adds two lamp-stands. A somewhat similar list of insignia is given in the case of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 164, 175). The terms **Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ** probably denote the images of two goddesses, as personifications of the rivers. These were also Râshṭrakûṭa insignia; thus, Gôvinda III. is described as "taking from his enemies the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, charming with their waves, and acquiring at the same time that supreme position of lordship (*which was indicated*) by (*those rivers in*) the form of a visible sign" (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 163); and the rivers are spoken of again, as doing service to the palace of Gôvinda V. (*id.* pp. 248, 253). These two emblems must have been derived, by some means or another, from the Early Guptas, in the temples of whose period the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ, as goddesses, constantly appear as an architectural embellishment (see *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 43, 70).

Of this reign we have one record:—

V. — A copper-plate grant from Korumelli in the Gôdâvarî District; edited by me with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 48. — This grant gives the complete genealogy, commented on just above. The historical Eastern Chalukya genealogy commences with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., as the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the lord of favourites;' and this passage gives the **name of the family as Chalukya.** The charter was issued by Râjarâja I. himself; and it records **a grant of the village of Korumelli in the Guddavâḍi vishaya,**[25] on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. The *Dûtaka* was **Kaṭakêśa,**[26] the son of Râchiya-Pedderi-Bhîma, the composer was Chêtanabhaṭṭa; and the writer was Gaṇḍâchârya.

[21] *i. e.* the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments; or perhaps, here, five kinds of loud-sounding musical instruments (compare page 98 above; and see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296, note 9).

[22] An arrangement of flags in rows (see *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 104).

[23] *piñchha*; see *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 273, note 1, and compare Vol. XVIII. p. 313, and note 18.

[24] Probably an ornamental arch (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 423, note 2).

[25] As regards the name of this *vishaya*, see page 97 above, note 13.

[26] See page 267 above, note 5.

Vijayâditya VII.;

viceroy of Veṅgî.

A. D. 1063 to 1077.

All that is known about this person is derived from W., which tells us that he was a paternal uncle of No. 28, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., and consequently a brother, — probably a younger brother, — of No. 27, Râjarâja I.; and that he was **a viceroy of Veṅgî, under his nephew, for fifteen years,** — A. D. 1063 to 1077 (see page 277 below). His name occurs as simply **Vijayâditya.**

To this period belongs the statement, in one of the Gaṅga grants (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 171), that, "when **Vijayâditya,** beginning to grow old, left **the country of Veṅgî,** as if he were the sun leaving the sky, and was about **to sink in the great ocean of the Chôḍas,"** **Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara** (A. D. 1071 to 1078) **"caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region."**[27]

28. — Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.

Forty-nine years; A. D. 1063 to 1112.

He was the son of No. 27, Râjarâja I. From W. we learn that his original appellation was **Râjêndra-Chôḍa;** but that subsequently he received the name of **Kulôttuṅgadêva,** on being anointed to the Chôḍa (*i. e.* Chôḷa) sovereignty; also, that he had the *biruda* of **Râja-Nârâyana.** X. speaks of him by the name of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva;** and this is the most expedient form to use. By the name of **Râjêndra-Chôḷa**, he is mentioned in two of the Gaṅga inscriptions (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 164, 175). In the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* (see page 280 below), he is called **Râjiga;** which name is a colloquial form of the first part of his original appellation. And he is probably mentioned as **Râjiga-Chôḷa** in two inscriptions at Chitaldurg and Harihar.[28] According to W., **his wife was Madhurântakîdêvî,** the daughter of Râjêndradêva of the Solar Race, *i. e.* apparently of the Chôḷa king Kô-Parakêsarivarman, otherwise called Uḍaiyâr Śrî-Râjêndradêva (Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, pp. 112, 134);[29] and they had **seven sons;**[30] the eldest was **Vikrama-Chôḍa,** who ultimately succeeded to the throne; the second was **Râjarâja II.,** who was viceroy of Veṅgî for one year; the third was **Vîra-Chôḍadêva,** who also became viceroy of Veṅgî; the others are not named. In addition, they appear also to have had **a daughter, named Râjasundari,** who became the wife of Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 164, 171, 175).[31] According to X., Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. reigned for **forty-nine years.** The Pittâpuram inscription, however, dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1124, states that he reigned for **fifty years,** and reduces his father's reign from forty-one years to forty (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 427). In connection with this we may note, in the first place, that this same Pittâpuram inscription appears to mention Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. as being

[27] *i. e.* in the west as regards Kaliṅganagara: not in the western part of Southern India.

[28] *Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 146, line 8, and 118, line 7. — They are inscriptions of a *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, named Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva, who was governing the Noḷambavâḍi Thirty-two-thousand at Uchangi. The expression applied to Vijaya-Pâṇḍyadêva is *Râjiga-Chôḷa-manô-bhaṅga*, 'who frustrated the wishes of Râjiga-Chôḷa;' and, as the inscriptions are dated in A. D. 1123 and 1171, it appears to be an ancestral title, not indicative of any contemporaneous event.

[29] Of his time we have one inscription, *loc. cit.* p. 134, No. 127. His earliest date cannot be placed before A. D. 1051 (see note 19 above); and this inscription is dated in his fifth year: consequently he cannot be placed earlier than A. D. 1051 to 1054. His connection with his predecessor has not yet been made clear.

[30] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 435, note 84.

[31] It is, however, not quite certain that Râjasundarî's father was the Eastern Chalukya king. Her father is mentioned as Râjêndra-Chôla (pp. 164, 175), and as the Chôḍa king (p. 171). My assumption is that "the Chôḍa king" denotes, not a real Chôla, but the Eastern Chalukya after the annexation of the Chôḷa kingdom. — As his predecessor reigned for at least twenty-six years, the accession of the Chôḷa Râjêndra-Chôḷa cannot be placed before A. D. 1028: and as he himself reigned for at least twenty-four years, the end of his reign cannot be placed before A. D. 1051, and it may approximate much more closely to the period of Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara. Still, I think the probabilities are more in favour of the identification that I have made; especially since a daughter of the Chôḷa Râjêndra-Chôḷa was the wife of Râjarâja I. in the period A. D. 1022 to 1063.

at first a **Yuvarâja**; and in the second place, that W. does not say exactly that Râjarâja I. reigned for forty-one years, but that he reigned "for forty years and again for one." The passage in W. is in verse. Still, there is no apparent reason why forty-one years should not have been specified in it in a plain and ordinary manner, if that was the real unbroken length of his reign. And the facts are somewhat suggestive of a break in the full period. For the present, however, we may as well take it that Râjarâja I. reigned for forty-one years, and Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva I. for **forty-nine years**; and so, reckoning forward from the established actual date of the coronation of Râjarâja I., **the accession of Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva I. is to be placed in A. D. 1063.**

We have as yet no inscriptions which can be with certainty allotted to this king. But W. belongs to his time; and from it we gather **some facts of leading importance.** We have seen that there was **an intermarriage of the Eastern Chalukyas with the Chôḷas** two generations earlier; when Vimalâditya took to wife Kûndavâmahâdêvî, the daughter of Râjarâja, and the younger sister of Râjêndra-Chôḍa. It is plainly from this, that his son was named Râjarâja I. The latter, again, found a Chôḷa wife, in Ammaṅgadêvî, the daughter of Râjêndra-Chôḍa; *i. e.* of his maternal uncle, just mentioned. And in a similar way, his son, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., was first named Râjêndra-Chôḍa. He, again, did as his immediate ancestors had done, and married Madhurântakîdêvî, the daughter of Râjêndradêva. As the result of these intermarriages, **the members of this family were, from this time, plainly Chôḷas at heart,** far more than Chalukyas. Not only is this indicated by their names; but it is proved by their personal history. **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. was first anointed,** like his ancestors, **to the sovereignty of Veṅgî,** "which was the cause of the rising of his splendour;" and this, as we have just seen, is to be placed **in A. D. 1063.** But subsequently he assumed the Chôḷa crown, and had Veṅgî governed for him by viceroys. In W. no clear statement is made as to the circumstances under which this happened; it is simply said that "wishing for, being desirous of, or preferring, the Chôḷa sovereignty (*Chôḍa-râjy-âbhilâshin*)," he transferred the sovereignty of Veṅgî to his paternal uncle Vijayâditya. A more definite statement, however, is made in the grant of the twenty-third year of Vîra-Chôḍadêva, which states that he transferred the sovereignty of Veṅgî to Vijayâditya because he himself was "desirous of subjugating various countries (*dig-vijay-aishin*)." Putting the two statements together, it seems clear that **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. acquired the Chôḷa crown by hostile invasion and conquest**; not, at any rate entirely, by a failure of the Chôḷa succession. And, as we shall see further on, there are indications that what really gave him the opportunity, was the death of the Chôḷa king in a rebellion which entailed a state of anarchy. Now, W. names three viceroys of Veṅgî, appointed by Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.; one was Vîra-Chôḍadêva, the actual date of whose installation was the 23rd August, A. D. 1078; his predecessor was Râjarâja II., for one year only (A. D. 1077-78); and his predecessor was Vijayâditya VII., for fifteen years (A. D. 1063 to 1077). Therefore, as he assumed the Chôḷa crown at the time when he appointed Vijayâditya as viceroy of Veṅgî, it follows that **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. attacked and annexed the Chôḷa kingdom in A. D. 1063, — in the very first year of his reign.** The statement quoted above, connecting Râjarâja of Kaliṅganagara with Vijayâditya VII., and another remark in the same passage to the effect that he was victorious in battle against the Dramilas, *i. e.* against the Chôḷas properly so-called, — and a further statement, in the same record, that Râjarâja's son and successor, Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva (A. D. 1078 to at least 1135) "replaced the waning lord of Veṅgî in the western region, and propped up his failing fortunes," — seem to indicate that this annexation of the Chôḷa kingdom was not effected quite at once, and was not finally completed without extraneous assistance.

To this period belongs the only epigraphical evidence known to me, indicative of **either a settlement of the Eastern Chalukyas in Western India, or an intermarriage between them and the Western Chalukyas.** It is contained in an inscription at Dâvaṅgere in Maisûr

(*Pâli, Sanskrit, and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. 136), which refers itself to the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., and is dated in A. D. 1066. Three sons of **Sômêśvara I.** are very well known; *viz.*, Sômêśvara II., Vikramâditya VI., and Jayasiṁha IV. This inscription purports to give the name of a **fourth son, called Vishṇuvardhanamahârâja-Vijayâdityadêva,** who was governing the Nolambavâḍi Thirty-two-thousand, and by whose *Daṇḍanâyaka* and *Mahâsaṁdhivigrahin*, Dêvapayya, the grants recorded in the inscription were made. The inscription describes this Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya as "**a ruby of the Châlukyas** (*Châlukya-mâṇikya*; l. 8, 9);" and it gives him the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya**, or 'refuge of all mankind' (l. 6), the *birudas* of Âhavamallan=Aṅkakâṛa (l. 7) and Sâhasamalla (l. 10), and the hereditary title of "**lord of the province of Veṅgî** (*Veṅgî-maṇḍal-êśvara*; l. 11)." It is quite plain, therefore, that he was **of Eastern Chalukya descent, on one side at least.** Now, this person is mentioned in no other inscription as yet known; the sphere of his government lay south of the river Tuṅgabhadrâ, which is considered to have formed the boundary between the Western Châlukya kingdom and the Chôḷa dominions, whether under the Chôḷas themselves or under the Eastern Chalukyas after them; and, though he is called **the son of Sômêśvara** (*tan-nandana*), yet no expression such as *âtaṅge puṭṭida*, 'born to him,' is used. And these points may indicate that he was simply called the son of Sômêśvara I. through courtesy;[32] being in reality a distant kinsman, in the next degree of descent, in the Eastern Chalukya family. On the other hand, the fact that, in an inscription at Dêûr in the Bijâpur District, dated in A. D. 1064-65 (Sir Walter Elliot's *Karṇâṭaka-Dêśa Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 173), Jayasiṁha IV., while governing the Tardavâḍi Thousand for his elder brother Vikramâditya VI., is described as "born in the Pallava lineage," and as having the title of "lord of Kâñchî, the best of cities," may be used as an argument that Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayâditya was in reality a son of Sômêśvara I.

An account of this reign would be incomplete, without a somewhat detailed reference to **two contemporaneous literary records** of more than ordinary historical interest; one is the Sanskṛit *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* or *Vikramâṅkakâvya* of Bilhaṇa, of which an analysis has been given by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. V. page 317 ff.; the other is the Tamil *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi* of Jayaṅkoṇḍa, extracts from which have been published by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, in this Journal, Vol. XIX. p. 329 ff. The Sanskṛit poem gives an account of the events that occurred during the early career and the subsequent reign **of the Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.**, who, reigning apparently[33] from the early part of A. D. 1076 up to about A. D. 1126, was contemporaneous, almost throughout, with his kinsman of the Eastern Branch. The Tamil poem refers to the reign of **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. himself.**

The special subject of **the Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi** is an expedition to Kaliṅga, ending in the re-subjugation of that country. The ruler of North Kaliṅga[34] was claimed as a vassal of the Eastern Chalukya crown. The cause of the war was his omission, for two years, to present

32 This is a very common custom in the Kanarese country. For an epigraphical instance of an analogous kind, see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 48, note 1.

33 At first sight, nothing should be easier than to fix the exact commencement of this reign; since one of the dates for this king purports to give, — whether it refers to the actual day or to an anniversary, — the very *tithi* of his *paṭṭabandha* or coronation, with full details for calculation. But all that I can say at present is that his first regnal year seems to have been Śaka-Saṁvat 999 current. Of the forty-three dates given by me in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 187 ff., thirty-nine give that result. But two (Nos. 2 and 30) give the preceding year; one (No. 19) gives Ś.-S. 1000; and one gives Ś.-S. 1002. And the details for the *paṭṭabandha* do not work out correctly for the year for which they are given; but can be applied correctly for Ś.-S. 998. I shall go into this question more fully on a separate occasion.

34 The poem speaks several times of "the seven Kaliṅgas" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 334, l. 16, 335, l. 28, 336, ll. 6, 9, 39); but I have not been able to obtain the names of the seven divisions of that territory, or of the five divisions of the Pâṇḍya country, which also seem to be indicated here (p. 335, l. 13), and a conquest of which is mentioned also in an inscription, at Chidambaram (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 168), of a Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa who has not as yet been identified with any certainty.

himself with tribute before the king. And the expedition was led by a minister or general of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., named **Karuṇâkara, of the Pallava lineage,** who had the titles of Toṇḍaimân and king of Vaṇḍainagara, and the banner of a bull. Arguing on the grounds that it is not mentioned in inscriptions up to the twentieth year of the king's reign, whereas it is mentioned in those dated in the twenty-sixth year, **Mr. V. K. Pillai has placed the date of this campaign** between those years (*loc. cit.* p. 338, l. 23); *i. e.* **in the period A. D. 1082 to 1088.** But I am not satisfied as to the correctness of this. The ruler of Kaliṅga at this time was Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva of Kaliṅganagara, whose coronation took place on the 17th February, A. D. 1078 (*ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 162). And, as the expedition was directed against a chief who was claimed as a vassal, I should think that it must be placed at least before the time when we find Anantavarma-Chôḍagaṅgadêva in possession of the paramount titles; *i. e.* **before April, A. D. 1081** (*loc. cit.*). A previous conquest of Kaliṅga, in A. D. 918, is claimed for Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya IV. (see page 104 above). And Vikramâditya II. is said to have ruled over Trikaliṅga or the three Kaliṅgas (page 269 above).

The poem is extremely interesting, in a general way, on account of its graphic language, the full list that it gives of the chiefs who were claimed as vassals, the geographical and historical details mentioned in connection with the march of the army and in other passages, and the spirited description of the battle. But it includes also some **special points,** to which particular attention has to be directed.

The first is, that nowhere is any mention made of the Veṅgî country, of the Chalukya family, or even of the boar-crest of the Chalukyas;[35] **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. is treated throughout as purely a Chôḷa king.** The introductory genealogy (p. 330 f.) is that of the Chôḷa family, traced through Sûrya, the Sun, up to the gods Brahman and Vishṇu; thus it is the pedigree of a branch of the Solar Race; and the first historical names in it are the names of Chôḷa kings of the Chôḷa *maṇḍala*. Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. is there introduced, under the title of Abhaya ('the fearless'), as if he was the direct lineal descendant, on his father's side, of those kings; throughout, there is connected with him the tiger-banner of the Chôḷas (*e. g.* pp. 329, last line; 332, line 3 from the bottom; 333, l. 28; 334, l. 18), the origin of which seems to be attributed to the first of the two Râjakêsarins (p. 331, l. 8); and, where he is not referred to by the title of Abhaya, which is mostly used for him in this poem, or by his name of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa, which occurs twice (pp. 335, l. 26; 337, l. 4), he is called the Chôḷa (p. 332, l. 29), the Chenni (= Chôḷa; pp. 330, l. 17; 333, l. 14), and Karikâla-Chôḷa (p. 337, l. 15), which last appears to be peculiarly a Chôḷa name. The conclusion of the genealogy reads as if Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. succeeded naturally to a hereditary throne, — that of the Chôḷas. There seems, indeed, to be a hint of the truth somewhere else in the poem; *viz.* that there was a time of anarchy just before his accession (see p. 338, line 7 f. from the bottom). But, in the published extracts, his real identity and descent are indicated only in the passages which describe him as a prince of both the Lunar and the Solar Races, born from the wife, belonging to the Solar Race, of a king of the Lunar Race (p. 332, l. 2 ff.). This shews plainly that by paternal descent he belonged **to the Chalukya family;** and though the names of his parents are not given, still, — taken in connection with the epigraphical passages which state the birth of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. and describe how he first succeeded to the throne of Veṅgî and then assumed the empire of the Chôḷa kingdom, and with the occurrence of the name Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa in the poem, — the mention of the mother of the reigning king of this poem, as a daughter of Râjarâja of the Solar Race, establishes conclusively the point that his parents were the Eastern Chalukya king Râjarâja I. and his wife Ammaṅgadêvî, daughter of Râjên-

35 Reference is made to a *banner* of a boar (p. 330, l. 1); but that is a different thing. — The practice appears to have been uniform, of having one device for the crest (*lâñchhana*) to be also used on coins, and another for the banner (*dhvaja*); note, for instance, the elephant-crest and the Garuḍa-banner of the Raṭṭas of Saundatti and Belgaum; the lion-crest and the monkey-banner of the Kâdambas of Banawâsi; and the monkey-banner of the Kâdambas of Goa, and the lion on their coins.

dra-Chôḍa,[36] and that he himself is **the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.**, otherwise called Kulôttuṅgadêva, Râjêndra-Chôḍa, and Râja-Nârâyaṇa, of the inscriptions. From this same passage we obtain Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa, as another name of his maternal grandfather, the Chôḷa Râjarâja, *i. e.* Râjarâja-Râjakêsarivarman. And elsewhere we find his father spoken of by the title of Paṇḍita-Chôḷa (p. 337, l. 2).

According to the poem, **the capital of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. was Gaṅgâpurî or Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷapuram** (pp. 331, last line; 339, line 7 from the bottom), which has now dwindled into a small village, still bearing the name of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśôrapuram, in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly District;[37] and **his court was held at Kâñchî**, *i. e.* Conjeeveram (pp. 331, last line; 333, l. 20). **His wife's name is given as Thiyâkavalli** (p. 333, l. 13). Whether this is another name of the Madhurântakîdêvî, daughter of Râjêndradêva, of the inscription, is uncertain; especially as the poem alludes to more wives than one, or perhaps to specifically two wives (p. 333, l. 29 f.). But Thiyâkavalli was plainly the *Agramahishî*, or 'queen-consort;' being mentioned as having "the right of exercising equal authority" with the king himself (p. 333, l. 14).

We turn now to **the Vikramâṅkadêvacharita**, which, though it tells us but little actually about the Eastern Chalukyas themselves, gives very plain indications as to the circumstances which enabled them to seize the sovereignty of their most powerful neighbours, the Chôḷas. The historical part opens with a short genealogy, which is brought down to the time of the Western Châlukya king Sômêśvara I., or, as he is called in the poem, Âhavamalla-Trailôkyamalla (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 318 *a*, l. 5 f). His sons were Sôma, *i. e.* Sômêśvara II. (p. 318 *b*, l. 15), Vikrama or Vikramâditya VI. (p. 319 *a*, l. 5), and Jayasiṁha IV. (*ibid.* l. 16). Sômêśvara II. was appointed by his father to the office of *Yuvarâja* (*ibid.* l. 30 f.); and **Vikramâditya VI.** was deputed on a series of warlike expeditions (*ibid.* l. 37 f.). In a northerly direction, he is said to have conquered a place of some renown and importance, named **Chakrakôṭa** (p. 319 *b*, l. 10), — a point which seems worthy of note here, because I suspect that it is in imitation of this fact that another conquest of the same place is claimed on behalf of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.;[38] it is stated by Mr. V. K. Pillai (*loc. cit.* p. 340) that certain inscriptions enable him to say that this place was a fortress in the Dhârâ territory; and. though I can find no evidence of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. having really sent any expedition in that direction, yet in the case of Vikramâditya VI. the alleged fact is likely to be true, because an inscription at Sîtâbaldî, near Jabalpur, refers itself to his reign, and shews that he not only attacked, but also held for a time, part at least of Central India. In connection, however, with what we have specially in view, the more important statements are, that he **repeatedly defeated the Chôḷas** (p. 319 *a*, l. 3 from the bottom), plundered Kâñchî (*ibid.* last line), and conquered Gâṅgakuṇḍa and Veṅgî (p. 319 *b*, ll. 9, 10). **Gâṅgakuṇḍa** is evidently the Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷapuram or Gaṅgâpurî of the preceding paragraph. **Kâñchî** is constantly spoken of in the poem as if it were the capital, or the city of next importance after the capital. And in support of the alleged conquest of **Veṅgî**, it may be noted that there are inscriptions, dated in the reign or era of

[36] The author of the poem seems to be guilty of a slip, in calling him Râjarâja. Still, we may obtain epigra-
phical evidence that this was a variant of his name. And anyhow the slip is excusable, considering how many
persons there were, bearing very similar names, in that period, and how complex were the relationships between
them; thus, there were, at least, the Eastern Chalukyas Râjarâja I. and II.; the Chôḷa Râjarâja (called, in the fullest
form of his name, Kô-Râjarâja-Râjakêsarivarman, Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 65; his
accession was in A. D. 1003 or 1004, *id.* p. 169, and *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 72), whose daughter married the Eastern
Chalukya Vimalâditya; the Chôḷa Râjêndra-Chôḷa, whose daughter married, the above-mentioned Râjarâja I.;
and the Chôḷa Râjêndradêva, whose daughter married Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.; and Râjêndra-Chôḍa was also a
name of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. himself.

[37] Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 264.

[38] In the *Kaliṅgattu Parani*, *loc. cit.* p. 332, l. 30; where the name is given in the Tamilised form of Chakkara-
koḍḍam. — In another Tamil inscription it is mentioned as Śakkarakoṭṭam, and a conquest of it is claimed by a
king named Râjêndra-Chôḷa (Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 97, 99). — It is also mentioned, by
the name of Chakragoṭṭa, in connection with the Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana, who, again, claims to have con-
quered it (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 66).

Vikramâditya VI., at Drâkshârâm in the Gôdâvarî District.[39] **The wars with the Chôḷas** had commenced, as a fact, before this time; for, the poem claims that Sômêśvara I. stormed Kâñchî, "the capital of the Chôḷas," driving its ruler into the jungles (p. 318 *a*, ll. 8, 18 f.); and certain inscriptions establish, on the one hand, that the Chôḷas successfully invaded the territory of Sômêśvara I. as far as Lakshmêshwar, and, on the other hand, that the Western Châlukya king repulsed them, and gave them a serious defeat in a battle in which the Chôḷa leader apparently lost his life (see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 46). And, though of course in the *Vikramâṅkadêvacharita* the victory is always claimed for the Châlukyas, it is doubtless to his time that we must refer the defeat of the people of Kalyâṇa, and the defeat of the Kuntalas at Kûḍal-Saṁgam, — *i. e.*, in both cases, of the Western Châlukyas, — which are claimed for the Chôḷas in the *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi*.[40] The most interesting, however, of the events between Vikramâditya VI. and the Chôḷas, occurred, according to the poem, after the death of Sômêśvara I. (p. 319 *b*, line 6 from the bottom) and the accession of Sômêśvara II. (p. 320 *a*, l. 9). **Vikramâditya VI.** was then contemplating **another campaign against the Chôḷas** (p. 320 *a*, l. 3 from the bottom). The Chôḷa king, feeling himself unable to resist, sent an ambassador, asking for friendship, and offering his daughter's hand in marriage to the Châlukya king (p. 320 *b*, l. 12). By an amicable arrangement, Vikramâditya VI. retired to the Tuṅgabhadrâ; and there the marriage was celebrated (*ibid.* l. 21 f.). Hardly was this done, when **the Chôḷa king died, and the kingdom fell into a state of anarchy** (*ibid.* l. 25 f.). Vikramâditya VI. proceeded at once to Kâñchî, and subdued the rebels there; next he visited Gâṅgakuṇḍa again, and secured the Chôḷa succession for **his wife's brother**; and then, after a further stay of a month at Kâñchî, he returned to the Tuṅgabhadrâ. Within a few days, however, after his return, the news reached him that **his brother-in-law had lost his life in a fresh rebellion** (*ibid.* l. 2 f. from the bottom), and that **Râjiga, the lord of Veṅgî, had taken possession of the throne of Kâñchî** (p. 321 *a*, l. 1).[41] Vikramâditya VI. marched at once against Râjiga. The latter induced Sômêśvara II. to combine with him; and a battle was fought. But the victory rested with Vikramâditya VI.; and Râjiga fled, and Sômêśvara II. was taken prisoner (p. 321 *b*, l. 4). This lost Sômêśvara the throne; and shortly afterwards, according to the poem, Vikramâditya VI. allowed himself to be proclaimed ruler of the Dekhaṇ (*ibid.* l. 11). Subsequently to this, the Chôḷas are mentioned again in a passage which says that, after a variety of wars against unnamed enemies, Vikramâditya once more had to "extinguish" the Chôḷa (*ibid.* l. 21). Whether this refers to the Eastern Chalukyas, as holders of the Chôḷa crown, or to an attempt on the part of the real Chôḷas to reassert themselves, is not apparent. But we may note that this event

[39] See, *e. g.*, Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, Vol. I. p. 25 ff. — The fact of the existence of the inscriptions seems certain. But what historical deductions may be drawn from them, is not clear, because the dates appear, in many instances, to be so capricious; thus Nos. 18, 100, and 155, which connect the fiftieth and forty-fifth years of the era with Śaka-Saṁvat 1052 and 1045, are approximately correct; but it seems inexplicable how, in Nos. 34, 93, 94, and 157, the ninth year is connected with Ś.-S. 1057, the fifth year with Ś.-S. 1043, and the seventh year with Ś.-S. 1054 and 1055.

[40] *loc. cit.* p. 331, ll. 16, 10, from the bottom. — Kûḍal-Saṁgam is the junction of the Krishṇa with the Tuṅgabhadrâ (p. 340, l. 7). — Mr. V. K. Pillai has referred this event, first to Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. (p. 338, l. 4 f.), and secondly to his maternal grandfather Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Râjêndra-Chôḍa (p. 339, l. 31 ff.). But I think that the translation (p. 331, l. 10 f. from the bottom) plainly refers it to the last real Chôḷa king, the immediate predecessor of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. — The Tuṅgabhadrâ seems to have formed part of the southern frontier of the Western Châlukya kingdom, separating it there from the Chôḷa territory (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 320, notes ||, ¶).

[41] It is unfortunate that the poem gives no indication as to the names of the Chôḷa father-in-law and brother-in-law of Vikramâditya VI. But it is plain that they were real Chôḷas; and also that they were the last two kings of that dynasty. For an identification of them which cannot be upheld, see the next note. My own impression is that they were respectively Râjêndra-Chôḍa (the father-in-law of Râjarâja I.) and Râjêndradêva (the father-in-law of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.). But, pending further elucidation of the Chôḷa history, it is useless to make any pretence to certainty on this point. — Among the wives of Vikramâditya VI., one was Sâvaladêvî, who is described as being born in the Solar Race (Sir Walter Elliot's *Karnôṭaka-Dêśa Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 277). This is suggestive of a Chôḷa intermarriage. But her father is mentioned as the *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara* Jôgamarasa; and her mother was Târâdêvî (*id.* p. 449).

is placed just before the entrance of Vikramâditya VI. into his capital of Kalyâṇa (*ibid.* l. 21). Subsequently to this, the Chôḷas were attacked only once more: after a long time of peace, they again became proud and insolent; Vikramâditya's army marched on Kâñchî, and took the city; and Vikramâditya amused himself there for some time, before returning to his capital (p. 323 *b*, l. 6 ff. from the bottom). Here the expression "the Chôḷas" seems to denote really "the Eastern Chalukyas."

Such is the story given in the poem. Doubtless, in its general outlines it is correct. But the inscriptions shew that it requires adjustment in several points, in order to bring it into accordance with the historical sequence of facts. And most notably is this the case in connection with **Râjiga**, who, fortunately, is a person of very definite identity. The poem stamps him unmistakably as **an Eastern Chalukya**, by calling him "the lord of Veṅgî." It also shews that he was the Eastern Chalukya who first seized the Chôḷa sovereignty. This, we know, was done by **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.** And the name by which he is mentioned in the poem is easily accounted for; because we know that he received the name of Kulôttuṅgadêva only when he was anointed in the Chôḷa sovereignty, — of course, after his seizure of it; consequently, at the time when he came in conflict with Vikramâditya VI., he was only known as **Râjêndra-Chôḍa**, of the first part of which name Râjiga is plainly a more familiar form.[42] Here, however, we are brought face to face with a very marked anachronism in the account given in the poem. We know (see page 277 above) that Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. annexed the Chôḷa empire in A. D. 1063. In the poem, on the other hand, this event is placed, not only after the death of Sômêśvara I., for whom we have dates ranging up to A. D. 1068-69, but some considerable time after that occurrence, and apparently only just before the time when Vikramâditya VI. had himself proclaimed ruler of the Dekhaṇ. Here there must be an error of at least five years, and probably of much more.[43] The fact, however, remains clear, from the poem, that Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. was enabled to seize the Chôḷa crown through **internal disturbances in the Chôḷa kingdom**, which culminated in the death of the last Chôḷa king.

29. — Vikrama-Chôḍa.

Fifteen years; A. D. 1112 to 1127.

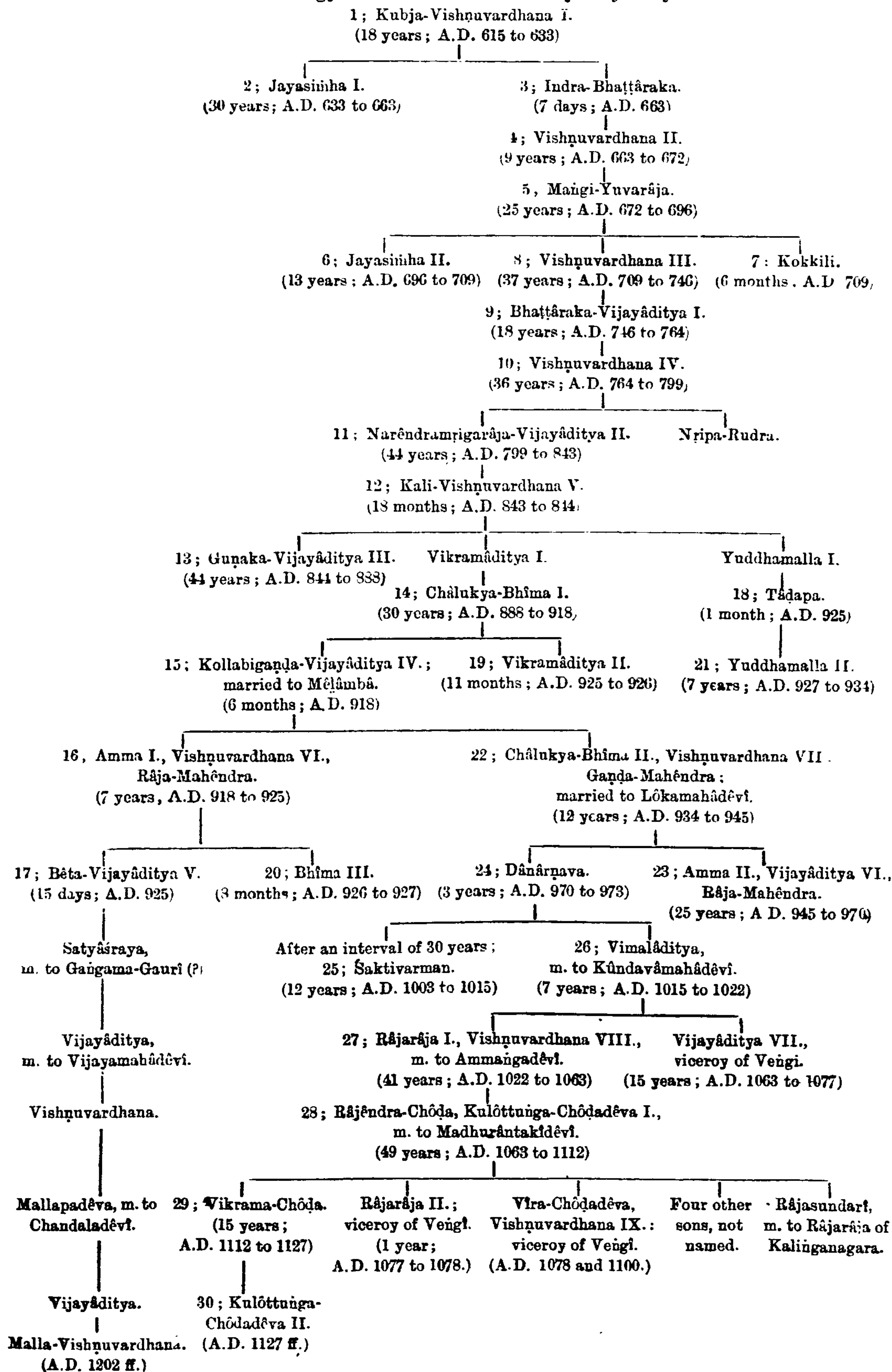
He was the eldest son, and the successor, of No. 28, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. X. states that he reigned for **fifteen years**. The Gôdâvarî grant and the Piṭṭâpuram inscription, which have been noticed above in connection with Bêta-Vijayâditya V., seem to imply that, like two at least of his brothers, he held at some time the office of **viceroy of Veṅgî**; for they state that he went to govern the Chôḷa *maṇḍala*, leaving Veṅgî without a ruler or king of its own. If this was really the case, his term of office as viceroy must doubtless be placed after the latest date that can be obtained for Vîra-Chôḍadêva. The point, however, requires further investigation.

---

42 We may compare 'Gojjiga' as a more familiar form of 'Gôvinda' (*ante*, Vol. XII. p. 249). — Dr. Bühler (*ante* Vol V. p. 321, note †, identified Râjiga with Râjarâja II., son of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I.; and, from that identification, he deduced that the brother-in-law of Vikramâditya VI. was a brother of Râjarâja II., and that his father-in-law was Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. himself. But the grounds for this, quoted by Dr. Bühler from Sir Walter Elliot, are simply altogether wrong.

43 It is not apparent, from the poem, when the *paṭṭabandha* or coronation of Vikramâditya VI. took place, whether at the time when he first had himself proclaimed ruler of the Dekhaṇ; or at the later time when, after once more extinguishing the Chôḷa, he entered his capital of Kalyâṇa. I should be inclined to connect the *paṭṭabandha* with the entrance into Kalyâṇa, which would then be referable to A. D. 1075 or 1076 (see page 278 above, note 33). — Dr. Bühler has said (*ante*, Vol. V. p. 331, note §) that, according to the inscriptions, the battle with Râjiga and Sômêśvara II. took place in A. D. 1076. This would make a discrepancy of thirteen years. But this date can only have been deduced from the assumption that the *paṭṭabandha* took place at the time of the proclamation as ruler of the Dekhaṇ. And, as a matter of fact, the passage in Sir Walter Elliot's writings, referred to by Dr. Buhler, does not mention the battle at all; simply because there is, as far as I can ascertain, no mention of it in any of the Western Châlukya inscriptions.

Genealogy of the Eastern Chalukya Dynasty.



Râjarâja II.;

viceroy of Veṅgî.

A. D. 1077-78.

He was the second son of No. 28, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. From W. we learn that, **after the death** of Vijayâditya VII., his father appointed him as **viceroy of Veṅgî.** But the **appointment was unwelcome** to him ; and he held the office for only one year, — A. D. 1077-78 ; **then, being homesick,** he threw it up and returned to his parents.

Vîra-Chôḍadêva ; Vishṇuvardhana IX. ;

viceroy of Veṅgî.

A. D. 1078 and 1100.

He was the third son of No. 28, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I. In addition to his proper **name,** which appears both as **Vîra-Chôḍa** and as **Vîra-Chôḍadêva,** he had the second name of **Vishṇuvardhana IX.,** and the epithet of **sarvalôkâśraya,** 'refuge of all mankind.' In both his **grants** he uses the paramount titles, **Mahârâjâdhirâja, Râja-Paramêśvara, and Paramabhaṭṭâraka.**[44] And **W.** describes him as a *paramamâhêśvara*, or 'most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara.' The seal of his grant bears the motto of **śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa.** After the return of his brother Râjarâja II., he was appointed **viceroy of Vêṅgî** ; but, like his elder brother, he was not very willing to take the appointment, and only accepted it after some persuasion. The **date of his installation** is given in W. ; the details are, 'Saka-Saṁvat 1001, when the sun was in Siṁha, *i. e.* in the solar month Bhâdrapada, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, Guruvâra or Thursday, when the moon was in the 'Sravaṇa *nakshatra*, and during the rising of the sign Vṛiśchika ; and, the given 'Saka year having to be applied in this case as a current year, and the *tithi* as a current *tithi* used with the week-day on which it began, the corresponding English date is **Thursday, 23rd August, A. D. 1078** (see *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 426). The duration of his term of office is not yet known; but we have a grant dated in his **twenty-third year,** *i. e.* in or about A. D. 1100. We learn from his grants, that his seat of government was at the city of **Janaṇâthanagarî, in the Veṅgî country** ; this place has not yet been identified.

Of his time we have one record at present available :[45]—

W. — A grant from Chellûrî in the Gôdâvarî District ; first edited by Dr. Hultzsch in his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 49, No. 39, and subsequently, but from a prior reading of the original plates, by myself, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 423. — This grant gives again **the complete Eastern Chalukya genealogy,** mythical, legendary, and historical, which has already been noticed in connection with Râjarâja I. (page 274 f. above). The historical portion commences with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., as the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the lord of favourites ;' and this passage gives the name of the family as **Châlukya.** The charter was issued by Vîra-Chôḍadêva himself. It is addressed to the inhabitants of **the Guddavâḍi vishaya** (see page 97 above, note 13) ; and it records the grant of a village named **Koleṛu,** by Vîra-Chôḍadêva himself, to a temple of Vishṇu which his *Sênâpati* or General, a Vaishṇava Brâhmaṇ named **Mêḍamârya** and otherwise called **Guṇaratnabhûshaṇa,** had built at **the Chellûru agrahâra.** The *Dûtakas* were **the five Pradhânas or Ministers.** The composer of the charter was Viddayabhaṭṭa ; and the writer was Pennâchâri. The grant is **dated** in the twenty-first year of the reign, *i. e.* of the government of Vîra-Chôḍadêva ; it should, therefore, be placed **in A. D. 1098** ; but no details are given by which the exact English date can be determined. The **Chellûru agrahâra** is, of

[44] With this we may compare the fact that in an inscription at Dêûr, dated in A. D. 1066 (Sir Walter Elliot's *Karnâṭaka-Dêśa Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 173), the Western Châlukya Jayasiṁha IV., while governing at Tardavâḍi in the time of his father the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, *Paramêśvara*, and *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, Sômêśvara I., himself uses the titles of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara*.

[45] Dr. Hultzsch kindly placed the grant of his twenty-third year at my disposal, for editing. But I have not had leisure to deal with it fully.

course, the modern village of Chellûr itself, — the 'Chelloor' of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 94, in Lat. 16° 49′, Long. 82° 3′. And **Koleru** appears to be the 'Kalairoo' of the map, two miles south-west of Chellûr; there is some room for doubt as to the exact vowel in the first syllable of the name that is given in the record.

30. — Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II.

Date of Accession in A. D. 1127.

He was the son and successor of No. 29, Vikrama-Chôḍa; and, as far as our information goes at present, he was the last of the dynasty.[46] His name is given both as **Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva** (X. line 21), and as simply **Chôḍadêva** (*id.* line 47). The seal of the grant of his time bears the motto of **Srî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa.**

Of this reign we have one record: —

X. — Another grant from Chellûr in the Gôdâvarî District; edited by me, with a lithograph, *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 55. — It opens with a verse in praise of the god **Vishṇu** under the name of Mukunda; followed by another in laudation of **the Sômavaṁśa or Lunar Race** (see page 274 above). It then gives the historical Eastern Chalukya **genealogy,** commencing with Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., the brother of Satyâśraya, 'the lord of favourites;' this passage gives the name of the family as **Châlukya.** The formal wording of a charter is not used in this record. It states how the *Daṇḍâdhinâtha* **Kaṭa, otherwise called Kolani-Kâṭamanâyaka,** an officer of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II., bestowed **the Maṇḍadoṟṟu agrahâra,** together with the village of **Ponduvagrâma, in the Sâvattili dêśa,** upon a number of Brâhmaṇs. The writer was Pallâchârya (?). The record is **dated** in Saka-Saṁvat 1056 expired, on a *tithi* on which an equinox occurred while the moon was in the Ardrâ *nakshatra*; but the details do not work out correctly for that year, and they seem to indicate that the year really intended is Saka-Saṁvat 1055 current, with a date corresponding to **the 23rd March A. D. 1132** (see page 191 above).

TIRUNELLI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

For the loan of the original plates which contain the subjoined inscription, I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Castlestuart Stuart, M. C. S., who received them from their present owner, Colonel Wooldridge, of Manantoddy. After I had transcribed the text, Mr. Fleet kindly placed at my disposal a transcript, with a translation and short notes, which he received in 1885 from Dr. Gundert, and which had remained unpublished because Dr. Gundert considered it capable of improvement. As was to be expected, both the transcript and translation of Dr. Gundert proved of the greatest help. Wherever I have had to differ from him, it has been done only after careful consideration of his readings and renderings.

The plates belonged originally to **the Tirunelli temple in the Vayanâḍu (Wynaad) tâlukâ of the Malabar district.**[1] The Tirunelli temple, eight miles north of **Mânantavâḍi** (Manantoddy), is dedicated to Perumâḷ (Vishṇu). It is 'placed on a branch of the Kâvêrî river at the foot of the Bramagiri plateau in Wynaad; the people of North Malabar used to resort to it for the performance of *śrâddha*-ceremonies, until by the opening of the railway it became easier for them to visit Pêrûr[2] on the Noyel river in Coimbatore for this purpose.'[3] 'The temple is locally believed to have been dedicated by Brahmâ himself to the worship of Vishṇu, whose image had appeared to him there on a *nelli* tree. Its walls are built of granite, and its roof is

---

[46] With this concluding paper I give a genealogy of the family. Owing to the smaller space available, I have not been able to include quite all the details given by Dr. Hultzsch (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32); but I think that nothing of any leading importance has been excluded.

[1] Mr. R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 245. [2] *Ibid.* p. 217.

[3] Mr. W. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 190.

thatched. The present structure is merely the remains of a former building which was partially destroyed by fire during the invasions of Ṭîpû Sulṭân. Pilgrimages to it are considered by the Malayâlis to be as efficacious as similar expeditions to the holy city of Banâras. Malayâḷiṣ who cannot afford the time or money for longer journeys, go thither to perform the *śrâddha*-ceremonies and commit the ashes of their fathers to the stream which, as it eventually flows into the Kâvêrî, is one of the sacred streams.'[4] The name **Tirunelli** is a compound of *tiru*, 'sacred,' and *nelli*, 'the emblic myrobalan tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*, L.).'[5] The Sanskṛit name of the temple is **Âmalakam**[6] or **Sahyâmalakî**,[7] from *âmalaka* or *âmalakî*, 'the emblic myrobalan tree,' and Sahya, 'the Western Ghâṭs.' According to Mr. Castlestuart Stuart, it is also called the Siddha temple.

The Tirunelli inscription occupies **two thin copper-plates**, which are strung on a plain ring. It is written in that **ancient Tamiḻ character**, the modern Malayâḷam name of which is, according to Dr. Burnell,[8] **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** or 'round hand,' and which, from the documents in which it is employed, might be best termed **the Chêra-Pâṇḍya alphabet**. A few Sanskṛit words (*svasti śrîḥ*, line 1, and *sabh*[*â*], lines 33 f. and 37) are, however, in the **Grantha character**. This co-existence of the Grantha and the Chêra-Pâṇḍya alphabets is also noticeable in the previously published ancient deeds from Malabar and in two Pâṇḍya copper-plate inscriptions which Mr. V. Venkayya is about to publish in the pages of this Journal. The **language** is Tamiḻ. But, as in Malayâḷam, the double nasal appears in the words *śiṅṅam* for *siṁha* (line 2), *śaṅṅaraṉ* for *śaṁkara* (l. 5), *vannu* for *vandu* (l. 7), *tâṉattinnu* for *tâṉattiniṉṟu* (l. 14), *âráññu* and *ariññu* for *ârâyndu* and *arindu* (l. 16), *kaḻaiññu* for *kaḻiñju* (l. 19), and *aññûṟu* for *ainnûṟu* (l. 26).[9] These peculiarities suggest that, like the deeds from Cochin and Koṭṭayam,[10] the inscription must belong to a period during which Malayâḷam had not yet branched off from Tamiḻ, but was just beginning to develop a few distinguishing characteristics.

The **contents** of the Tirunelli plates are as obscure and difficult as those of the previously published ancient copper-plates from the Western Coast; and the translation which I am able to offer, is merely tentative. Of the concluding portion (from the middle of line 30 to the end) even the transcript must not be considered as final. The characters of this passage, which seems to be a later postscript, are smaller, more developed and less carefully executed than those in the preceding part. In particular, lines 31 to 33 are altogether unintelligible. But so much is certain, that the plates contain an order which regulated the income of the Tirunelli temple and which was issued by **Saṁkara-Kôdavarman of Puṟaigiḻânâḍu**, — the division of **Pâlakkâḍu** (Pâlghâṭ),[11] — who must have been a vassal of the king, **Bhâskara-Ravivarman**, with whose name the document opens. The **date** of the order was 'the forty-sixth year (*âṇḍu*) opposite to the current year (*yâṇḍu*) of His Majesty king Bhâskara-Ravivarman, — the month of Makara (of that year) during which Jupiter was standing in Siṁha, (and which was identical with) the above year (*âṇḍu*).' This date cannot be considered without a reference to **the three ancient deeds from Malabar**, which were so ably interpreted by Dr. Gundert.[12] These are :

[4] Abstract from an official report, kindly communicated by Mr. Castlestuart Stuart.

[5] Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Myrobalan.

[6] Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, s. v.

[7] *ibid.* s. v. Tirunelli.

[8] *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 52.

[9] Some of these changes are registered in Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 11.

[10] Dr. Caldwell (*Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 90 of the Introduction) remarks with reference to these deeds: — 'Though words and forms which are peculiar to Malayâḷam may be detected in them, the general style of the language in which they are written is Tamil, the inflexions of the nouns and verbs are Tamil, and the idiom is mostly Tamiḻ; and we are, therefore, led to infer that, at that period, Tamiḻ was the language at least of the court and of the educated classes in the Malayâḷam country, and that, what is now called Malayâḷam, if it then existed at all, was probably nothing more than a *patois* current amongst the inhabitants of the hills and jungles in the interior.'

[11] See note 39 on the translation.

[12] *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII. Part I. pp. 115 ff. Kookel Keloo Nair has reprinted Dr. Gundert's translations, with the addition of some wild speculations of his own, in Vol. XXI. pp. 30 ff.

No. I., an inscription on two copper-plates in the possession of the Jews at Cochin ; [13] No. II., an inscription on a single copper-plate in possession of the Syrian Christians at Koṭṭayam ; No. III., an inscription on five copper-plates in possession of the same. I subjoin transcripts and translations of the opening sentences of these three documents :—

No. I.

TEXT.[14]

1 Svasti śrî ௐ Kôgôṉmai koṇḍâṉ kô śrî-**Pâṟkaraṉ**
2 **Iravivaṉmar** tiruvaḍi pala-nûṟâyira-
3 tt=âṇḍum śeṅgôl naḍattiy=âḷâ-niṉṟa yâṇ-
4 ḍu irandâm=âṇḍaikk=edir muppatt-âṟâm=âṇḍu.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the time (*yâṇḍu*) during which he who had assumed the title of king of kings (*kôgôṉ*), His Majesty (*tiruvaḍi*) the king (*kô*), the illustrious **Bhâskara-Ravivarman,** who wielded the sceptre in many hundred-thousands of places (*âṇḍu*), was reigning, — in the thirty-sixth year (*âṇḍu*) opposite to the second year (*âṇḍu*).

No. II.

TEXT.[15]

1 Hari [॥*] Śrî-Mahâgaṇapat[ay*]ê namaḥ [॥*] Śrî-Bhûpâlanarapati śrî-Vîra Kêraḷa-
2 śakrava[r*]tti âdiyâyi muṟa-muṟaiyê pala-nûṟâyiratt=âṇḍu
3 śeṅgôl naḍattâyi-niṉṟa śrî-**Vîra-Râghava-śakravarttikku** tiruvirâ-
4 jyaṁ chellâyi-niṉṟa Magarattuḷ Viyâḷam Mîṉa-ñâyaṟu irubatt-oṉṟu
5 śeṉṟa Śaṉi Rôhaṇi-nâḷ.

TRANSLATION.

Hari ! Adoration to the blessed great Gaṇapati ! On the day of (the *nakshatra*) Rôhiṇî, Saturday, the twenty-first of the month of Mîna (*of the year in which*) Jupiter (*was*) in Makara, (*within the time*) during which the sacred rule of the illustrious **Vîra-Râghava-chakravartin** — who wielded the sceptre in many hundred-thousands of places (*âṇḍu*) in regular succession from the illustrious king of kings (*bhûpâla-narapati*), the illustrious Vîra-Kêraḷa-chakravartin, — was current.

No. III.

TEXT.[16]

1 Svasti [॥*] Kô=**Ttâṇ[u]**[17] **Iravikkuttaṉ** pala-nûṟâyiratt=âṇḍumm=aṟugu talai=
2 chchiṟand=aḍi-ppaḍutt=âḷâ-niṉṟa yâṇḍuḷ=chchellâ-niṉṟa yâ-
3 ṇḍ=aindu ivvâṇḍu.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! In the fifth year (*yâṇḍu*) which was current within the time (*yâṇḍu*) during which king (*kô*) **Sthâṇu-Ravigupta** who, gloriously trod under his feet the heads of tigers, was reigning in many hundred-thousands of places (*âṇḍu*), — in this year (*âṇḍu*).

[13] A translation of this inscription by Mr. Ellis was published after his death, *ibid.* Vol. XIII. Part II. pp. 1 ff. Dr. Burnell's translation (*ante*, Vol. III. p. 333 f.) is based on both Dr. Gundert's and Mr. Ellis' versions, which are independent of each other.

[14] From the photolithograph, *ante*, Vol. III. p. 334, and Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, Plate xxxii.

[15] From Dr. Gundert's Tamiḷ transcript, *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part I. p. 117.

[16] From Sir Walter Elliot's tracing, *ibid.* Plate iv.

[17] The vowel *u*, which is not visible in the tracing, is taken from Dr. Gundert's transcript.

A comparison of the commencement of the deed No. I. with that of the Tirunelli deed shews that the name of the king in whose reign each of them was issued, is the same in both inscriptions. The close agreement of the alphabet employed in both makes it very probable that they have to be referred to **one and the same reign,** and not to two different kings of the same name. Taking this point for granted, we must turn our attention to **the curiously worded dates.** That of the Tirunelli deed is 'the forty-sixth *âṇḍu* opposite to the current *yâṇḍu*' of the king, and that of No. I. 'the thirty-sixth *âṇḍu* opposite to the second *âṇḍu*.' Various attempts have already been made to explain the meaning of the two different *âṇḍus* and of the term 'opposite' (*edir*) in No. I. The word *âṇḍu* or *yâṇḍu* signifies 1, 'a place'; 2, 'time'; and 3, 'a year.' Through a play which is undoubtedly intentional, it has the first meaning in the compound *pala-nûṟâyiratt=âṇḍum* in Nos. I., II. and III., and the second meaning in No. I. (*âḷâ-ninṟa yâṇḍu*) and No. III. (*âḷâ-ninṟa yâṇḍuḷ*). The words *iraṇḍâm=âṇḍaikk=edir muppatt-âṟâm=âṇḍu* in No. I. were translated by Mr. Whish 'the thirty-sixth year of the second cycle (of Paraśurâma)' = 139 B. C., and by Sir Walter Elliot 'the thirty-sixth year opposed to or in contradistinction to the second which would be the third cycle (of Paraśurâma)' = 861 A. D.[18] Dr. Burnell suggested that the first *âṇḍu* might refer to the year of the reign, and the second to that of the king's age,[19] while Dr. Caldwell took the second *âṇḍu* for the year of the reign and the first for the year of the sixty-year cycle of Bṛihaspati.[20] To all these theories **the dates of certain Pâṇḍya inscriptions** prove fatal, and they might have been done away with before if anybody had taken the trouble to closely examine **the Tiruppûvaṇam grant of Kulaśêkhara-dêva,** a facsimile of the first five plates of which appeared in this Journal[21] in 1877. This grant contains no less than five dates :—

A. Plate i. a, lines 13 to 15.

Srî-kô=Chchaḍaivarmmar=âṉa Tribhuvaṉachchakravarttigaḷ śrî-Kulaśêkaradêvaṟku yâṇḍu 13vadu nâḷ nâlâyirattu-munnûṟṟ-aṟubadiṉâl.

"The four-thousand-three-hundred-and-sixtieth day of the 13th year of the illustrious king (*kô*) Jaṭâvarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulaśêkharadêva."

B. Plate i. a, lines 3 to 5.

Svasti Srî-Sundarêśâd=avagata-samaya-svâbhidhân-âśrayasya
grâmasy=â[bhôga]k-âptim prati sapadi nijê vatsarê pañchaviṁśê [|*]
chaṇḍâṁśâv=âtta-Châpê Kanakapati-tithau kṛishṇa-paksh-Ârki-vâra-
Svâtî-yôgê karêṇuṁ gamayitum=avadad=Râjagambhîradêvaḥ ||

"Hail ! In his twenty-fifth year, while the Sun was in Châpa, on the lunar day of Kanakapati,[22] in the dark fortnight, on Saturday, at the Svâtî-yôga, — Râjagambhîradêva instantly ordered an elephant to be let loose, in order to fix the extent of the village, which received his name in accordance with an injunction emanating from the god Sundarêśa."

C. Plate v. b, line 2 f.

Padiṉ-mûṉṟâvadiṉ=edir paṉṉiraṇḍâm=âṇḍu Dhaṉu-nâyaṟṟu nâlân=tiyadiyum[23] apara-pakshattu êkâdaśiyum Saṉikkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Sôdi-nâḷ.

"The day of (the *nakshatra*) Svâtî which corresponded to Saturday, the eleventh lunar day of the second fortnight, and the fourth solar day of the month of Dhanus in the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth."

D. Plate i. b, line 3 f.

Padiṉ-mûṉṟâvadiṉ=edir padiṉ-oṉṟâm=âṇḍu.
"The eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth."

[18] *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIII. Part I. p. 144.
[19] *ante*, Vol. I. p. 229.
[20] *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 90 of the Introduction, note.
[21] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 142.
[22] *i. e.* Vishṇu, the lord of Lakshmî, to whom the eleventh *tithi* is held sacred.
[23] Read *tidiyum*.

E. Plate ii. a, line 10.

Padiṉ-mûṉrâvadiṉ=edir pattâm=âṇḍu.
"The tenth year opposite to the thirteenth."

The real date of the grant is the first of the five (A.). In his treatment of the Tiruppûvaṇam grant, Mr. S. M. Naṭêśa Sâstrî had got so far as to recognize that the thirteenth year of this date must be taken as a year of the king's reign, as, dividing 4360 by 360 according to the usual rough calculation,[24] the 4360th day is found to be the 40th day after the expiration of the twelfth year.[25] The remaining four dates, which are incidentally referred to in the grant, were all anterior to the real date (A.). Three of them (C., D., E.) are the 12th, 11th and 10th *âṇḍu* opposite to the 13th, and two other inscriptions of Kulaśêkharadêva are dated in the 10th opposite to the 13th year (*yâṇḍu* 13*vadiṉ=edir* 10*vadu*),[26] and the 8th opposite to the 13th year (*yâṇḍu* 13*vadiṉ edir* 8*vadu*).[27] Among these five dates, the first (C.) gives the day on which an elephant was let loose, in order to mark the boundary of the village of Râjagambhîra-chaturvêdimaṅgalam, which Kulaśêkharadêva intended to bestow. Fortunately, this day is not only specified in Tamiḻ in date C., but every detail of it is repeated in Sanskṛit in date B., with the only difference that here the year is the twenty-fifth of Râjagambhîradêva, while in C. it is the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth of Kulaśêkharadêva. The natural conclusion is that Râjagambhîra, after whom the granted village was called, must be taken as a *biruda* of Kulaśêkharadêva, and that the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth in C. is identical with the twenty-fifth in B. As 13+12 is 25, it further follows that, in those dates, where two different years are recorded, the word *edir*, 'opposite,' has to be translated by 'after,' and that the different years which occupy the second place (the 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th) are the years of the reign of Kulaśêkharadêva. The first-mentioned (thirteenth) year might be at first sight referred to his age at the time of his accession to the throne. As, however, the first figure is rather low, *viz.* 13 in the present case and only 2 in the Cochin deed,[28] it will be necessary to connect it with some event subsequent to the birth. This was most probably the date of the appointment as heir-apparent (*yuvarâja*). The 25th year in date B. would accordingly be the year of the king's *yauvarâjya* in the 12th year of his reign. In date A. we have the year of his reign without any reference to his *yauvarâjya*.

Having thus determined **the meaning of the double âṇḍu**, we find that **the Tirunelli deed** is dated in the forty-sixth year after the year which was current (at the coronation) of Bhâskara-Ravivarman, and the Cochin Jews' deed in the thirty-sixth year (of the coronation, which took place) after the second year (of the *yauvarâjya*) of the same king. Dr. Burnell has attempted to fix the date of the Cochin deed and of the two Koṭṭayam deeds in the following manner: — Dr. Haug had assigned No. III. to the early part of the ninth century A. D. on palæographical grounds. No. III. presupposes Nos. I. and II., as it mentions the Jewish and Christian principalities of Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrâmam, which had been established by Nos. I. and II. Accordingly Dr. Burnell assigned these two deeds to the eighth century A. D. Further, he placed No. II. in A. D. 774 as the *only* year in which the astronomical details of the date[29] are possible. Though this statement rests on the authority of 'the ablest native astronomer of Southern India,'[30] it will perhaps be unsafe to accept it before the calculation has been verified by a competent scholar, to whose consideration I would also recommend the double (Tamiḻ and Sanskṛit) date of the Tiruppûvaṇam grant.

---

[24] Compare Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 75, note 5, and page 76, note 1.

[25] Dr. Burgess' *Arch. Survey of S. India*. Vol. IV. p. 30, note 4. Mr. Naṭêśa misreads *aṟubadiṉâl* as *aṟubadinâlu*, which he further seems to have mistaken for *aṟubattu-nâlu*, as he translates it by 64.

[26] *Ibid.* pp. 10, 11, 12

[27] *Ibid.* pp. 16 and 17.

[28] A further double year is contained in an inscription of the Kêraḷa king Râma, which is dated in the fourth opposite to the fourth year. See Dr Gundert's translation in Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. II. p. cxxii.

[29] See page 287, above.

[30] *ante*, Vol. I. p. 229.

TEXT.[31]

First Plate; First Side.

1 Svasti śrîḥ உ[32] Kô **Pâkkaraṉ=Iravivarmmar** tiruvaḍikku=chchellâ-ṉinṟa
2 yâṇḍaikk=edir nâlppatt-âṟâm=âṇḍu avvâṇḍu Siṅṅattil Viyâḻan=ni-
3 ṉṟa Magara-ñâyiṟṟuḷ **Tirunelli-Pperumâḻiḍaiya** śirikâriyamm=âva-
4 du [।*] **Tirunelli=kkoḷḷum** uḍaṉpâḍu **Tirunelli-Pperumâḷkku** a-
5 ṭṭi=kkoḍuttâṉ **Saṅṅaraṅ=Kôḍavarmmaṉ**=âyiṉa aḍigaḷ **Puṟaigiḻâ-**
6 **rum** [।*] niḻalum paṇiyum kûḍiy aṭṭi koḍuttâr [।*] **Puṟaigiḻâ-**
7 **nâḍu** mudugûṟu vâḻumavar vannu ti[ru*]vaḍiy=ttoḻudâl muṉṉâ-
8 nâḻiyâl âyira=nâḻiy ariy koḍuttu iraiyppi[33]=kkaḍa-
9 var [।*] **Tirunelli-Pperumâḻiḍaiya** śirikâriyam kuḍa[34]=kkaḍaviyava-
10 gaḷ kûḍiy=allâdu oruttaṉ èkkaiykam oru-śuvâmiyôḍu kûḍi dè-

First Plate; Second Side.

11 vakâriyam keḍukkum ûrâḷaṉ uḷḷidu uḍaiyadu
12 śuvâmi koḷḷa=kkaḍavar [।*] ûrâḷaṉum ôr-òttarai oli dèvakâriya-
13 m śeyil âyiratt-eṭṭu kâṇam poṉ daṇḍam paḍa=kkaḍavaṉ [।*] i-
14 ttâṉattinnu taṉ=ññâtigaḷum yègigaḷum uṉṉininṟu[35]
15 śelutti koḷḷa=kkaḍavar [।*] i**pperumâḻiḍaiya** śirikâri-
16 y âràññu ariññu śeluttichchu koḷḷa=kkaḍavar [।*] i-
17 vvûr=agattu ûraḷar=âga kôyil manuḷachchêr=âga śêdu-
18 m[36] śeyvum vilakkummavagaḷ ûrâḷan vilakkil i-
19 rubattu-nal=kkaḻaiññu poṉ daṇḍam paḍa=kkaḍavar [।*] kôyi-

Second Plate; First Side.

20 l maṉuḷachchêr vilakkil niḻal=vvagaiyra kôyi-
21 lkku pôm [।*] âṭṭai=ttiśai koḍàttavagaḷ daṇḍa-ppaḍa=
22 kkaḍavar [।*] ippaṉṉina śaṅkêtam aḍigaḷ **Puṟaigi-**
23 **ḻârum** niḻalum paṇiyum muṟṟâṟa=kkûḍi **Tirune-**
24 lli mukkâlvaṭṭattu niṉṟu taṉ=ññâtigaḻu[m*] yô-
25 gigaḷum ûraḷar kaiyyilum aṭṭi=kkoḍut-
26 târ [।*] **Puṟaigiḻânâṭṭu** Aññûṟṟuvarkkum Aiyâ-
27 yiravarkkum kîḻ=îḍu [।*] ichchaṅkêtam aḻikku-

Second Plate; Second Side.

28 mavagaḷ **Mûḻikkaḷâttu** kachcham [।*] i-śirikâriya-
29 m uṉṉinṟu śeyyichchôṉ Malaiyampaḷḷi
30 Âriyaṅ=Kuṭṭaṉ || உ[37] || உ viḷakku nâṭṭal[k*]ku maḍavaṉ
31 nadiyaḍikkuḷa=nadiyaḍikkuḷam kuḷam kuḷattiṉ ṅâṇagaṉ-
32 ḍa kôl=kkuḷai mukkôṇam vaṅṅiṉa vaḻi karaṇḍam tuṇagaiyu-
33 ṅgamiṅṅiṉa ṅâṇagaṇḍa kalattâṟu ôḍadâṟu **Karaiññaṉûr** sa-
34 bha viṭṭa pûmi nûṟṟu-aiymbatt-êḻ-arai kâśu poṉṉi-

[31] From the original plates and Mr. Fleet's impression.

[32] This mark of punctuation is now called *Piḷḷaiyâr-suli*, *i. e.* 'the curve of Gaṇêśa,' and considered by the Vaishṇavas as a representation of the holy monosyllable *ôm*. The same sign occurs in line 30 of this inscription, and in line 1 of the Cochin Jews' deed.

[33] Read *iṟai-ppaḍa?*

[34] Read *kûḍa.*

[35] Read *yôgigaḷum uṉṉinṟu.*

[36] Read *śêdam?*

[37] Instead of the two vertical lines, the original has a sign which resembles the *visarga* of the word *śrîḥ* in line 1. Between the *Piḷḷaiyâr-suli* (see note 32) and the second mark of punctuation, it has representations of two Vaishṇava symbols, the discus and the conch. These symbols are even now represented on the coins of the native states on the Western Coast.

Tirunelli Plates of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

i a.

ii b.

FULL-SIZE.

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iia.

iib.

35 ṉṉu aṉubavikkiṉṟa pûmi [।*] ippû[mi*]yâl kâla-kuṟ[ai]-
36 yâ mûṉṟu nandâ-vi[la]kku śeluttikka kaḍavar **Karaiññâ-**
37 **[ṉûr** sabha] [॥*]

Second Plate; Right Margin.

[1] **Ti-** [2] **rune-** [3] **l-** [4] **li** [5] **Â-** [6] **ḷ-** [7] **vâṉu.**

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the forty-sixth year after the year which was current (*at the coronation*) of His Majesty (*tiruvaḍi*) king (*kô*) **Bhâskara-Ravivarman**, — in the month of Makara (*of that year*) during which Jupiter was standing in Siṁha, (*and which was identical with*) the above (*forty-sixth*) year, — the worship (*śrîkârya*) of **Tirunelli-Perumâḷ**[38] (*was regulated*) as follows: — An agreement referring to **Tirunelli** was given with libations (*of water*) to **Tirunelli-Perumâḷ** by His Highness (*aḍigaḷ*) the **Puṟaigiḷâr,**[39] called **Saṁkara-Kôdavarman**;[40] and, having joined together, (*his*) followers[41] and servants[42] gave (*it*) with libations (*of water*). If the ruler of the old branch[43] of **Puṟaigiḷânâḍu** comes to worship the feet of the god, he shall give and pay as tribute one thousand *nâḻi* of rice (*measured*) with a (*measure containing*) three times four (*i. e.* twelve) *nâḻi*. If those who are bound to join (*in*) the worship of **Tirunelli-Perumâḷ**, do not join, the whole property of each patron,[44] who damages the worship of the god (*dêvakârya*) by singly joining some (*other*) temple (*svâmin*), shall be taken by the temple.[45] And if a patron performs the worship of the god without (*employing*) a priest, he shall pay a fine of one thousand and eight *kâṇam*[46] of gold. Those of his[47] relations and connexions,[48] who stand under this temple,[49] shall (*also*) make payments (*to the temple*). The worshipping priest (*śrîkârin*) of this **Perumâḷ** shall cause the payments to be made after having enquired into and ascertained them. Those (*among*) the patrons within this town (*and among*) those belonging to the servants of the palace (*kôyil*), who destroy (*and*) obstruct (*this agreement*), — if a patron obstructs (*it*), he shall pay a fine of twenty-four *kalañju* of gold; if one belonging to the servants of the palace obstructs (*it*), the followers and so forth[50] shall go to the palace (*and complain*). Those who do not give . . . . .[51] every year, shall pay a fine. His Highness

---

[38] Perumâḷ is the Tamiḻ name of Vishṇu.

[39] The second part of this compound is the honorific plural of *kiḻâṉ*, which generally means 'an owner, proprietor, headman,' and seems to signify 'a chief' in the present case. Among the princes who signed the Cochin Jews' deed appears Kôdai-Ravi of Nedum-Puṟaiyûr-nâḍu, *i. e.* the division of Pâlakkâdu (Pâlghât). Taking Purai as a shorter form of Neḍum-Puṟaiyûr, this prince may be supposed to have belonged to the same family as Śaṁkara-Kôdavarman. Puṟaigilânâdu, which occurs in the next sentence, has to be dissolved into Purai-kiḻâṉ-nâḍu, 'the country of the chief of Puṟai,' and seems to be another name of Neḍum-Puṟaiyûr-nâḍu.

[40] The first part of the compound Kôdavarman is identical with *Kôdai* which is, according to the Tamiḻ dictionaries, an epithet of the Chêra kings. The same word forms part of the names of two of the princes, who signed the Cochin Jews' deed, *viz.* Kôdai-Śrîkaṇṭha (line 22) and Kôdai-Ravi (line 25).

[41] This translation of *niḻal*, 'shade,' is conjectural. According to Dr. Gundert, 'the shade are the penates or Brâhmaṇas.'

[42] The literal meaning of *paṇi* is 'service.' Dr. Gundert translates 'ministry.' With *niḻalum paṇiyum* compare *prakṛitiyum adigârarum*, 'the ministers and officers' in the deed No. III.

[43] 'The Malayâḷa Râjas have different branches (*kûṟu*) in their families. The first prince is called ruler of the old branch.' — H. GUNDERT.

[44] According to Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, *ûrâḷaṉ* means 'patrons or founders of temples, proprietors or managers of fanes, representatives of village temples.'

[45] The Tirunelli temple seems to be meant.

[46] According to Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, a *kâṇam* is the weight of 3 *kalañju*, and the latter is, according to the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, equal to the weight of 2½ pagodas or ⅛ ounce or 12 fanams.

[47] This pronoun seems to refer to Śaṁkara-Kôdavarman.

[48] This translation of *yôgam* is conjectural. Dr. Gundert translates 'councillors.'

[49] *i. e.* who acknowledge Tirunelli-Perumâḷ as their patron saint.

[50] *Vagaira* is the Arabic-Persian وغيره.

[51] *Tiśai* is used in Tamiḻ for the Sanskṛit *diś* and sometimes for *daśâ*. Its meaning in the present instance is not apparent.

the **Puṟaigiḷḷâr,** (*his*) followers and servants, who had all joined together, and those of his relations and connexions, who were under the **Tirunelli** temple,[52] gave the agreement thus made with libations (*of water*) into the hands of the patrons. (*This agreement*) is placed under (*the control of*) the Five-hundred and the Five-thousand[53] of **Puṟaigiḷânâḍu.** Those who destroy this agreement, (*shall incur the sin of those who commit*) a murder[54] at **Mûḷikkaḷam.**[55] Ârya-Kuṭṭaṉ of Malaiyampaḷḷi, who was engaged in the worship of this (*god*), caused (*this agreement*) to be drawn up.

POSTSCRIPT.

The land given for establishing lamps . . . . [56] by the assembly (*sabhâ*) of (*the village of*) **Karaiññaṉûr** is (*a piece of*) land which enjoys (*i. e.* which is valued at) one hundred and fifty-seven and a half *kâśu* of gold. With (*the proceeds of*) this land, the assembly of **Karaiññaṉûr** shall maintain three perpetual lamps, without failing (*to supply them with oil*) at the proper times.

On the right margin of Plate ii. b :—

Tirunelli-Âḻvâṉ.[57]

MISCELLANEA.

THE MEANINGS OF VYATIPATA.

While discussing certain dates which contain the term *vyatîpâta*, and which do not appear to work out satisfactorily, Mr. Fleet suggested[1] that *vyatîpâta*, in addition to being a name for one of the *yôgas*, may perhaps indicate also other astrological conditions which the writers of the dates in question probably were referring to. The suggestion thus thrown out by Mr. Fleet induces me to draw attention to some passages in Hêmâdri's *Chaturvarga-chintâmaṇi* and Mâdhava's commentary on the *Parâśara-smriti*, in which the term *vyatîpâta* has been fully explained,[2] and from which it becomes quite clear that *vyatîpâta* does indeed denote several astrological conditions other than the well-known *yôga* Vyatîpâta.

Both writers, in commenting on the verse I. 218 of the *Yâjñavalkya-dharmaśâstra*, in which the *vyatîpâta* is enumerated among the times prescribed for the performance of a *Śrâddha*, are agreed that *vyatîpâta* in the first instance is the *yôga* Vyatîpâta (*yôga-viśêshah*, or *Vishkambhâdishu yôgêshu saptadaśô yôgah*). But Mâdhava adds that *vyatîpâta* may also denote a *mahâ-vyatîpâta*, and he quotes two verses which explain this term in two different ways. And Hêmâdri similarly cites three verses from different works, one of which adds one more meaning of *vyatîpâta* to the meanings given by Mâdhava. The result of the discussions of the two scholars is as follows: — **Vyatîpâta has three meanings, in addition to denoting the yôga Vyatîpâta.**

1.—According to Vṛiddha-Manu, as quoted by Hêmâdri,—

Śravaṇ-âśvi-dhanishṭh-ârdrâ-nâgadaivata-mastakê |
yady=amâ Ravi-vârêṇa vyatîpâtaḥ sa uchyatê ||

To this verse Hêmâdri appends the notes, that *nâga-daivata* = *Aślêshâ*; that *mastaka*, 'the head, beginning,' must be construed with each of the preceding words, but that others take it to be equivalent to *Mṛigaśirah*; and that *amâ* = *amâvâsyâ*, 'the new-moon *tithi*.' Mâdhava quotes the same verse, but reads *mastakaiḥ*, and explains the word only by *Mṛigaśiraḥ*. The meaning of the verse accordingly is :—

'When the new-moon *tithi*, at the commencement of (one of the *nakshatras*) Śravanâ, Aśvinî,

[52] See Dr. Gundert's *Malayâḷam Dictionary*, *s. v.* mukkâlvaṭṭam.

[53] 'The 500 and 5,000 are divisions of the Nâyar or landowners in each principality; higher and lower noblemen.' — H. GUNDERT. Compare the Six-hundred (*Aṟunûṟṟuvar*) in the deed No. III. and in Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. II. p. cxxii. f.

[54] *Kachcham* seems to stand for the Sanskrit *hatyam*, which is another form of *hatyâ*.

[55] Compare Mûshikakuḷam, one of the villages referred to in the *Kêraḷôtpatti*; Mr. Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. pp. 222 and 227.

[56] Here three lines, which I do not understand, are left untranslated.

[57] This colophon may be a synonym of Tirunelli-Perumâḷ or the signature of a private person.

[1] *ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 128 and 272.

[2] *Chaturv.*, *Pariśêshakhandê Śrâddhakalpaḥ*, pp 241-244; and *Parâśaramâdhava*, p. 656.

Dhanishṭhâ, Ârdrâ or Aślêshâ, [or, under (one of the *nakshatras*) Śravaṇâ, Aśvinî, Dhanishṭhâ, Ârdrâ, Aślêshâ or Mṛigaśiras,] is joined with a Sunday, this (combination) is called **vyatipâta.**'[3]

2.—From another *Śâstra* Hêmâdri quotes the verses—

Pañchânana-sthau Guru-Bhûmiputrau
Mêshê raviḥ syâd=yadi śukla-pakshê |
pâś-âbhidhânâ Karabhêṇa yuktâ
tithir=**vyatîpâta** it=îha yôgaḥ ||
Asmin=hi gô-bhûmi-hiraṇya-vastra-
dânêna sarvaṁ parihâya pâpam |
śûratvam=Indratvam=anâmayatvaṁ
marty-âdhipatyam labhatê manushyaḥ ||

Here Hêmâdri adds that *pañchânana* = *siṁha*, and *Guru-Bhûmiputrau* = *Bṛihaspaty-Aṅgârakau*, 'Jupiter and Mars;' and that *pâś-âbhidhânâ* is the 12th *tithi*, and *karabha* the *nakshatra* Hasta. Mâdhava, on the other hand, quotes from Vṛiddha-Manu a verse of the same import with Hêmâdri's first verse, but worded thus:—

Siṁha-sthau Guru-Bhaumau chên=Mêsha-sthê cha ravau hi vâ
dvâdaśî Hasta-saṁyuktâ vyatîpâtô mahân=hi saḥ ||

With Hêmâdri's wording of the definition, its meaning would be:—

'When in the bright half of the month the 12th *tithi* is joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta, while Jupiter and Mars stand in the sign of the Lion and the Sun in Aries, the combination is termed **vyatipâta.**'

3.—Finally, Hêmâdri quotes from Bhṛigu the verse —

Krântisâmya-samayaḥ samîritaḥ
sûryaparva-sadṛiśô mun-îśvaraiḥ |
tatra datta-huta-japta-pûjanaṁ
yâga-kôṭi-guṇam=âha Bhârgavaḥ ||;

to which he adds the following explanation:—Sûryâ-chandramasôḥ **krânti-sâmyê** puṇyakâla-dvayaṁ bhavati | êkô **vyatipât**-âkhyaḥ | aparô vaidhṛity-âkhyaḥ | Tatra **krântisâmya**-laksha-ṇasya **vyatipâtasya** Gaṇḍ-ôttarârdhâd=ârabhya kramât=sârdhêshu pañcha-yôgêshu saṁbhavô=sti | vaidhṛiti-saṁjñasya tu Śukla-yôgâd=ârabhya kramât=sârdhêshu pañcha-yôgêshu saṁbhavaḥ | Tat-parva-kâla-saṁkhyâ cha daśa-ghaṭikâbhyaḥ samârabhy=aikasaptatyadhikaśata-p a r y a n t a ṁ sambhâvyatê | Tathâ cha vêdângê Jyôtishê |

Gaṇḍ-ôttarârdhâd=**vyatipâta**-sambhavaḥ
śukl-âditô vaidhṛiti-saṁjñakô bhavêt |
sârdhêshu pañchasu parêshu tath=êshyatê sa
êvaṁ dvayaṁ tat=sukṛit-aika-sâdhakam ||

It is clear that the *vyatîpâta* here described by Hêmâdri (together with *vaidhṛiti*, with which we have no concern) is the same *vyatîpâta* which in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* XI. 2, is defined thus:—

'When the moon and the sun are upon opposite sides of either solstice, and their minutes of declination are the same, it is **vyatipâta,** the sum of their longitudes being a half-circle.'

Vyatîpâta, then, is here the time at which the sun and the moon, standing in different *ayanas*, have the same declination (*krânti-sâmya*). It would be easy to shew that, were it not for certain attending circumstances, the sum of the longitudes of the sun and the moon at that time would be 180°, and the *yôga* Harshaṇa (No. 14): but I am not myself sufficiently versed in astronomy to pursue this matter further.[4] According to Hêmâdri, it is possible that in reality the *yôga* at the time may be any one from the second half of Gaṇḍa (No. 10) up to Vajra (No. 15); but it can never be the *yôga* Vyatîpâta (No. 17).

If I may venture a remark about the two dates which have induced me to write these lines, I would say that the date given *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 127, may perhaps, to a certain extent, furnish an example for *vyatîpâta* in the first sense here explained, and the date *ib.* p. 274 an example for *vyatîpâta* used in the third sense. But this I leave Mr. Fleet to settle.

F. Kielhorn.

Göttingen.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 24.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft for 1889 (*Vol. XLIII.*)

Dr. K. Jacob commences the third part of the volume with a paper on **the Caspian-Baltic trade in the middle ages,** with special reference to amber.

He is followed by Signor Guidi on **East Syrian Bishops and Bishops' Sees in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries.**

An article of more general interest, continued in the following number, is by Herr K. Himly, **on the Eastern or Western origin of certain games.** After giving some additional information regarding chess, his former article on which has been already noticed in the *Indian Antiquary*, *viz.*, that he has at length succeeded in tracing the name *chaturaṅga* as far east as Cambodia where it becomes *chhôeutrâng*, he takes up the question of **playing cards.** In two most

[3] The verse was well-known to Colebrooke; see *Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 284. It also occurs in the *Nirṇayasindhu*, p. 37.

[4] It has been fully explained to me by Professor Jacobi.

interesting papers the author materially adds to our knowledge regarding the origin of the latter, and the games played with them. The subject, however, hardly concerns the object of this *Journal*, beyond the fact that a theory which gives an Indian origin to playing cards is shewn to be unfounded. Briefly stated the main result arrived at is to take away the credit of the invention from the French. As far back as 1303 cards were known in Spain as a Moorish game, and playing with them was known as '*lo joch de naibs*.' The army of Bertrand du Guesclin probably brought them from Spain to France in 1369 or thereabouts. Herr Himly considers that the most probable derivation of the word *naibs* is from the Arabic *nâhib*, 'a robber.' Other proposed derivations are from *nâib*, 'a representative,' and from *nabî*, 'a prophet.' It is unnecessary here to trace the further steps, by which the author shews that, most probably, cards had their origin in China, where mention of playing implements resembling them occurs as far back as the year 1071.

Prof. Hermann Jacobi contributes a short article on the **Udgatâ metre**, which is found in its oldest form in the *Kirâtârjunîya*, and in the *Śiśupâlabadha*. An analysis of the verses in these works enables the author to add to Pingala's rule. He defines the *Udgatâ* as a system, in three unequal members, of 14 *gaṇas* and one syllable. In each even *gana* there is an amphibrachys (⏑ – ⏑), except in 4th and 8th, which have each a proceleusmaticus, with a cæsura after the first short syllable (⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑), and in the 10th, which has an anapæst, followed by a cæsura (⏑ ⏑ – |).[1] In the uneven *ganas* there are anapæsts (⏑ ⏑ –), except in the 7th, which has a spondee with cæsura after the first syllable (– | –). The last cæsura is always marked by the end of a complete word and not by the ending of the first member of a compound, and divides the verse into two nearly equal portions. It is to be noted that the first syllable of the 7th *gaṇa* which ends the second *pada*, thus, —

1 2 3 4 5
⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –,
6 7
⏑ – ⏑, – |
7 8 9 10
–, ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – |
11 12 13 14
⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ – ⏑, – ||

in the poems already referred to always long. That is to say, it is long by nature, or ends with a short vowel plus a consonant or *visarga*, in which case the first word of the third *pada* must commence with a consonant, or ends with a simple short vowel, in which case the first word of the third *pada* must commence with two consonants. In later authors, however, in whose time a living knowledge of the metre was lost, such as Mankha, the author of the *Śrîkaṇṭhacharita*, and Parimala, the author of the *Sâhasâṅkacharita*, both of whom lived at least five hundred years after Mâgha, the last syllable of the second *pada* is common, as would be expected from the analogy of other metres.

This is followed by a paper by the present writer, entitled selected specimens of the Bihârî Language, which gives the **Bhoj'purî poem entitled Gît Naikâ Banijar'wâ**, together with grammatical introduction, notes, and translation.

Next comes an **essay on the Achæmenian inscriptions by Dr. W. Bang.** It consists of short notes on readings and translations of disputed passages.

The number concludes with two **Reviews,** one by Prof. Nöldeke on Mani's *Researches into the Manichœan Religion*, the other by Prof. Ed. Meyer, on Nöldeke's *Essays on Persian History*.

Part IV. commences with the continuation of **Herr K. Himly's article on playing cards** already referred to.

It is followed by Dr. Geiger, who gives us some most valuable **Balûchî texts** with translations. Better still, he promises us a Balûchî dictionary at an early date. Three texts illustrate the North Balûchî dialect, and are taken from Hittû Râm's *Biluchinâma*. The fourth text illustrates South Balûchî, and is taken from an unpublished MS. in the British Museum. The extracts are valuable alike to the student of Iranian languages, and to the student of folklore, and the author expresses a hope, in which I cordially join, that his essay will encourage local students to dig into the rich, but hitherto unexplored mine of the folktales, fables, songs and historical traditions of the Balûchîs.

Prof. von Roth follows with a short, but most interesting essay on **Indian fire implements.** Kâtyâyana's account of the *Manthana-yantraka* is well-known, if not well understood, but he describes a comparatively modern machine, in which metal is employed. The two friction pieces, — *araṇi*, are made of *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*) wood, and are two boards, one cubit, *i.e.*, 24 inches (*aṅgulas*) long, six inches broad, and four inches thick. A special variety of the *aśvattha* is recommended when obtainable. The boards are carefully prepared beforehand and dried. The under (*adharâ*) board is laid on the ground

[1] In the 4th and 8th *gaṇas*, the cæsura is not a verse-cæsura, but only due to the nature of the *gana*, and hence the first and second *padas* are really only one *pada*.

directed towards the north. From the upper (*uttarâ*) a piece eight inches long, and two inches broad is split off. This latter forms the friction-staff (*pramantha*). The lower end is cut to a blunt point, and the upper end is made four-cornered to fit the corresponding square hollow of the spindle (*châtra*). This spindle is made of the hard wood of the *Acacia catechu* (*khadira*), twelve inches long, with iron ferules at each end At the lower end is the square hollow for the friction staff, above is fixed an iron pin (*kîlaka*). It is round or nearly so, and has running round it an oblique groove to receive the driving string (*nêtra*). The latter has three strands and is made of cow-hair and hemp. It is wound three times, from right to left, round the spindle. In the lower friction-piece, a space of four inches is measured off, twelve inches from the head and eight from the foot, in which a furrow (*tîrtha*) is cut out; and a smaller cross channel (*vâhinî*) is cut from this towards the east side to form an exit for the fire. Above the machine goes a cross piece (*ôvîli* or *auvîlî*) which keeps the whole together. It is half as long as the lower board. and probably half as broad. It is also of *Acacia* wood, and is flat below, and furnished with an iron plate. Above, it is round to allow it to be held easily by the hands. A hollow in the iron plate receives the iron pin of the top of the spindle. When all is ready, the holder of the sacrifice (*yajamâna*) sits by the apparatus facing the east, by the west side of the lower friction piece, places the cross piece, in the same direction as the lower piece, on the pin, presses it down as hard as he can, and endeavours to keep the whole as steady as possible, while his wife puts the string on the spindle, and commences to drill. The priest (*adhvaryu*) subsequently continues the work begun by the wife. The sparks produced are received in a dish filled with dried triturated cowdung, and are blown upon and cherished till the fire can be placed upon the hearth. In the above description, several minor details have been omitted to save space. Note that both the friction boards, the upper as well as the lower, are called *araṇi*. From the upper is split off the friction staff, which in the machine takes the place of the upper *araṇi*, which keeps its name only because it provides the wood for the former. Originally the upper *araṇi* cannot have been a board, and must have been made of hard wood, which was applied to the lower soft wood and worked by hand. This must have been a business requiring a considerable expenditure of labour and strength, and in fact numerous passages in the *Vêdas* refer to fire as the child of energy : *e. g., sahasâ yô mathitô jâyatê nṛibhiḥ*, "the fire that comes to life, rubbed out with energy by men." This friction process was naturally only used for producing fire when no other method was available. Usually, no doubt, fire was carefully preserved from day to day, and when it went out, was borrowed from a neighbour. The use of the cowdung cakes in India of the present day, which remain aglow for several hours, need not be described to the reader of the *Indian Antiquary*.

The **burning-glass**, and the **burning-mirror**, appear to have been known in very early times in India. The *Nirukta* mentions how dried cowdung takes fire when the rays of the sun are thrown upon it by means of a *maṇi* (*i. e*., a precious stone or glass) or by means of a metal vessel. In later times the burning-glass is frequently used by poets in similes, but neither it nor the burning-mirror appears to have been in frequent household use.

No mention of flint and steel, or simpler flint against flint, has been noticed by Prof. Roth in his reading: the *agniprastara*, of the *Śabdakalpadruma*, is a modern coined word, and the flint appears to have been unknown. Pyrites were known, being mentioned in the *Nighaṇṭu* under the name of *mâkshika*, but apparently not their use as a means for producing fire. At the same time it must have been known in the most ancient times that sparks issued also from stone, for the *Vêdas* say that fire dwells not only in wood, but also in water and stones (Ri. V. 2, 1, 1; Ath. V. 3, 21, 1 : 12, 1, 19).

Another 'old man eloquent,' Dr. Roth's great fellow-worker, Prof O. Böhtlingk, next contributes four short pithy articles. He first deals with the question, '**Who is the author of the Hitôpadêsa?**' Professor Peterson maintains, on the authority of a concluding verse found in three old MSS., that that work was composed (रचितः) by Nârâyaṇa, and blames Lassen and Schlegel for not giving this verse, which is found in the St. Petersburg MS., in their editions. As a matter of fact the St. Petersburg MS. does not contain the word रचितः but चरितः, so the two scholars are freed from the reproach. Dr. Böhtlingk views the verse with great suspicion; it is added in a very awkward way, being introduced with the words *anyachchâstu.* It is awkward, in this position, immediately after a benediction commencing with *tathâpyaparamidamastu*, to put this verse into the mouth of Vishnuśarman, and if it is meant for an addition by Nârâyaṇa, or some one else, then the *anyachchâstu* is not required. He prefers, as the three MSS., which have the verse, all agree closely

with each other, and at the same time widely differ from other codices, to consider Nârâyaṇa not as the author of the work, but as the arranger of a certain recension; just as *Śivadâsaviruchitâ vêtâlapañchaviṁśatikâ*, means the *Vêtâlapañchaviṁśatikâ*, in the recension of Śivadâsa. In conclusion he considers that we have still to seek for the name of the author of the *Hitôpadêśa*.

The next article is a critical one dealing with alleged **irregularities in the language of the Gṛihyasûtra of Hiraṇyakêsin.** The paper deals with details, and cannot be reproduced here. The main conclusion arrived at is that most of the alleged irregularities are non-existent.

In explaining the puzzling *śaśaḥ kshuraṁ pratyañchaṁ jagâra*, of *Rig-Vêda* 10, 28, 9, Prof. Pischel, in his *Vedische Studien*, quotes the following verse of the *Mahâbhârata* (Ed. Bomb. 2, 66, 8): —

Ajô hi śastramagilatkilaikah
śastrê vipannê śirasâsya bhûmau |
nikṛintanam svasya kaṇṭhasya ghôraṁ
tadvadvairam mâ krithâḥ Pâṇḍuputraiḥ.

This passage is almost as puzzling as the Vedic one. Nîlakaṇṭha in his commentary illustrates it with two *kathâs*, and Dr. Pischel, closely following his explanation, translates it as follows: — A goat, they say, swallowed a knife, and as 'the knife stuck (crossways) (in his throat), he cast it (*asya*, gerund of √*as*) on the ground with his head, and (thus experienced) a terrible cutting of the throat Make thou not thus enmity with the sons of Pâṇḍu.'

Dr. Bòhtlingk in his third paper combats this translation, preferring to take *asya* as the pronominal genitive, and disputing the meaning given to *vipannê*. He paraphrases the passage as follows: — 'A goat attempted to swallow a knife by the pointed end. The knife stuck in his throat, as the broad handle prevented his swallowing it; moreover it was so firmly stuck in his throat that he could not get it out. In order to free himself he butted with his head against the ground, whereby the knife was disabled (*vipannê*), *i. e.* broken. Then all that remained for the goat to do was to swallow the blade, and thereby to cut his throat.' Besides the above, in the first *kathâ*, Dr. Böhtlingk proposes to correct the phrase *tatastadaśaknuvanbhûmau âsyaṁ*, to *tatastadaśaknuvanbhûmau śastraṁ*.

The fourth paper is on **a peculiar attraction of gender in Sanskṛit.** The attracting words are general terms for literary works of various kinds or their divisions, also for certain ideas of class; while the attracted word is the name of a specified work or of the division, or for certain components of the class. Thus, names of works, *mṛichchhakaṭikaṁ nâma prakaraṇam, abhijñânaśakuntalaṁ nâma nâṭakam, gîtagôvindam* (sc. *kâvyam*). A feminine in *î* does not appear to suffer attraction, *e.g.*, *vikramôrvaśî nâma trôṭakam*. Names of acts of plays, *madanikâśarvilakô* (dvaṁdva) *nâma chaturthô 'ṅkaḥ, śakuntalâprasthânô* (but v. l. *-prasthânam*) *nâma pañchamô 'ṅkaḥ*. Titles of chapters in the *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumârasaṁbhava*; *vasishṭhâśramagamanô nâma prathamaḥ sargaḥ, umâpradânô nâma shashṭhaḥ sargaḥ* This attraction does not seem to occur in the *Mahâbhârata*, the *Râmâyaṇa*, or the *Purâṇas*. Thus in the second book of the *Mahâbhârata* we have *śakrasabhâvarṇanam nâma saptamô 'dhyâyaḥ*, in the first book of the *Râmâyaṇa brahmâgamanam nâma dvitîyaḥ sargaḥ*. An example of a noun of class occurs in the Pâli *dukkhanirôdham ariyasachchaṁ*.

Dr. Paul Horn follows with **a paper on the Pahlavi papyrus,** Dr Franz Prætorius with one on the prolongation of certain short final vowels in Arabic, and Dr. Kuhn with a short note on Dr. Hübschmann's article on kinship marriages amongst the ancient Persians, already referred to. None of these are of a character to interest Indian scholars.

Next, Dr. Zubaty gives us an article **on the Trishṭubh and Jagatî metres in the Mahâbhârata.** In this paper the various irregularities in these metres are minutely examined, and compared with the corresponding irregularities occurring in the *Ṛig-Vêda* as summarised by Prof. Oldenberg.

Prof. Fritz Hommel follows with **a paper on the word for 'wine'** in South Semitic, with special reference to Glaser's Sabæan Inscription No. 12. Next comes a series of short **notes on Aryan Philology** by Prof Bartholomae. The first relates to Ṛig-Vêda 3, 33, 10cd. Taking *śaśvachâi* as 1 sg. pres. conj. and *pîpyânâ* as a dative singular, he establishes a complete parallelism between the two lines. *Pîpyânâ* he identifies as a present participle of √*pâ*, to drink, and means 'drinking,' hence 'a suckling child,'[1] and translates the whole couplet, 'low will I bow to thee as a mother to her sucking child. As a maiden before her beloved will I open myself to thee (cf. R.-V. 10, 8, 5, 37c.).'

The second deals with *Ṛig-Vêda*, 6, 71, 2cd. *Nivê'śanê prasavê' châ'si*, is equivalent to *nivêśâyasi prasuvâsi cha*, 'thou givest rest, and again awakest to life.' The writer does not know another

[1] Compare the use of *pâyamânî* (for *piyômânî*) in the Aśôka Inscriptions, Col. Ed. V. 8, 'giving suck.' — G. A. G.

instance of this kind of circumlocution in the *Vêda*, but there is a parallel example in old Persian to which he draws attention.

Rig-Vêda, 1, 92, 4ab. Benfey and Grassman translate the second line 'she uncovers her bosom, as a cow her udders' (*usrê'va bârjaham*). Dr. Bartholomæ connects *bârjaha* with *brihant*, and the Zend *berezô*, *barezahi*, *barezata* &c., 'projecting, high.' He takes it as an adjective qualifying *vâksha*, the breast. *Usrâ'* also does not mean 'cow.' It should be read *uśrâ'*, equivalent to *uśatî'*, 'a girl desiring her lover.' He translates the couplet 'coloured garments casts she round herself, like a dancing-girl. Like a damsel enticing her beloved, she uncovers her swelling breast.'

The two last notes refer to points of criticism in the *Avesta*.

Dr. Von Stackelberg follows with **notes on Ossetic**, which are followed by short notes by Mr. Rehatsek on Dr. Jacob's article on the Caspio-Baltic trade in the Middle Ages already referred to, and by Dr. W. Bang on former articles on the religion of the Achæmenians. Three Reviews on Semitic subjects, and one on a Chinese subject come next, and the volume concludes with an obituary notice, by **Prof. A. Socin**, of the late Dr. Thorbecke, the eminent Semitic scholar. whose regretted death on the 3rd of January, 1890, has left a void which it will be difficult to fill.

G. A. GRIERSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A VERSE ON TOBACCO.

Tobacco is greatly used in Southern India, sometimes in chewing with betel-leaves, sometimes in smoking, and greatly in the shape of snuff. The following is a witty extollation of it by an admirer : —

पुरा पृष्टवानब्जयोनिं बिडौजाः
धरामंडले वस्तुसारं किमस्ति ।
चतुर्भिर्मुखैरुत्तरं तेन दत्तं
तबाकुः पोगाकुः होगेसोप् पोगेले ॥

"Once Indra asked Brahman, what is the best thing in the world? And he replied, by his four mouths: **tabâku**, **pogâku**, **hogêsoppu**, and **pogêle**, meaning "tobacco, tobacco, tobacco, tobacco," in Hindustâni, Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil respectively. The point consists in the words from several languages being so arranged in the last line, as not to break the rhythm of the metre; otherwise there is nothing special in the verse.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE MAHABHARATA OF KRISHNA-DVAIPAYANA-VYASA; translated into English Prose. Published by PROTAP CHANDRA ROY; the Bhârata Press; Calcutta.

We are glad to find that **Protap Chandra Roy's translation of the Mahâbhârata**, which we noticed first five years ago, *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 216, is still being successfully carried on. The last instalment that we have before us is Part LXIV, which carries us into the commencement of Section 67 of the Śânti-Parva; and this and the intervening parts shew that the work is being continued with the same fidelity and careful attention to details. About three-fourths of the whole translation have now been issued; and as, from a notice on the wrapper, it appears that the earlier parts are becoming scarce, scholars will do well to complete their sets before it becomes too late to do so. The same gentleman has published also a Sanskrit Text of the epic, which presumably gives the recension followed in this translation.

A DICTIONARY OF THE CENTRAL NICOBARESE LANGUAGE, PRECEDED BY NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE CENTRAL FORM, by E. H. MAN. London, W. H. Allen & Co. 1889.

We have before us another of Mr. Man's careful publications, the contents of which have become all the more valuable owing to the withdrawal of an English Resident from the Nicobar Islands

For linguistic purposes the **Nicobar Islands** may be divided into six groups, *viz.* Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa with Bompoka, the Central embracing Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkut and Katchal, the Southern Group comprising Great and Little Nicobar, Condul and Milo, and the inland tribe or Shom Pen of Great Nicobar. The book under consideration deals with the Central Group. The total population is about 6,000, of which something over 1,000 live in the Central Group.

The custom of **tabu** has had a peculiar **effect on the Nicobarese dialects**, and is in some measure responsible for the complete diversity of tongues now existing between the different groups. Any person may adopt any word of the language as his or her name, and after death that

word is tabued for a generation for fear of raising a ghost. Consequently a new word has to be invented to take its place, and this process is naturally perpetually going on. This embarrassing custom is common to several semi-savage peoples.

The Nicobarese dialects belong to the languages of Further India, or what Mr. Man calls the Tibeto-Assam family. They are **agglutinative in development,** and similar in structure to Malay, Peguan and Burmese, **differing from Burmese** and the allied tongues **in the absence of homonyms differentiated only by intonation.**

Very few words are borrowed from other tongues, although the men (but not the women) of the various groups can converse in Burmese, Hindustani, English and Malay.

Mr. Man, in writing the language, has adopted the system he pursued in his former well-known work *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, and the point of speech that chiefly comes out therein is the **great variety of nasal vowels and diphthongs. The stopped** sound of many Burmese **final consonants** shewn in the Burmese character by ˉ, and which makes such a word as *let-hmat* (sign manual) sound like *lemmat* to Europeans, is also common to Nicobarese.[1] The consonants specially liable to it are c, j, and *k*, but Mr. Man's remarks shew that partially, as in Burmese, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *g*, *s*, *sh*, and *z* may probably be added to the category.

As is the case with all rude forms of speech, the Nicobarese languages are **rich,** within certain limits, **in specific, and poor in generic terms:** but **in expression by gesture** the Nicobarese have **no prescribed methods.**

Their structure may be roughly described as follows: — The **roots** of the languages are **easily traceable.** The explanatory parts of speech (prepositions, postpositions, adverbs, etc.) stand separately, and are not combined with other words in the sentence. Words can be used as adjectives, which properly belong to verbs, substantives, adverbs, and so on. Prefixes, suffixes and particles are freely used. Compound words are very common, composition being attained by simple agglutination without any mutilation of the components.

As regards the Grammar, the following remarks will be found to indicate its **outlines. Substantives do not undergo grammatical alteration** to denote number, gender or case. If the nominative does not commence the sentence, ***en*** or ***pan*** is prefixed to denote it. Possession is shewn by making the possessor follow the thing possessed. What is called "case" in ordinary *Grammars* is denoted by prepositions.

Derivative nouns are formed thus: —

Firstly from Verbs: —

(1) *okngŏk*, to eat: ***hokngŏk***, food.
homkwòm, to give: ***omkwòm***, gift.

(2) *hohíat*, to hook: ***henheat***, a hook.
het, to chisel: ***henet***, a chisel.
kapâh, to die: ***takapâh***, a carcase.
tomkâk, to lance: ***tenkâk***, a lancet.

(3) *pahôa*, to fear: *pamahôa*, coward.
enlûana, to exorcise: *menlûana*, a shaman.
dâha, to whet: *danâha*, a whetstone.
pem, to drink: ***pomem***, a drunkard.

(4) *pöya*, to sit: *enpöya*, a bench.
lŏp, to cover: *oplŏp*, a shawl.

(5) *top*, to drink: *topa*, beverage

(6) Irregular derivatives on the above principles, —
ofoah, to open: *foàng*, a window.

Secondly from Adjectives: —

(1) *huyòie*, drunk: *mahuyòie*, a drunkard.
karû, large: *kamarû*, an adult.
shî-tashe, old: *shanîtashe*, age.

(2) Irregular additions, as, —
höi, far: *kalahöiya*, the sky.

Thirdly from Substantives: —

(1) Irregular additions, —
hentain, a basket: *mentainya*, a basketful.
kâhe, moon: ***kamahen̄wa***, a lunation.

Fourthly, Compounds: —

(1) These are agglutinated as above explained.

A peculiar class of grammatical derivatives of a similar structure to those already noticed exists, which is worth noticing: —

enkòiña, a man: *menkòiña*, a man of a particular race.

enkâna, a woman: ***menkâna***, a woman of a particular race.

kenyâm, a child: ***kamenyâma***, a child of a particular community.

Paiyûh, a Nicobarese: ***Pamenyûh***, a Nicobarese of a particular community.

kaling, a foreigner: ***kamalênga***, a foreigner of a particular community.

nŏt, a pig: ***memnŏta***, a pig of a particular village.

[1] The *Myit-ngè*, *lit.* Little River, in Upper Burmah was always known to the engineers building the Railway bridge over it as "the Mingy"

chóng, a ship: *chinmónga*, a ship of a particular rig.

mattai, a village; *mentai*, a village of a particular community.

kentóka, a dance: *kamentóka*, a dance of a particular kind.

kanòishe, a song: *kamennòishe*, a song of a particular kind.

The way in which these remarkable words are used may be thus illustrated, —

héang yúang enkòiña, one man.

héang yúang menkòiña, one man (or several men) of the same (one) race.

án yúang mónkòiña, two (or several) men of two races.

And again —

héang yúang kaling, one foreigner.

héang yúang kamalénga, one (or more) foreigner of the same country.

tafúal yúang kamalénga, six (or more) foreigners of six different countries.

And in the phrase: —

héang kammennòishe takòisha, án kamentóka takatóka (*tai chüa wáhe*); one kind of song was sung, two kinds of dances were danced (by me last night).

To turn to the **adjectives**: — These, like the nouns, are **uninflected for grammatical purposes**, and may be preposed or postponed, but in the latter case the prefix *ta* is necessary, *e. g. lapá kaling*, a good foreigner: but *kaling talapá*.

Derivative adjectives are formed on the same principle as the nouns. The following are examples: —

léap, to be able: *lamíap*, expect.
karan, iron: *takaran*, of iron.
puyól, hair: *pamayól*, hairy.
fáp, the side: *fápo*, fat.
iteak, to sleep: *iteakla*, sleepy.
pahóa fear: *pahóapare*, timorous.

For **comparison**, adjectives undergo **changes of form** which are peculiar, thus: —

lapá, good: *lenpáa*, better: *lenpáaka*, best.

chòng, high: *chinònga*, higher: *chinòngaka*, highest.

mitánto, short: *entánta*, shorter: *entántaka*, shortest.

fuòi, thick: *fennòiyo*, thicker: *fennòiyoka*, thickest.

As regards the **pronouns** there is **no inflection** as usual, but there is a form to express the **dual number**. The possessive is expressed by simply placing the pronoun after the thing possessed, as in the case of nouns above-mentioned, or by turning it into a derivative adjective, after the manner already explained. Thus, *düe chüa*, my canoe, or *düe tachüa*. **Honorific forms are unknown**, owing to the communistic condition of the social relations of the people. **Relation is expressed as in the Indo-European languages**: thus, following the English order, *paiyüh ka leät-chüh*, the man who went home. Reflexive action is also expressed by *déde* or *rére*: e. g. *an ofño ta-déde*, he is beating (to)-himself.

Like the other parts of speech, many **verbs** are **formed** out of nouns, &c., by a process of alteration in form, by **simple compounding**, or **by the addition of syllables**. Examples are: —

shomyo, to fill a sack, from *sháyo*, a sack.
ché-kaleták (shiver-tongue), to stammer.
háwan, to net fish, from *wan*, a net.

The prefixes *ha* and *ka* are those most commonly used in thus forming verbs; the prefix *wí* expresses causation, as *yôm*, a garden, *wíyom*, to cultivate: *yö* expresses tendency, as *tòng*, pus, *yötòng* to fester; *alde* expresses completion, as *aldebeät*, to become healed: *hen* expresses action, as *töknga*, to break, *v. n.*, but *hentökng*a to break, *v. a.*

The prefix *káha* is peculiar and may be compared with the form of the class-nouns already explained. It may be best illustrated by an example: — *lòij*, to meet by the arrival of one of the parties, *káha-lòij*, to meet by the arrival of both parties.

Continuative action is expressed by alteration in form and the suffixing of *yande*, as *top*, to drink, *tennopayande*, to continue drinking.

In many cases the **passive is the more primitive form of the verbs**, as *haròkhata*, to burn, *haröka*, to be burnt; but the passive form is often expressed by prefixing *ta* as *mandya*, to inherit, *tamandya*, to be inherited.

There is **no inflection of the verb** whatever, the grammatical relations being expressed by auxiliaries.

Of the **minor parts of speech**, the **adverbs**, **prepositions and postpositions** call for few remarks, and the language is poor in conjunctions and interjections.

The **formation of many prepositions** shews the same peculiarities as that of the other parts of speech: *e. g.* we have *köi*, head, *taköi*, on, *laköi*, above: *fáp*, side, *tafáp*, beside, *kòltafáp*, at the side of, *yötafáp*, to the side.

The Nicobarese **reckon by the pair, score, and score of scores**, and the only puzzle is that

the words used in counting cocoanuts (the staple product) and money, differ from those used in counting other objects. From the simple numerals, **derivatives**, formed on the principles already largely illustrated, are in use to denote a limit in enumeration, *e. g. heáng*, one, *hemêang*, only one; *iseát*, seven, *misseát*, only seven.

Numeral co-efficients are used as fully as in Burmese and other Further Indian tongues, but with the difference that, as in Persian, the co-efficient is between the numeral and the article enumerated, instead of the article preceding numeral and co-efficient, *e. g.* Persian, *chuhâr zanjîri fîl*, four chain of elephants: Nicobarese, *lôe kôi kôan*, three head (of) children; but Burmese *lû hna yauk*, men two human-beings; *ngwê lê jàt*, silver four flat-pieces (= 4 rupees). In the rare instances of the use of numeral co-efficients in English the Nicobarese system is followed: four head of cattle; two and half couple of snipe; two leash of grey-hounds.

Concrete expressions are used to denote **time** in the manner common to all barbarous and semi-barbarous people: *e. g.* "you could reach that place in three betel-quids (chews) time."

As regards **suffixes, prefixes and infixes**, their use has been mostly illustrated already, and we need not specially notice any here except an **interesting class which refers to the human body and its parts**, and which bear a remarkable analogy to a like peculiarity in the Andamanese languages. The system appears to be to attach the actual words for hand, foot, leg, head, ear, face, voice and surface to other words to modify the sense of the base and form fresh expressions for ideas from the compound, *e. g.*, *tai*, hand; *kwápta-tai*, clutch (through fear or rage): *láh*, foot, leg; *öngeláh*, depart: *kôi*, head; *kaòpekôi*, capsize: *nóng*, ear; *himángananáng*, caution: *chaká*, face; *yöchaká*, intend: *ngê*, voice; *páwangê*, echo: *mat*, surface; *et-lat-mat*, wipe.

The **collocation of words is similar to that of English**, except that the adjective usually follows the noun and that in assertive sentences the verb "to be" is generally omitted.

Simple interrogation is expressed by the inflection of the voice, or by prefixing *ka*, *ká*. *kan* to the subject of the sentence, or when an affirmative reply is expected, by so prefixing *añ*. **Negation** is expressed by the insertion of particles of **negation** indicating it under the various circumstances of life, like the English "not, none, not any, nothing, don't, isn't, never, never more, and no."

The various **moods** and **tenses** of the **verb** are expressed by **auxiliaries** which are worth recording here:—

yö (to wish) = future intention (intend going).
alde (just now) = immediate future (just going to).
enyáh (afterwards) = simple future (will).
eat (already) = simple past (was).
leát-ngare (entirely) = long past (dead and gone).
yanga (from) = immediate past (just finished).
yuáng-shitö (busy) = imperfect, (having, being)
yüang-shitö-yanga = pluperfect (had).
léap and *döh* (ability) = ability (can).
döh (ability) = unknown intention (may).
döhta (obligation) = obligation (should).
ka (indeed) = obligation (must).
okláknyatö, (permission) = permission (let).
kaiyáh toshe (power) = power (you may).
döh (ability) = power (you may).
haröh-ta-yande unknown intention (might).
lák and *shök* = invitation (let us).
wòt = negative precaution (don't).

Finally there is a curious class of **intensive particles** in use which are best explained by illustrations thus:—

ka (indeed): *an*, he, *anka*, he himself; *ane*, that, *ane ka*, the very same; *chuá*, silver, *chuá ka*, real silver; *halák*, a ladder, *halák ka*, a proper ladder; *chaling*, long, *chaling ka*, very long.

endah, *pendah*, with adjectives, verbs and adverbs has the same force as *ka*.

pait (much), *takarû* (very), *taurûhatshe* (excessively), *ka ka*, indeed, can also intensify adjectives and adverbs.

We have thus dwelt at length upon Mr. Man's explanation of the Nicobarese tongue, for two reasons, *viz.*, the remarkably clear exposition given by him of a most interesting tongue, and because it is not likely that we shall ever be favoured in this generation at least with any further light on it.

Mr. Man's energy and clear grasp of grammar as a science have given us an insight into a class of languages of the greatest value to philology as a study, for we have now had an exposition of a **group of tongues** that is **agglutinative in verbal structure and analytical in its syntax**, and which **expresses cognate ideas by the expansion of its simple radices** by means of a series of regularly used **prefixes, suffixes and infixes**, and occasionally even by **pure intromutation** after the fashion of the Semitic languages. Could a series of facts of greater interest be placed before the philological student?

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this :—

Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍa
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ẖ	भ	ಭ	bha
			म	ಮ	ma
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	h̤	य	ಯ	ya
			र	ರ	ra
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ	—	ಱ	ṟa
Anunâsikâ	—	m̐	ल	ಲ	la
क	ಕ	ka	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
ख	ಖ	kha	—	ೞ	ḻa
ग	ಗ	ga	व	ವ	va
घ	ಘ	gha	श	ಶ	śa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	ष	ಷ	sha
च	ಚ	cha	स	ಸ	sa
छ	ಛ	chha	ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line: intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgari sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgari marks of punctuation than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets,** for letters which are damaged and partially illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshar* or syllable.

THE COINS OF THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

THE subjoined list comprises such inscribed South-Indian coins as, judging from their legends, may be referred with some degree of probability to the princes of the last great Hindû kingdom of the South. A considerable number of coins with unintelligible, imperfect or debased legends are excluded. The desirability of attempting a list of **Vijayanagara** coins was first suggested to me by Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, M.S.C., who courteously placed his extensive collection at my disposal. The same was kindly done by Mr. R. Sewell, M.C.S., and Surgeon D. S. E. Bain, I.M.S. To Mr. E. Thurston I am indebted for the loan of some coins of the Government Central Museum, Madras. The collections, which I have used, are referred to in the list by the following abbreviations: —

B = Dr. Bain; M = Madras Museum; S = Mr. Sewell; T = Captain Tufnell; H = self.

Mr. B. Santappah, Curator of the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore, kindly undertook the preparation of the plaster casts, from which the accompanying Plates were prepared.

The following numismatical publications are quoted in the list by the simple names of their authors: —

Surgeon-General G. **Bidie**, *The Pagoda or Varâha Coins of Southern India; Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LI. Part I. 1883, pp. 33 ff.

Sir Walter **Elliot**, *Coins of Southern India;* London, 1886.

Lieutenant (Colonel) H. P. **Hawkes**, *A brief sketch of the Gold, Silver and Copper Coinage of Mysore;* Bangalore, 1856.

William **Marsden**, *Numismata Orientalia Illustrata*, Part II. London, 1825.

Major Edward **Moor**, *Plates illustrating the Hindu Pantheon, reprinted from the work of;* London and Edinburgh, 1861. The quotations refer to Plate 103.

H. H. **Wilson**, *Description of Select Coins in the possession of the Asiatic Society; Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. 1832, pp. 559 ff.

A list of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara is found in my *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 161, and lists of the second and third dynasty, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 154 and p. 155, respectively.

Regarding the coinage of one of the kings of the first dynasty we possess a contemporary report by 'Abdu-r-razzâq, an ambassador of Sulṭân Shâh Rukh of Samarkand, a son of the great Tîmûr. 'Abdu-r-razzâq stayed at Bîjânagar (Vijayanagara), the capital of Dêô Râî (Dêvarâya II.), from the close of Ẕu-l-ḥijja, A. H. 846, = end of April, A. D. 1443, to the 12th Sha'bàn, A. H. 847, = 5th December, A. D. 1443. He informs us that Dêvarâya II. issued the following coins:— I. Gold: (1) *varâha*; (2) *partáb* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *varâha*; (3) *fanam* = $\frac{1}{10}$ *partáb*. II. Silver: *tár* = $\frac{1}{6}$ *fanam*. III. Copper: *jîtal* = $\frac{1}{3}$ *tár*. Pagodas or *varâhas* of Dêvarâya are described under Nos. 4 and 5. The name *partáb*, which 'Abdu-r-razzâq attributes to the half pagoda, is probably connected with the surname Pratâpa, which occurs before the names of Vijayanagara kings both on coins and in inscriptions; this surname is also found on No. 6, a half pagoda of Dêvarâya. No *fanam* with Dêvarâya's name, nor any Vijayanagara silver coin, has been hitherto discovered. But there is a considerable number of varieties of the copper issues of Dêvarâya (Nos. 9 to 23). The name *jîtal*, which 'Abdu-r-razzâq attributes to these coins, is the Hindûstânî equivalent of the modern 'pice.'[1]

[1] See Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 349.

FIRST DYNASTY.

I. Bukkarâya.

No. 1. MH. Gold. Pagoda.

(Bidie, No. 9.)

Obv. A rude kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the right.

Rev.	ಶ್ರೀವಿ	'Srî-Vî-
	ರಬುಕ	[ra]-Buka-[2]
	ರಾಯ	[r]âya.

Two pagodas of similar type, but with different legends, are figured by Elliot, Nos. 87 and 88. Moor's No. 8 appears to be an imperfect drawing of Elliot's No. 87.

II. Harihara.

No. 2. MSTH. Gold. Half pagoda.

(Elliot, Nos. 96 and 97.)

Obv. God and goddess, seated.

Rev.	श्रीप्र	'Srî-Pra-
	तापहरि	tâpa-Hari-
	हर	hara.

On some specimens of this coin, the attributes of the two sitting figures are distinctly Vaishṇava; on others it is doubtful, if they are meant for 'Saiva or Vaishṇava ones.

No. 3. T. Copper.

Obv. Bull, facing the right; above it, the moon.

Rev.	प्रताप	Pratâpa-
	हरीहर	Harîhara.[3]

There is a ring in the centre between the two lines of the legend.

III. Dêvarâya.

No. 4. MTH. Gold. Pagoda.

Obv. Same as No. 2.

Rev.	श्रीप्र	'Srî-Pra-
	तापदेव	tâpa-Dêva-
	राय	râya.

On some specimens of this and the next following coin, the attributes of the two sitting figures are 'Saiva, on others Vaishṇava. The pagoda figured by Elliot under No. 106 belongs to Chik[k]a-Dêvarâya of Maisûr (A. D. 1672 to 1704).[4]

No. 5. MH. Gold. Pagoda.

(Bidie, No. 11.)

Obv. Same as No. 4.

Rev.	श्रीप्र	'Srî-Pra-
	तापदोव	tâpa-Dôva-[5]
	राय	râya.

[2] Read *Bukka*.

[3] Read *Harihara*.

[4] Hawkes, p. 3, mentions a *fanam* with the Kanarese legend "Chicca Deo Raj." In a valuable Memorandum on the Coinage of Maisûr by Mr. D. Buick, M.C.S. (retired), the MS. of which was lent to me by Captain Tufnell, the following copper coin of the same king is figured and described: — Obv. Seated bull, facing the right; above it, the sun and the moon. Rev. [1] ಚಿಕರಾ [2] ಯರು, *Chik[k]arâyaru.*

[5] Read *Dêva*.

No. 6. BH. Gold. Half pagoda.

Obv. Same as Nos. 4 and 5.

Rev. Same as No. 5.

No. 7. BTH. Gold. Quarter pagoda.

Obv. Elephant, facing the left; above it. the sun and the moon.

Rev. { श्रीदेव / राय } Srî-Dêva- / râya.

No. 8. BMH. Gold. Quarter pagoda.

Obv. Same as No. 7.

Rev. { श्रीदे / वराय } Srî-Dê- / varâya.

No. 9. TH. Copper.

Obv. Elephant, facing the right; above it, the Kanarese letter *A*.

Rev. { ಪ್ರತಾ / ಪದೇವ / ರಾಯ } Pratâ- / pa-Dêva- / râya.

No. 10. MH. Copper.

Obv. Same as No. 9, with the addition of a conch to the left, and of a discus to the right of the letter *A*.

Rev. Same as No. 9.

No. 11. T. Copper.

Obv. Elephant, facing the right.

Rev. { ಶ್ರೀದೇವ / ರಾಯ } Śrî-Dêva- / râya.

Between the two lines of the legend is an upright sceptre, with a discus on its left and a conch on its right.

No. 12. T. Copper.

Obv. Elephant, facing the right; above it, the sun and the moon, and the Kanarese syllable *Dê*, which I take to be an abbreviation for Dêvarâya. The same abbreviation occurs on Nos. 13, 14, and 23.

Rev. { राय / गजगंड / भेरुंड } Râya- / gajagaṁḍa- / bhêruṁḍa.

Râya-gaja-gaṇḍa-bhêruṇḍa, 'the double-headed eagle, which splits the temples of the elephants of kings,' must be taken as a *biruda* of the king. The synonyms Gajaughagaṇḍa-bhêruṇḍa and Arîbhagaṇḍabhêruṇḍa occur in copper-plate grants as *birudas* of Vijayanagara kings; see line 45 of Mr. Fleet's grant of Kṛishṇarâya, *J. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 384, and *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 131, Plate iv. a, line 10.[6]

No. 13. MSTH. Copper.

Obv. Elephant, facing the right; above it, a conch and the inverted Nâgarî syllable *Dê*.

Rev. { राय / गजगंड / भेरुंड } Râya- / gajagaṁḍa- / bhêruṁḍa.

Underneath the legend is a sceptre, the top of which faces the right.

[6] In Mr. Buick's Memorandum (see note 4, above) the following similar copper coin is figured and described:— Obv. Elephant, trotting to the right, with an attendant carrying a spear and running before him; above the elephant, the Nâgarî syllable *Dê*. Rev. The same legend as No. 12; underneath it, sun, conch, and moon.

No. 14. ST. Copper.

Obv. Elephant, facing the right; above it, the sun and the moon, and the Nâgarî syllable *Dê*.

Rev.	रायग	Râyaga-
	जगंडभे	jagaṁḍabhê-
	रुंड	ruṁḍa.

Above the legend is a sceptre, the top of which faces the right.

No. 15. STH. Copper.

Obv. Elephant, facing the right.

Rev.	रायग	Râyaga-
	जगंडभे	jagaṁḍabhê-
	रुंड	ruṁḍa.

Sir W. Elliot's No. 92, a copper coin of frequent occurrence, is connected by type with the preceding Nos. 9 to 15. It has, on the obverse, an elephant which faces the right (or, more rarely, the left), with the Kanarese syllable *Nî* above. The reverse bears the following legend:—

Rev.	ಮಣ	Maṇa(?)-
	ದಣಾಯ	daṇâya-
	ಕರು	karu.

Daṇâyakaru is the honorific Kanarese plural of *daṇâyaka*,[7] which is perhaps a corruption of *daṇḍanâyaka*, the title of the Hoysaḷa chiefs of Toṇṇûr near Srîraṅgapaṭṭaṇam; see Elliot, p. 81.[8]

No. 16. S. Copper.

Obv. Bull, facing the left; above it, the sun and the moon.

Rev.	श्रीदेव	Srî-Dêva-
	राय	râya.

Above the legend is a sceptre, the top of which faces the right.

No. 17. STH. Copper.

Obv. Same as No. 16.

Rev. Same as No. 11.

No. 18. STH. Copper.

(Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. Plate xxxv. No. 21.)

Obv. Same as No. 16.

Rev. Same as Nos. 11 and 17, but the conch on the left and the discus on the right of the sceptre.

No. 19. T. Copper.

Obv. Bull, facing the right, with the moon above and a conch in front.

Rev.	प्रतापदे	Pratâpa-Dê-
	वारय	vâraya.[9]

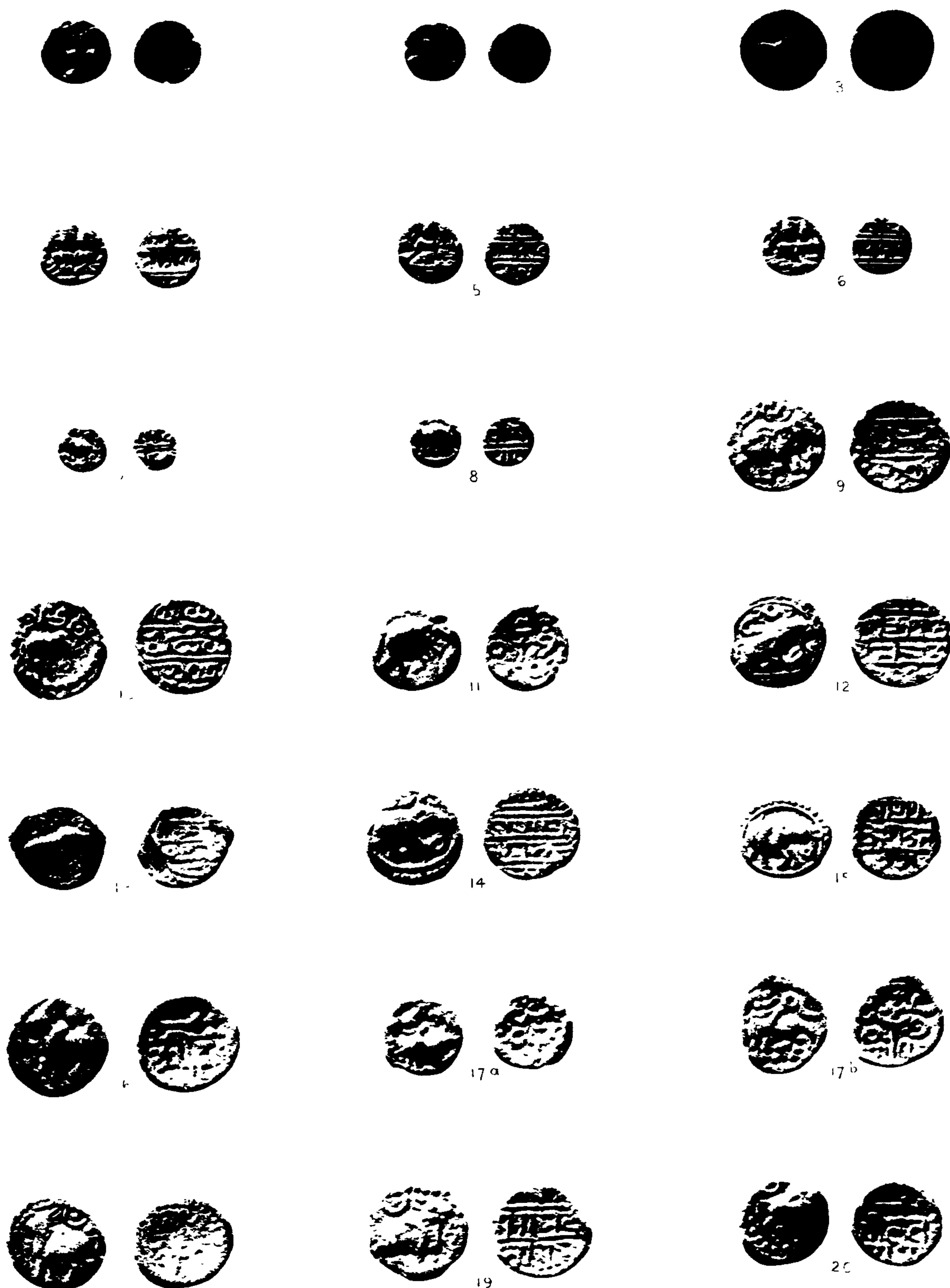
Above the legend is a sceptre, the top of which faces the right.

[7] The slightly different form *ḍaṇâyaka* (or, in Tamil, *ḍaṇâyakka*) appears in Ḍaṇâyakkaṉ-kôṭṭai, the name of a fort in the Satyamaṅgalam Tâlukâ of the Coimbatore District, and in Ḍaṇâyakana-kaṭṭe, mentioned in Mr. Rice's *Gazetteer of Mysore*, Vol. II. Appendix I. p. 5.

[8] The Madras Museum possesses an unpublished Hoysaḷa gold coin. Its obverse bears the figures of two lions, like Elliot's Nos. 90 and 91. The legend on the reverse is [1]ಶ್ರೀಮ [2]ಲಪರೊ [3]ಳುಗಣ್ಡ, *Srî-Malapar[o]ḷu-gaṇḍa*, 'the glorious hero among the hill-chiefs.' Malaparoḷ gaṇḍa or Malaparoḷu gaṇḍa was a surname of the Hoysaḷa kings Vinayâditya (Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 307 and 329) and Vishṇuvardhana(*bid.* p. 263, and *Inscriptions at Sravaṇa Beḷgoḷa*. No. 53, l. 18 f.), and of their successors.

[9] Read *Dêvarâya*

COINS OF THE KINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA.



FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.

No. 20. ST. Copper.

Obv. Same as No. 19.

Rev. { श्रीदेव Srî-Dêva-
{ राय râya.

Sceptre as on No. 19.

No. 21. BMSTH. Copper.

(Prinsep's *Essays*, Vol. I. Plate xxxv. No. 20.)

Obv. Bull, facing the right; above it, the sun and the moon.

Rev. Same as Nos. 11 and 17.

No. 22. STH. Copper.

Obv. Same as No. 21.

Rev. Same as No. 18.

No. 23. MSTH. Copper.

Obv. Bull, facing the right, with sun and moon above. In front of the bull is the Nâgarî syllable *Dê*, which seems to be an abbreviation for Dêvarâya, as on Nos. 12 to 14.

Rev. { श्री Srî-
{ नीलकं Nîlakaṁ-
{ ठ ṭha.

Nîlakaṇṭha, 'the blue-necked,' is a name of the god 'Siva.

SECOND DYNASTY.[10]

IV. Kṛishṇarâya.

No. 24. Gold. Double pagoda.

(Elliot, No. 112.)

Obv. Vishṇu, standing under an arch.

Rev. { श्री 'Srî-
{ कृष्णरा Kṛishṇarâ-
{ य ya.

The omission of the surname Pratâpa. which is found on the two smaller gold coins, Nos. 26 and 27, makes this coin doubtful. The same obverse occurs on coins of the third dynasty; see No. 35.

No. 25. M. Gold. Pagoda.

Obv. 'Siva and Pârvatî, seated.

Rev. { श्रीप्र 'Srî-Pra-
{ तापकृष्ण tâpa-Kṛishṇa-
{ राया râyâ.[11]

This unique coin is also doubtful, and may have been an earlier issue of the pagoda of Kṛishṇarâja of Maisûr (No. 32,c).

No. 26. MTH. Gold. Pagoda.

(Marsden, Nos. 1070 and 1071. Wilson, Nos. 88 and 89. Prinsep's *Essays* Vol. II. Plate xlv. No. 13: Bidie, Nos. 12, a and b. Elliot, Nos. 186 to 188.)

---

[10] Wilson's No. 90 is an eye-copy of a gold coin with the Kanarese legend *Srî-Pratâpa-Nârasiṅgha*. This coin must be attributed to Nârasiṁha, the elder brother and predecessor of Krishṇarâya.

[11] Read *râya*.

Obv. Vishṇu seated, with the discus and the conch.

Rev. { श्रीप्र / तापकृष्ण / राय } Srî-Pra- / tâpa-Krishṇa- / râya.

The ruder varieties of this coin are probably re-coinages of one of the Nâyakas of Chitradurga (Chitaldroog in Maisûr; see Hawkes, p. 13.

No. 27. MST. Gold. Half pagoda.

(Moor, Nos. 18 to 21. Elliot, No. 175.)

Same type as No. 26. On some specimens of Nos. 26 and 27, the sitting figure looks like a female and might be intended for Lakshmî. Marsden, p. 737, mentions a quarter pagoda of the same type.

No. 28. STH. Copper.

Obv. A kneeling figure of Garuḍa, which faces the left.

Rev. Same as Nos. 26 and 27.

V. Achyutarâya.

No. 29. TH. Gold. Pagoda.

Obv. A double-headed eagle (*gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa*), holding elephants in its beaks and claws.

Rev. { श्रीप्र / तापाच्युत / राय } 'Srî-Pra- / tâpâchyuta- / râya.

No. 30. BT. Gold. Half pagoda.

(Wilson. Nos. 92 and 93. Moor, No. 3. Bidie, No. 10, a. Elliot, No. 99.)

Same type as No. 27.

No. 31. SH. Gold. Half pagoda.

(Wilson, Nos. 94 and 95. Moor, Nos. 1, 2, 4. Elliot, No. 98.)

Obv. A *gaṇḍabhêruṇḍa*, which is walking to the left.

Rev. { श्रीप्र / तापच्युत / राय } 'Srî-Pra- / tâpachyuta-[12] / râya.

The name of the king on Nos. 30 and 31 has been read as *Pratâpavîra*, *Pratâpadêva*, *Pratâpachaṭara* and *Pratâpâchaṭaṭa*. These misreadings were caused by the Nandinâgarî group *chyu* differing considerably from the corresponding group in northern Nâgarî.

VI. Sadâśivarâya.

No. 32. Gold. Pagoda.

(Hawkes, Plate iii. No. 13. Elliot, No. 100.)

Obv. Vishṇu and Lakshmî, seated.

Rev. { श्रीप्रता / पसदाशि / वराय } 'Srî-Pratâ- / pa-Sadâśi- / varâya.

The two sitting figures with Vaishṇava or 'Saiva emblems are common to this coin with Nos. 2, 4 to 6, and 25. They were subsequently adopted on three pagodas of later date, on which they have distinct 'Saiva attributes and are accordingly intended for 'Siva and Pârvatî: —

12 Read *Pratâpâchyuta*.

a. The Ikkêri pagoda.

(Marsden, No. 1074. Hawkes, pp. 4 and 19. Bidie, No. 13. Elliot, No. 114.)

Rev. { श्री / सदाशि / व } Srî- / Sadâśi- / va.

This is the spelling on two copies in the Madras Museum, one of which is figured by Dr. Bidie. On Marsden's and Elliot's copies the legend is corrupted into *Srî-Sadâsivâ*. Sir W. Elliot attributes this coin to Sadâśiva, the first Nâyaka of Ikkêri.[13] The omission of the surname Pratâpa may be adduced in favour of this supposition.

b. Haidar's Bahâdurî pagoda.

(Marsden, No. 1082. Hawkes, p. 4. Moor, No. 16. Bidie, No. 27.)

Rev. Haidar's initial ح on a granulated surface.

c. The pagoda of Kṛishṇarâja of Maisûr (A. D. 1799 to 1868).

(Marsden, No. 1072. Hawkes, p. 9. Bidie, No. 30. Elliot, No. 115.)

Rev. { श्री / कृष्ण / राजा } 'Srî- / Kṛishṇa- / râjâ.[14]

There exists also an Ikkêri[15] and a Bahâdurî *fanam*; see, respectively, *J. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LV. Part I. Plate vi. No. 10, and Mr. Thurston's *Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Madras Museum*, Plate i, No. 7. Dr. Bain possesses a Bahâdurî half pagoda and a half pagoda of Kṛishṇarâja of Maisûr.

THIRD DYNASTY.

VII. Tirumalarâya.

No. 33. BT. Gold. Pagoda.

(Elliot, No. 182.)

Obv. Lakshmaṇa standing, Râma and Sîtâ seated.

Rev. { श्रीति / रुमलरा / युलु } 'Srî-Ti- / rumalarâ- / yulu.

Râyulu is the honorific Telugu plural of *râya*.

No. 34. MTH. Gold. Half pagoda.

(Bidie, No. 14.)

Same type as No. 33.

In the *Madras Journal*, New Series, Vol. IV. Plate i. Nos. 12 to 17, Sir W. Elliot has figured eye-copies of copper coins with a boar on the obverse and with the legend [*S*]*á*[*ļu*]*va*-*Tir*[*u*]*malar*[*âya*] on the reverse. Sâḷuva, 'the hawk,' occurs as a *biruda* of kings of the third and second dynasty of Vijayanagara; see my *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 86, 131, 132.

VIII. Veṅkaṭa.

No. 35. T. Gold. Pagoda.

(Marsden, No. 1073. Wilson, No. 96. Bidie, No. 15. Elliot, No. 105.)

---

13 In the Sâgar Tâlukâ of the Shimoga District in Maisûr. 14 Read *râja*.

15 This *fanam* bears the corrupt legend *Srî-Sadâsivâ*, see the remark on the Ikkêri pagoda.

Obv. Vishṇu, standing under an arch.

Rev. { श्रीवेंक / टेश्वरा / य नमः } 'Srî-Veṁka- / ṭêśvarâ- / ya namaḥ.

'Adoration to the blessed Veṅkaṭêśvara.'

Veṅkaṭêśvara[16] is the deity of Veṅkaṭâdri or Tirumalai, the sacred hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot District. As Chandragiri, the last capital of the third Vijayanagara dynasty, is situated near Tirupati, and as the copper-plate grants of the third dynasty (*ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 128 and 156) open with the invocation *'Srî-Veṁkaṭêśâya namaḥ*, it is very probable that the coin belongs to one of these princes, or even specially to one of the Veṅkaṭas among them, who might have selected the legend, because it reminded of his own name.[17] Wilson's No. 97, Moor's Nos. 12 and 14, Bidie's No. 16, and Elliot's No. 176, a half pagoda, seem to be a later imitation of this coin; the legend has degenerated into a scrawl.

No. 36. S. Copper.

Obv. Same as No. 35.

Rev. { वेंक / टप / राय } [Ve]ṁka- / ṭapa- / râya.

No. 37. MSTH. Copper.

(Elliot, No. 177.)

Obv. Vishṇu, standing; on his right, a fish.

Rev. { ವೆಂಕ / ಟಪ } Veṁka- / ṭapa.

Veṅkaṭappa was the name of the sixth Nâyaka of Ikkêri; see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 177. As, however, this coin is frequently met with in the Madura bâzâr, and as the fish is the emblem of the Pâṇḍya country, I believe that it belongs to one of the Madura Nâyakas, who issued it in the name of his nominal sovereign Veṅkaṭa, the pageant king of Vijayanagara.[18]

No. 38. MH. Copper.

Obv. { ತಿರುವೆ / ೦ಗಳ } Tiru-Ve- / ṁga[la].

'The holy (*mountain of*) Veṅkata.'

Rev. { ಮುದು / ಕೃಷ್ಣ } Mudu- / Krishṇa.[19]

This is another coin of the Nâyakas of Madura. To Mr. T. Varada Rao, Head Assistant Collector of Tinnevelly, I am indebted for the loan of an inscription on seven copper-plates, which records that the village of Kûniyûr (in the Ambâsamudram Tâlukâ of the Tinnevelly District) was granted in 'Saka 1556 (expired), the cyclic year Bhâva (A. D. 1634-35), by Vîra-

[16] The vowel of the first syllable of the word Veṅkaṭa is long in Tamil, but shortened in Kanarese.

[17] Thus some coins of Akbar bear the inscription الله اكبر جل جلاله, which alludes to his names اكبر and جلال الدين.

[18] Mr. Buick (see note 4, above) figures a similar copper coin: — Obv. Krishṇa, playing the flute and attended by two cows. Rev. Same as No. 37.

[19] Read *Muddu-Krishṇa*.

Plate II















27 a



27 b



28 a



28 b



29



30



31



33



34



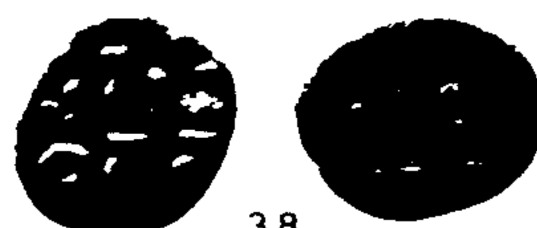
35



36



37

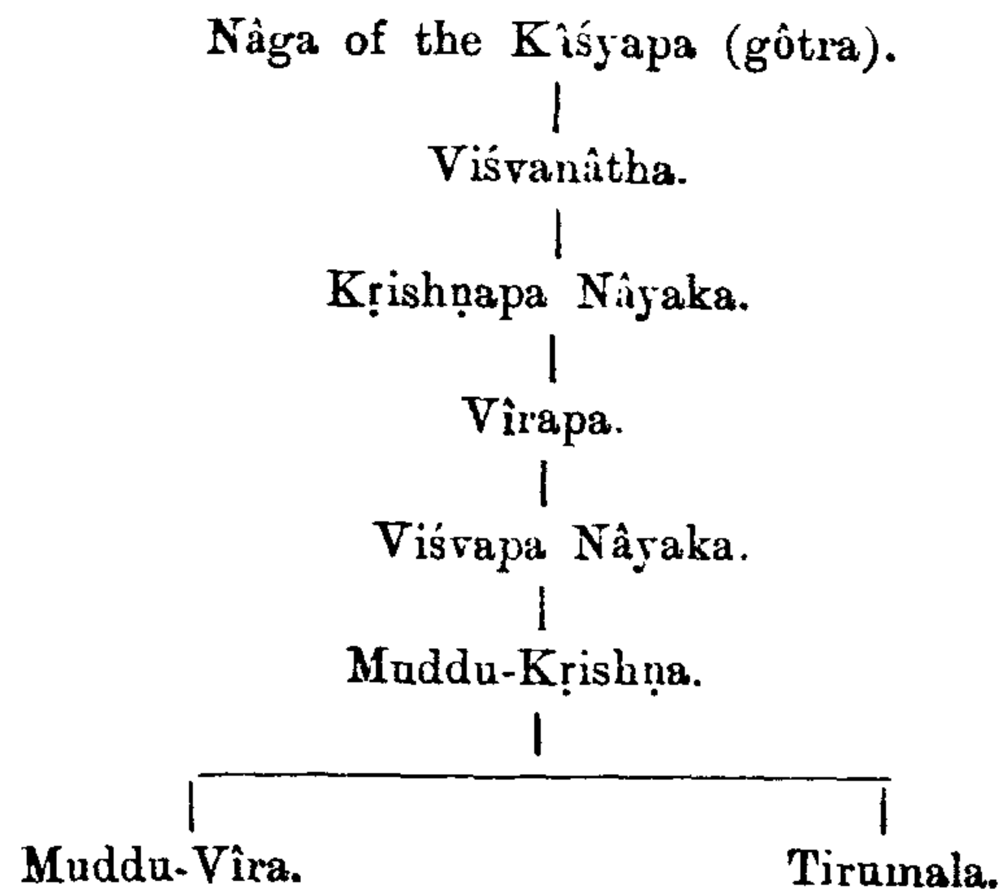


38

FULL-SIZE.

From Casts made by Mr. B. SANTAPPAH, Curator, Bangalore Museum.

Veṅkaṭapati-mahârâya (of Chandragiri) at the request of Tirumala (Nâyaka of Madura), whose pedigree is given as follows:—



According to Mr. Sewell,[20] Muddu-Kṛishṇa, whose name occupies the reverse of the coin, reigned from A. D. 1602 to 1609. The obverse of the coin corresponds to the colophon of the copper-plate inscription, *Śrî-Veṁkaṭêśa*, the name of the patron saint of the princes of the third dynasty of Vijayanagara, whose sovereignty was nominally acknowledged by the Madura Nâyakas.

No. 39. Copper.

(Elliot, No. 89½.)

Obv. Same as No. 28.

Rev. ವೆಂಕಟ Veṁkata.

In conclusion, I avail myself of this opportunity for correcting Mr. Thomas' remarks on Elliot's Nos. 101 and 102. On the obverse of this half pagoda are, not Śiva and Pârvatî, but Narasiṁha and Lakshmî, and the legend on the reverse has been successfully deciphered by my assistant, Mr. V. Venkayya, M. A., as follows:—

श्रीकंठी	['Srî]-Kaṁṭh[î]-
रवनर	[ra]va-Nara-
सराय	[sa]r[âya].

Colonel Wilks[21] states that Kaṇṭhîrava-Narasarâya (A. D. 1638 to 1658) was the first ruler of Maisûr who established a mint. Hawkes, p. 2 f. attributes to him the first issue of the Kaṇṭhîrava *fanam*, which bears on the obverse a seated figure of Narasiṁha. The legend of the half pagoda and its Narasiṁha type leave no doubt that it is an issue of the same Maisûr sovereign. At the beginning of the present century, accounts were still kept in Kaṇṭhîrava pagodas, though these coins themselves had entirely disappeared and were considered by Dr. Buchanan[22] as "an imaginary money." The Kaṇṭhîrava *fanam* was, according to Hawkes, pp. 3 and 8 f. re-coined by Dîvân Pûrṇaiya during the minority of Kṛishṇarâja. An examination of a number of picked specimens enables me to add, that the reverse of the *fanam* reads: —

श्री	Srî-
कंठी	Kaṁth[î]-
रव	rava.

[20] *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 200. [21] *History of Mysoor*, Madras reprint, Vol I. p. 32.

[22] *Journey through Mysore*. Madras reprint, Vol. I. pp. 89 and 134.

HARSAUDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF DEVAPALADEVA OF DHARA; THE (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1275.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The stone which bears this inscription was dug from the ruins of a temple in the village of **Harsaudâ,** about 10½ miles from the town of Chârwâ, in the district of Hoshangâbâd in the Central Provinces. It measures "13½" in height by 13" in breadth, besides a raised and rounded "margin. It is thick and heavy, and shaped upon the back into some form of which the intent "is not now recognizable. Its material is greenstone," hard and tough in quality.[1] In 1857 the stone was in the possession of Dr. F. E. Hall, who subsequently presented it to the American Oriental Society; and it is now in the Cabinet of that Society, at New Haven. The inscription was first edited, with a translation, by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 1-8, and the text was afterwards republished, with a photozincograph, in *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 10, pp. 111-12. Besides, a valuable note on his text and translation was published by Dr. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. pp. 536-7. As the text of the inscription, even after this note, is capable of improvement, I now re-edit it from two excellent impressions which, at Professor Lanman's request, were kindly prepared for me by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan, of Yale University, New Haven.

The inscription contains eighteen lines of writing which cover a space of about 11½" broad by 10¾" high. Beneath it are eight figures, about 1¾" high, — a central figure representing probably Siva, and on his right three and on the left four figures of males and females, engaged in worshipping the god. With the exception of three or four *aksharas* which are slightly damaged, the **writing** is well preserved. The **size of the letters** is about 7/16". The **characters** are Nâgarî; and the **language** is Sanskrit. Lines 4-6 are in prose; the rest of the inscription, excepting the words *ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya* at the commencement of the first line and some words of auspicious import at the end of the last, is in verse. Some of the verses are irregular, and altogether the inscription, which is styled a *praśaṁsâ*, shows that its author Dêvaśarman (line 18) was neither a great poet nor an exact scholar. As regards **orthography,** the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and the dental sibilant is several times used instead of the palatal; *ś* is employed instead of *s* in *âśît*, line 11, and *sh* instead of *kh* in the word *lêshaka*, line 18.

The **inscription,** after the words "ôṁ, adoration to Siva," has three verses in honour of, or invoking the blessings of, Hêramba (Gaṇêśa), the goddess of eloquence Bhâratî, and the three gods Brahman, Vishṇu, and Siva. It then records, in the prose lines 4-6, the date, — Saturday, the 5th of the bright half of Mârgaśîrsha of the year 1275, while there was reigning at **Dhârâ** the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Siva), **Dêvapâladêva,** endowed with everything auspicious (*samastapraśastôpêta*), resplendent with the decoration of the *pañchamahâśabda* obtained by him, and possessed of majesty through a boon bestowed upon him by the favour of the holy Limbâryâ; and it repeats in fuller detail the astronomical part of the date, in verses 4 and 5. The rest is mainly devoted to the proper object for which the inscription was put up, *viz.* to record that on the north-eastern side[2] of **Harshapura** the merchant Kêśava built a temple of Sambhu, together with a tank, and that near it he put up figures of Hanumat, a deity called Kshêtrapâla, 'the guardian of fields,' Gaṇêśa, Kṛishṇa and other divine beings, Nakulîśa, and Ambikâ. Kêśava, who did all this, was the younger brother of the merchant Ḍhala, a son of Bilhaṇa, who was a son of Dôsi (or Dôsin), a resident of **Undapura.**

The really important part of the inscription is its date, and the statement that the inscription was put up when **Dêvapâladêva was ruling at Dhârâ. The date** has been already fully

[1] See *Journal Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII. p. 1; *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 536; and C. Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, sec. Ed., p. 151.

[2] Literally, 'in that direction which is presided over by Îśa (or Siva).

discussed by me, *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 24, No. 11, and I therefore need only repeat here that the corresponding date is **Saturday, the 24th November, A. D. 1218.** As regards **Dêvapâladêva,** I have shown above, p. 83, that at Udaypur in Gwâlior there are two inscriptions from which we know this king to have ruled in the Vikrama years 1286 and 128[9?]. But only the present inscription connects him distinctly with **Dhârâ,** and our inscription is valuable besides for the epithets *samastapraśastôpêta-samadhigatapañchamahâśabdâlaṁkâravirâjamâna* by which Dêvapâladêva is here qualified. For by using these epithets, which may seem to be somewhat out of place in an independent sovereign, Dêvapâladêva distinctly shows his connection with the *Mahâkumâras* Lakshmîvarmadêva, Hariśchandradêva, and Udayavarmadêva, who use exactly the same epithets and who were ruling at Dhârâ before Dêvapâladêva.[3] Another epithet, applied to Dêvapâladêva in this inscription, is *śrî-Limbâryâ-prasâda-vara-labdha-pratâpa*, 'who had obtained majesty through a boon bestowed upon him by the favour of . . . **Limbâryâ.**' That the word Limbâryâ of this phrase must be taken to denote some local deity is highly probable in itself, and is proved with certainty by the words *Limbâryâdêvî-pâdapadm-ârâdhana-prasâda-labdhavara-Mâlavâdhipati-*, or words to the same effect,[4] in line 2 of the Udaypur inscription of Jayasiṁha, last mentioned by me above, p. 84, note 3. I have no doubt that the rulers of Dhârâ adopted the phrase in imitation of a similar phrase employed by the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilwâḍ, with whose inscriptions they had reason to be familiar.[5]

Of the **places** mentioned in this inscription, **Dhârâ** is well known; and **Harshapura** no doubt is the present Harsaudâ where the inscription was found. **Undapura** I am unable to identify; in all probability it is mentioned also in the Udaypur inscription of which I have given the date *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 28, No. 28.

TEXT.[6]

1 Ôṁ[7] namaḥ Sivâya ‖ Sarvva[8]-karmma-samârambhê gîrvvâṇair=yô namaskṛitaḥ ‖(।) sa mayâ Pârvvatî-putr[ô] Hêraṁva(ba)ḥ stûya-

2 tê=niśaṁ ‖ 1 [‖*] Bhâratî bhavatâṁ bhûyâd=vâg-ullâsa-vikâ[sa][9]-dâ ‖(।) jagaj-jâḍya[10]- tamô=dhastât=kurvvatî bhâ ravêr=iva ‖ 2 [‖*]

3 K[ai][11]śâḥ kaṁj-âli-kâś-âbhâ huṁkâr-âri-pinâkinaḥ । vi-vi-gô-gatayô dadyuḥ śaṁ vô=mvuj-âṁdu[12]-nag-aukasaḥ ‖ 3 ‖

4 **Saṁvat paṁchasaptaty-adhika-dvâdaśaśat-âṁk[ê]**[13] **1275 Mârgga-sudi 5 Sa(śa)nau** [।*] svasti [।*] śrîmad-**Dhârâyâṁ** samastapraśastôpêta-

5 samadhigatapaṁchamahâśavd(bd)-âla[ṁ][14]kâra-virâjamâna-paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâ[jâ*]-dhirâja-paramêsva(śva)ra-paramamâhêsva(śva)ra-śrî-

6 Limvâ(mbâ)ryâ-prasâda-vara-lavdha(bdha)-pratâpa-śrîmad-**Dêvapâladêva**-charaṇânâṁ mahî-pravarddhamâna-kalyâṇa-vijayarâjyê sati

---

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 254, and Vol. XIX. pp. 346 and 352.

[4] The rubbing at my disposal being very faint, I am not absolutely certain about every *akshara* of the above phrase.

[5] See the Udaypur inscription of the Chaulukya Kumârapâladêva, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 343, line 3.

[6] From the impressions.

[7] At the commencement of the line, before this word, is an ornamental device which looks like a flower.

[8] Metre of verses 1-3, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[9] This *akshara* might be read *śa*.

[10] Originally °*dyaṁ*, but the sign of *anusvâra* is struck out.

[11] The superscript line which turns *ê* into *ai* is very faint, but it is undoubtedly there; *Kaiśâḥ* = *Ka-A-Îśâḥ*.

[12] This is what is engraved, and I cannot see that anything has been struck out or altered; read *vô=mbuj-âmbu-*, although this offends against the metre. — This difficult verse has been first explained by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VI. p. 537. Dr. Hall's translation is: — "May Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Śiva — in color resembling, *severally*, the water-lily, the black bee, and *kâśa* grass: having, *respectively*, for weapons, menacing utterances, a discus, and the *pinâka*; moving, *in order as enumerated*, with birds, a bird, and a bull; and whose abode is on the *jâmbu*-bearing mountain — bestow on you prosperity." I would only substitute for the translation of the last compound — 'whose abode is, *respectively*, a lotus, the water, and the mountains.'

[13] One would have expected °*śatê=ṁkê*.

[14] This sign of *anusvâra* was originally omitted.

7 ‖ **Adhikê**[15] **paṁchasaptatyâ dvâdaś-âvda(bda)-śatê śakê** [।*] **vatsarê Chitra-bhânau tu Mârggaśirshê** sitê dalê ‖ 4 ‖ **Paṁchamy-aṁtaka-saṁ-**

8 **yôgê nakshatrê** Vishṇu-daivatê ‖(।) yôgê[16] Harshaṇa-saṁjñê tu **tithy-arddhê Dhâtṛi-daivatê** ‖ 5 ‖ Śrîmad-Umdapurê sa(pû)rvvam=âsîd=Dôs=iti

9 pûrushaḥ ‖(।) khyâtaḥ sarvva-guṇair=llôkê vi(tri)lôkê[17] sammataḥ satam ‖ 6 ‖ Tad[18]-aurasaḥ śuddha-matir=vva(bba)bhûva śrî-Vi(bi)lha-

10 ṇô=naṁga-samâna-mûrtiḥ ‖(।) tasy=âtmajô=bhud=vaṇijaṁ mahâtmâ śrî-Ḍhala-nâmâ mahanîya-kîrtiḥ ‖ 7 ‖

11 Tasy=ânujaḥ Kêśava-nâmadhêyô vaṇik-pathê śuddha-matir=jjanê ratiḥ[19] ‖(। âśî(sî)t=tadâ dharmma-nikêtanah sadâ

12 bhûdêva-bhaktaḥ sva-janê=tiraktaḥ ‖ 8 ‖ Tên[20]=âkâri manô dharmmê **Kêśavêna** sujanmanâ ‖(।) nalinî-dala-nîrêṇa

13 paśyatâ sadṛiśaṁ vapuh ‖ 9 ‖ **Harsha-pûrvvât=purâd=**aiś[ê] vibhâgê **lôka-**naṁdanaṁ । chakâr=âyatanaṁ Śaṁbhôr=aṁbhônidhi-

14 sama[ṁ*] saraḥ ‖ 10 ‖ Tat-sannidhânê Han[u]mat-[Ksh]êtrapâla-Gaṇêśvarân । sthâpayâm-âsa Kṛishṇ-âdîn=Nakulîśam=a[th=Â]-

15 mvi(mbi)kâm ‖ 11 ‖ Lôk-ânurâgatas=tyâgâd=vipra-saṁtarpaṇât=sadâ । dêvârchchan-âgnihômâbhyâm=arjjitaṁ sumaha-[21]

16 d=yaśaḥ ‖ 12 ‖ Lôkê[22] vrû(brû)tê Kêśavaḥ satya-vâkyaṁ mat-prâsâdaṁ yô **naraḥ** paśyat=îmaṁ ‖(।) tad-dâsaṁ[23] mâṁ bhû-talê supra-

17 siddhaṁ jânaṁtv=êtê saj-ja[n]âḥ sarvvad=aiva ‖ 13 ‖ Mahâjan[24]-ânurâgêṇa [śr]êyô mama vitanvatâ[ṁ] ‖(।) kṛitâ śa-

18 stâ praśaṁs=êyaṁ[25] dhîmatâ Dêvaśarmmaṇâ ‖ 14 ‖ Śubhaṁ bhavatu lêsha(kha)**ka-**pâṭhakayôḥ savvê(rvva)d=aiva ‖ Śivam=astu ।(‖)

GAYA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH; THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1429.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription was discovered by General Sir A. Cunningham,[1] and its contents were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagvânlâl Indrâjî, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 341. I now edit it from two excellent impressions, supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

According to the information available, the inscription is at the side of the doorway, or in the sanctum, of a temple which stands on the west side of a masonry tank called Dakshiṇa-mânasa, near the Vishṇupada at **Gayâ** in Bihâr. And from the inscription itself it appears that the temple, where it is, was dedicated to the Sun, worshipped under the name of *Dakshiṇârka* or *Dakshiṇâditya*, 'Sun of the South.' — The **writing** covers a space of 2′ 9½″ broad by 5¼″ high, and is throughout well preserved, so that, with the exception of two or three *aksharas* of little importance, everything may be read with certainty. The **size of the letters** is between ⅜″ and $\frac{7}{16}$″. — The **characters** are Nâgarî, slightly influenced by the Bengâlî style of writing; and the **language** is Sanskṛit. Excepting the words *ôṁ Gaṇapatayê namaḥ* and *śrî-Sûryâya*

---

15 Metre of verses 4-6, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

16 Originally *yôgô*, altered to *yôgê*.

17 The first *akshara*, *vi*, of this word is so peculiarly formed, as to render it highly probable that the engraver had *tri* before him in the text from which he was copying or which he was engraving.

18 Metre of verses 7 and 8, Upajâti; in both the metre is irregular.

19 This appears to have been altered to *rataḥ*, which it should be. In the following read *-nikêtanaṁ*.

20 Metre of verses 9-12, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

21 This *akshara* originally was *hâ*, but the sign for *â* has been struck out.

22 Metre, Śâlinî.

23 The upper portion of the three *aksharas taddâsaṁ* is somewhat damaged, but I consider the reading to be certain.

24 Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh).

25 Originally *praśastaiyaṁ*, but clearly altered to *praśaṁsêyaṁ*.

1 See *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. III. p. 128.

namah, lines 1-5 are in verse; the greater portion of lines 6-8 is in prose; and the remainder, excepting the concluding words *siddhir=astu kâryê satâm=iti*, is again in verse. In respect of **grammar and orthography** it may be noted that two of the verses do not admit of a proper construction, and that the letter *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*. As regards lexicography, the word *kîrti* is used in the now well-known sense of 'a temple,' in lines 5 and 8; and line 8 furnishes the word *śâsanika*, apparently denoting an official who had to do with *śâsanas*, or charters.

The inscription, after two verses in honour of Gaṇapati and the Sun, records (in lines 2-5) that, in the Vikrama year denoted by the (nine) planets, a pair, the (four) ages and the moon, *i.e.*, in Vikrama 1429, while **Piyarôja-sâha**,[2] the lord of **Ḍhilî**, was ruling the land, **Kulachanda,** then governor (*adhikârin*) of **Gayâ**, built (or rather, repaired) the temple of Dakshinârka, at Gayâ. And it relates that Kulachanda was a son of **Hêmarâja,** a descendant of the Kshatriya **Ḍâlâ** who lived in the western country and was born in the family of a prince **Vyâghra,** or **Vyâghrarâja.** This part of the inscription which is called a *praśasti*, composed by Sir[i]sêna, closes with two verses which invoke the divine blessing on the family of Kulachanda, the prince (*nṛipa*) descended from Vyâghra.

What is stated before in verse, is repeated in a plainer and more businesslike manner in prose, in lines 6-8. Here we are told that on a certain date which will be given below, in the reign of the western **Sultân Piyarôja-sâha,** conspicuous by his *birudas Asîmapauruska* and so forth, the *Ṭhakura* **Kulachandaka,** — who held the post of governor of **Gayâ**, who followed in the footsteps of the prince **Vyâghra**, and was a son of the *Ṭhakura* **Hêmarâja** and a son's son of the Kshatriya, the *Ṭhakura* **Ḍâlâ**, a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, — at the sacred place of **Gayâ,** belonging to **Dakshiṇâgâra** in the country of **Udaṇḍapura,** restored the temple of the holy Dakshiṇâditya which had fallen into disrepair. The prose portion states besides that this inscription was written by the *Śâsanika* of Gayâ Śrîsêna (whom I take to be the person named Sir[i]sêna above) a son of the Kâyastha, the *Ṭhakura* Karṇasêna; and that the architect employed on the repair of the temple was Haridâsa.

Lines 9 and 10 contain two benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with a short prose passage of similar import.

The date, referred to above, is Śani-vâsara or Saturday, the 13th lunar day of the dark half of Mâgha, of the Vikrama year 1429; and corresponds, as I have shown above, p. 138, — for Vikrama 1429 expired and the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha, — to Saturday, the 22nd January, A.D. 1373. For the peculiar way in which the supposed founder of the Vikrama era is spoken of in line 6, we may compare the date of a Bengâlî MS. of the Vikrama year 1503, which I have given in full *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 180, No. 131.

The localities mentioned in the inscription are, besides **Ḍhilî** (*i.e.* Delhi), **Gayâ, Dakshiṇâgâra,** and the country of **Udaṇḍapura.** Of these, **Delhi** and **Gayâ** are well-known. The word **Dakshiṇâgâra,** denoting the district in which Gayâ was situated, I have not met with elsewhere. **Udaṇḍapura** should perhaps have been spelt Uddaṇḍapura, and so the name apparently occurs in another Gayâ inscription, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 143. Sir A. Cunningham[3] who has recognised the same name, under the form of Otantapura, in Târanâtha's account of the Magadha kings, at first was of opinion that the town intended might be the present Tandwa or Bishenpur Tandwa, about fifteen miles east of Gayâ. Later, however, he has adopted Mr. Beglar's suggestion that up to the time of the Muhammadan conquest Udaṇḍapura was the proper name of the town of Bihâr in the Patnâ District of Bengâl, which is said to be still known as Dand-Bihâr.

---

[2] *i.e.* Fîrûz Shâh, A.D. 1351-1388.

[3] Compare *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. III. p. 129, and Plate xi; Vol. VIII. p. 75; and Vol. XI. p. 185; *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 366; Kern's *Buddhismus*, German Ed., Vol. II. p. 545; and Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II. p. 314.

TEXT.[4]

1 Ôṁ[5] Gaṇapatayê namaḥ || Abhiprêt[6]-â[r]tha-siddhy-a[r]thaṁ pûjitô yaḥ surair=api |[7] sarvva-vighnam=apaharatu tasmai Gaṇâdhipatayê namaḥ || Srî-Sûryâya namaḥ || Prasâdatô[8] yasya ghan-ândhakârair=vviyukta-nâthaṁ kila chakravâkî | vyapêta-śôkâ labhatê din-âdau sadâ sa vaḥ pâtu

2 Sahasrabhânuḥ || **Asîma-râjyê nṛipa-Vikramâ[r]kkê gatê grah[air? ||[9]]=yugma-yugêndu-kâlê** | **Ḍhilîpati-srî-Piyarôjasâhê** bhuvaṁ samâśâsati vairi-dâhê || **Gay**=êti vitt=Âtmabhuvâ prithivyâṁ yad-âkhyayâ vra(bra)hma-purî manôjñâ | nivâsa-hêtôḥ khalu nirjjarâṇâm=ap[ôḍha][10]-vidhvaṁsa-pa-

3 [th]î [na]râṇâṁ || || Khyâtaḥ[11] kshitau kshatriya-vîra-[dh]îraḥ śrî-**Vyâghra**-râj-ânvaya-[yâta?]-śûraḥ | **Ḍâl**=êti nâmnâ diśi paśchimâyâm=aśrânta-râjanya-gaṇ-âśritâyâṁ || Tasy=ânvayê jâta udâra-kîrttiḥ Srîraṅga-pâd-â[rchcha]na-puṇya-mûrttiḥ | pûjyaḥ **sadâ** mâna-bhṛitâṁ yaśasvî śrî-**Hêmarâjaḥ** sa-

4 dayô vivêkî || Tasy[12]=âtmajô nîti-vichâra-dakshaḥ sad=aiva pûrṇṇ-ârthijan-âbhilâshaḥ | **Gay**-âdhikârî sukṛitî manîshî kul-âvalamvî(mbî) **Kulachanda** êshaḥ || **Gay**[13]=êti [sva]r-dvâra[14]-kapâṭa-bhêdî amôksha-bhâjâm=api môksha-dâyî | sa Dakshiṇârkkasya viśuddha-vu(bu)ddhiś=chakâra

5 kîrttiṁ va(ba)hu-kîrtti-nâ[thaḥ?][15] || Surâlayaṁ yaḥ kurutê praśastaṁ chirâya bhuktv=êha sukhaṁ narêśaḥ | samaṁ sad=aiva tridaś-âṅganâbhir=apâpa-dêhô divi môdatê saḥ || Karôtu kalyâṇam=alaṁ Dinêśaś=chiraṁ sa **Vaiyâghra**-nra(nṛi)pasya vaṁśê[16] | hataṁ tamô yêna sahasra-dhâmnâ

6 k[ṛi]tâ praśastiḥ Sir[i?][17]sêna-nâmnâ || Sarala-likhanaṁ yathâ || **Paramabhaṭṭârakêtyâdi-râjâvalî pûrvvavat srîmad-Vikramâdityadêva-nṛipatêr=atît-âvdê(bdê) samvata(t) 1429 Mâgha-kṛishṇa-trayôdaśyâṁ tithau Sanivâsar-ânvitâyâṁ** |[18] punar=asîmapaurush-ê-

7 tyâdi-sakala-viruda-râji-virâjamâna-**pâśchâtya-suratrâṇa-srî-Piyarôjasâha-râjyê** |[18] **śrîmad-Udaṁḍapura**-dêśê |[18] **Dakshiṇâgâra**-samva(mba)ndhi- |[18] -śrîmad-**Gayâkshêtrê**[19] paramavaishṇava-kshatriya-ṭhakura-śrî-**Ḍâlâ**-pautrêṇa ṭhakura-śrî-**Hêmarâja**-putrêṇa **Vyâghra**-râja-

---

[4] From impressions supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh). The third Pâda of this verse is quite incorrect. Probably, the intended reading was *sarva-vighna-haras=tasmai*.

[7] In the original, this sign of punctuation is here and in several places below denoted by a small circular line.

[8] Metre of this and the two next verses, Upêndravajrâ.

[9] At first *graha-yugma* appears to have been engraved, which would offend against the metre. But the signs for *ai* and *r* seem to have been added afterwards. I would translate — 'the time expressed by a pair, the (four) ages, and the (one) moon, accompanied by the (nine) planets,' *i. e.* 1429; see below, line 6.

[10] At first *pau* was engraved, but it appears to have been altered to *pô*; the following *akshara* may have been originally *ḍhâ* or *ḍhya*. Instead of *-pathî*, one would have expected *-pathô*. The general meaning of the verse I take to be that Gayâ, which by Brahman was judged to be a fit place of residence for the gods, also bars the ways to perdition for men.

[11] Metre, Indravajrâ; and of the next verse.

[12] Metre, Upajâti.

[13] Metre of this and the two next verses, Upêndravajrâ. There is an hiatus between the first and second Pâdas of this verse; the first half of the verse, besides, is grammatically incorrect; and the verse, taken as a whole, does not admit of a proper construction.

[14] This, though it offends against the metre, appears to be the intended reading; the engraver actually put *suradvâra*.

[15] Originally *-nâka* was engraved, but the last *akshara* has been somehow altered. It is not absolutely certain that *-nâthaḥ* is the true reading intended.

[16] Originally *vâṁsê* was engraved.

[17] Originally *Sarasena-* was engraved, but the impressions look as if the second *akshara* had been altered to *ri*, I take the name to be equivalent to *Srîsêna*, line 9, below.

[18] These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

[19] Here there is what looks like a sign of the *avagraha* which has been struck out again.

8 paddhati-śâlinâ thakura-śrî-Kulachaṁdakêna gṛihîta-Gay-âdhikârêṇa puṇyavatâ sakala-puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê mâtṛipitrôr[20]=âtmanaś=cha śrîmad-bhaṭṭâraka[21]-śrî-Dakshiṇâditya-sya patitâ kîrttir=uddhṛitâ || Likhitam=idaṁ Gayâ-śâsanikêna kâyastha-ṭha[22]-śrî-Karṇṇas[ê]na-sûnunâ śrîmatâ

9 Srîsênên=êti || Sûtradhârô Ssya Haridâsa-nâmâ || Subhaṁ[23]=astu sarvva-jagataḥ para-hita-niratâ bhavantu bhûta-gaṇâḥ | dôshâḥ prayântu nâśaṁ sarvvatra sukhî bhavatu lôkaḥ || Arthâḥ[24] pâda-raj-ôpamâ girinadî-vêg-ôpamaṁ yauvanaṁ mânushyaṁ jala-lôla-vindu-chapalaṁ phên-ôpamaṁ jî-

10 vitaṁ | dharmmaṁ yô na karôti niśchala-matiḥ svargg-ârggal-ôdghâ[ṭa*]naṁ paśchâttâpa-hatô jarâ-pariṇataḥ śôk-âgninâ dahyatê || Siddhir=aptu(stu) kâryê satâm=iti ||

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT NATESA SASTRI, M. F. L. S.

No. 37. — The Story of Atirûpa.

In the country of the Sêtupatis there lived a famous astrologer named Satyavâk. All through the country he was known as the greatest astrologer living, and it was said that whatever he foretold never proved untrue. Many came from the remotest parts of the earth to consult him, and to every one he imparted his advice gratis, never taking even a *kauḍi* from any one who came to him. Nor was Satyavâk rich. He was almost a pauper, although he was, at that time, the greatest authority on astrology. His only means of livelihood was begging for alms. He would take a bowl in his hand exactly at the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the day, and go about from house to house collecting rice. As soon as there was enough in his bowl to feed two people for the day, he would return home and hand over the rice to his wife. His only relative in this world was his wife. All the others he had lost. She was an extremely polite, contented and educated woman, and whatever her husband gave her she received with a cheerful countenance.

The pair led a happy life, notwithstanding their poverty, till, one day, the wife thought to herself: — " My lord is the greatest authority in a department of knowledge, which is most eagerly sought after by high and low. From the Sêtupati to the meanest subject dwelling in this country all consult him. Daily from early morning to the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the day he spends his time in giving advice. From the tenth to the fifteenth *ghaṭikâ* he goes out begging, and returns home only with enough to feed him and myself for the day. Again in the evening he spends his time in giving advice. What is his object in thus freely giving away his hard-earned knowledge for nothing? Here we are, husband and wife, and do we not want some money to make ourselves comfortable? When there is every opportunity for his earning a good income and even amassing great wealth, why should he be thus careless of utilizing it and thereby make himself rich? There must be some reason for it. I have been thus patiently bearing up till now. To-night I shall ask him." Thus thought she, and, reserving her curiosity till night should fall, she calmly waited for its approach.

Now, as soon as the heavy work of the day was over, Satyavâk used to retire for the night with his wife, but this night he missed the usual cheerfulness from her face. She seemed a little sad, and he knew very well that he had done nothing during the day, or indeed at any time, to displease her, for they were a most affectionate couple. So, being unable to guess the cause of her sadness, he thus spoke to her: —

" My dear wife! What is the matter with you to-night? We are leading such a holy and innocent life that even the higher powers should dread us! Such being the case, can any

---

[20] The proper form would be *mâtâpitrôr*.

[21] The *akshara ka* was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

[22] i.e. *ṭhakura-*

[23] Metre, Âryâ.

[24] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

human being have dared to offend us? Who has done you harm? What is the reason of your downcast-looks? Speak out, my love, and the offender, whoever he may be, shall cease to live! For, however poor we may be, our influence is so great, that we can soon bring the culprit to justice."

Thus spoke her husband, and ashamed of the weakness which had displeased her lord, who spoke so nobly, notwithstanding their poverty, and who, as she knew, valued wealth as nothing, she thus answered: —

"Most mighty husband, I know very well that, as long as I have the honour of being your wife, no being either on earth or heaven would dare to offend me. Your virtue ever stands by me as my guardian spirit. **Your very name enables me to roam over the whole world chaste and pure.** Even fire would fear to touch me! Such are the powers conferred on you by your virtue and good conduct; but, for all my happiness in this world in having you for my lord, I was made a little sad to-day from pondering over in my mind as to **why my lord should choose to be so very poor, when there is ample opportunity to make himself rich.** I could not understand why my husband, while he could afford to live like a king, should go begging every day. It was only this that made me sad and nothing else, and I respectfully request you now to dispel this confusion from my mind."

Thus ended the wife, and Satyavâk, smiling at her womanish simplicity, thus began: —

"My dearest wife! After all, you have shewn yourself to be a very woman! I took you to be much above that kind of thing. Having spent the whole of my life in astrology, **do you think that I have been so careless as not to cast our own horoscopes and to foresee our future?** If I had known that the acquisition of wealth would have made us happy, and would put us in a better condition hereafter, I should have been the greatest of fools to have disregarded it. What is wealth after all? It is an empty bauble, never steady for even a single moment. The acquisition of a small quantity of it fires the soul with the ambition to acquire more, till life is lost in the pursuit and all other duties forgotten. The last rung of that ladder has never been reached yet by any one. All who have been thus engaged, have given up their lives without ever having attained the full height of their ambition. People amass wealth, — hoard after hoard, — and still they sigh because further hoards are wanting. Wealth is the worst demon that ever lived in this world. In his pursuit sins are committed, to wash away which even the holy waters of the Ganges or of the sacred *Samudra Râja*, (ocean) have no power. Even wealth honestly got, if minutely examined, would be found to have, here and there, some flaws in it. It is to save ourselves from sins incident to the acquisition of wealth that I have been leading this simple and innocent life. As I have already told you, you are only a woman after all, and have fallen into the weakness of your sex in imagining that it is money that makes one happy, and not other and better things. I have to tell you now that **we are to have no children in this world to be of service to us in our old age. Our horoscopes say that.** How then would any amount of wealth make you happy? Foreseeing all this, and, **not wishing to make our already unfortunate life in this birth (janmâ) still more unfortunate at our next birth, I have chosen my present mode of life.** These are my reasons. As a sensible woman you must agree with me. What have we to care for in this world? Our own name and fame! I see that my remark, that we are to have no children, has already changed the colour of your face. You need not be so very sorry. I qualified that statement with the remark 'to be of service to us in our old age.' **We shall have a boy in our sixtieth year,** but he will not be of much use to us' **And you must not ask me any more questions!**"

Thus said Satyavâk, and his wife, who was all the while listening most eagerly to him, blamed herself for her imprudence in having shewn her weakness to her husband, and, being a good and educated lady, she readily perceived all the various points and arguments which made her lord adhere to the life he was then leading. Notwithstanding her extreme anxiety to know something more about her future son, she did not like to speak a word on that subject to Satyavâk,

as he had strictly forbidden her. So with a cheerful face she begged pardon, and in a moment became thoroughly reconciled to him. Ever after that memorable night she continued his most faithful and affectionate wife.

Just as he had foretold, Satyavâk had a boy in his sixtieth year. The child was very beautiful, and the parents named him Atirûpa, and in his fifth year his father commenced the onerous task of educating him. After giving him a general training for some years, he educated him in his own art of astrology, and of this Atirûpa soon became a master; so much so that before he had completed his sixteenth year he was much ahead of his own father. So famous became Atirûpa that people took a greater delight in consulting the son than the father about horoscopes and such things. Satyavâk never grudged the honour that was thus being shewn to his son. He was growing very old, and liked to be relieved of trouble in the decline of life. Thus, as the son grew more and more famous, the father allowed himself to be eclipsed in reputation.

The same mode of life was continued by the family. At the tenth *ghaṭikâ* old Satyavâk went out to beg, and returned with just enough rice to feed three.

One day the father went out as usual, and his old wife busied herself in getting things ready for the morning meal. Their son was, meanwhile, sitting outside the house reading a chapter of the Bṛihajjâtaka,[1] when suddenly there stood before him the king Sêtupati.

"Is your father at home?" asked the sovereign.

"No, my lord! He has just gone out. But I see from Your Majesty's face that some enemy has invaded your country, and you are come to consult my old father as to whether it would be advisable for Your Majesty to march against the invader. In other words, whether the attempt would be successful. I say 'no.' Saturn must now be in the eighth mansion of your horoscope, and so all your attempts must prove unsuccessful. You had better calmly retire into a forest with your family and children, and at the close of the third year from this date you may get back your kingdom without any direct attempt. There is no time to waste. The enemy, half a *ghaṭikâ* ago, entered the town by the East Gate. So run off."

Thus said the boy, and, before the king could open his lips, there came a hasty messenger panting for breath, and said: — "The enemy has entered by the East Gate. We are all undone. There was a most sudden and unexpected attack!"

The king ran in haste to look after his family, and, just as he was hastening away, Satyavâk returned, and his son related to him everything.

On hearing the story even the contented and philosophic disposition of Satyavâk gave way. He placed his bowl on the verandah, and wept profusely. Never, in the whole course of his life before had he let fall a tear from his eyes. But now they fell in profusion.

"Why do you weep, my most holy father?" cried out the son.

This brought his mother running out of the house, and when she saw her lord in tears, even without knowing the cause, she began to weep out of sympathy. The son's eyes, too, began to moisten, and, thus, in a moment, all three began to weep without exactly knowing why. This continued for a time, till the mother, sobbing, said: —

"Why is the face of the donor of prosperity to the whole world wet with tears to-day? Will my lord explain?"

Said he: — "I bore with my misery calmly till to-day without disclosing it to you and making you a sharer in it; but to-day's misfortunes have been too much for me! I could no longer bear it, and so I wept. Did I not tell you a long time ago that our son would be of no

[1] A work on astrology.

service to us in our old age? That was a mild way of saying that his life would be a short one! I did not like to wound a mother's heart with so terrible a statement. Only eighteen years are given to our Atirûpa in his horoscope; and, already, the sixteenth year is drawing to a close. He has only two years more to live, and then we shall lose him. The thought of this and of the vast amount of rare knowledge that he has acquired brought this sorrow upon me. What child of an astrologer has ever before, in his sixteenth year, so clearly foreseen the fortunes of the king of the country? Is it because the life of our Atirûpa was made so short that God gave him such superior intellectual powers? O ye gods, how cruel you are towards your own creatures!"

Thus ended the old man, unable to proceed further, and choking with his sorrow. His wife fell to the ground, like a tree cut at the root, and the boy perceived that he was the cause of all this misery of his parents. He consoled them by degrees, and cheered them up, asking his father for his horoscope. He then began to examine it minutely before his anxious parents, and at last pronounced it to have been wrongly cast, for certain reasons. His arguments were so cogent and persuasive that Satyavâk, too, began to waver in his opinion. Atirûpa, seizing the opportunity, clearly proved to his father that he would live for a full century; that the horoscope must say so if it had been rightly cast; and that all this trouble had occurred owing to its having been wrongly cast. He then corrected and re-wrote his horoscope with very sound arguments for such corrections, and made his father believe beyond doubt that his son was to live for a hundred years, and not to meet his death in his eighteenth year. His mother, too, was pretty nearly satisfied, and, thus, in a few *ghaṭikâs*, after a great deal of trouble on the part of Atirûpa, peace was restored to the minds of his parents, and everything went on as usual.

Now this was all a trick of Atirûpa. Finding that his parents were dispirited on his account, he had, for the nonce, invented a lie; for the moment that Atirûpa saw his horoscope he was more than convinced that death was inevitable in his eighteenth year. But, fresh from his studies, and actuated with the motive of calming the feelings of his parents, he had boldly, by reason of his minute knowledge, brought forth arguments to falsify his horoscope, and his doting father, who had wavered in his belief, readily took in what he had said.

Although his parents fully believed in what Atirûpa had said, he was ill at ease in his mind. He had really the greatest regard for his father, and extreme confidence in his predictions and statements. Knowledge is one for all. The same principles which had told Satyavâk that Atirûpa was not to live for more than eighteen years, indicated to his son also that his life current ran only up to that point.

His life, then, in the world, was only to be for two years more, but meanwhile he had a strong desire to perform a pilgrimage to Banâras to perform the prescribed religious rites for his parents, and he knew very well that, if he spoke about it to his father, he would be the last person to give him permission. He hardly knew how to act, and, in order not to arouse any suspicions by doing things hastily, he waited for six months more, and spent that period most happily with his old and affectionate parents.

One day, as Atirûpa was sitting in the verandah of the house, he thought to himself as follows:— "Ever since I expounded my horoscope, my old father believes that I shall live fully a hundred years. But I know for certain, if astrology is a science at all, that I shall die in a year and a half. Wherever I go this must happen. I cannot avoid it. If I remain at home and die here, my parents must also die broken-hearted, but if I run away from home they, who are still under the illusion that I shall live for a hundred years, will anxiously await my return, and die a natural death. For I am certain that I shall soon depart to a place from which no one has ever returned. It is much better to put them to a little trouble and anxiety now and fly from home, than to stay behind and die in their presence, and thus be the cause of their death for grief for me. I shall not run away in vain either, for I shall proceed to Banâras, and there

before my end approaches, I shall have performed all the rites necessary for the salvation of my parents and myself."

Thus thought Atirûpa and made up his mind to be off the next morning before dawn, and, as that was to be the last day in his life under his parents' roof, he was unusually cheerful. But instead of retiring to rest at the usual appointed time, Atirûpa kept his father engaged in conversation to a late hour of the night. At length the aged couple retired to rest, and Atirûpa did so, too, with tears in his eyes at the thought of the morrow's parting. But sleep he could not. He walked round and round the house; handled each palm-leaf volume on astrology, wept over it, and replaced it in its original position; went to the spot where his father used to take his seat while teaching his son; stood there for a short time and wept over it, and thus paid his last visit to every familiar part of his humble dwelling. When the night had almost drawn to a close — "shall I run away or not?" thought Atirûpa. Sometimes he thought it best to go, sometimes that he would stay at home and take his chance. At last the original resolve prevailed, and, packing up a small bundle of clothes and with nothing in hand, he left his home!

"The launch is always difficult and afterwards everything becomes smooth," runs the proverb. Even so Atirûpa found it in his case. He who had had so much difficulty in quitting his home, found his mind soon made easy. The thought consoled him that in a year and a half he would be alive no more, while his parents would still be expecting his return, and be thus spending their days in less grief than if he had remained and died in their presence. He walked on as fast as he could. He begged his meals on his way, and without showing that he knew anything of astrology, lest he should give a clue as to where he had gone, he went onwards like an ordinary beggar, walking all day and sleeping at night.

After travelling thus for nearly two months he reached the city of Chandragiri. Now Atirûpa was from the south, and the people there did not understand his language, and though he begged in several places, no one would feed him. For the first time in his journey he found it difficult to live. "My difficulties have commenced in earnest now; God knows where they will end," thought he.

The day was almost drawing to a close, and our hero had not yet had his meal and rest. He wandered about the streets in the evening twilight, when a grand *paṇḍâl* met his eyes. The place had the appearance of marriage festivities, and he thought that if he went there he would be fed along with the rest, and he was not wrong in his expectation. It was the minister's house, and grand preparations were going on for the marriage of his son with the beautiful princess of Chandragiri. There were yet a couple of days before that happy event would take place; but the preparations had been going on for some weeks. The feasting of poor Brâhmans had also begun, and so Atirûpa, after some difficulty in explaining himself, discovered that the feeding would begin at the tenth *ghaṭikâ* of the night, and that until then he might rest where he liked. Constant walking had made him thoroughly weary, and, though he might lose his food, he did not like to lose the opportunity of resting his wearied limbs. Near the *paṇḍâl* there was a big mansion, — evidently belonging to a rich person. No one was outside the house, and it had a big verandah. Atirûpa got on to this, and, retiring to a corner, covered his body with his cloth and fell asleep. The night had just set in, and sleep soon overtook our hero.

Leaving him for a while to rest, let us return to his parents. They got up as usual, and missed their son. At first they thought that he must have gone out early that day to the river to bathe, and as he had not returned after the tenth *ghaṭikâ*, they thought he must have gone to the adjacent village to see a friend. But even on the third day their son had not returned. Thus one day after another passed, and Atirûpa never returned! As the days passed the anxiety of the parents became greater. They searched the whole country to the best of their ability, and obtained here and there slight hints that their son had gone on

a pilgrimage to the holy Ganges, and that he would return in the course of three or four years. These hints had purposely been dropped on his way by the clever Atirûpa, and he had managed so well that he gave hope and yet no hope. So his aged parents, after a good deal of searching, gave up their pursuit as hopeless. Sometimes they thought that Atirûpa had gone to the north on a pilgrimage; at other times that he had gone to some unknown place.

"I told you, wife, that we are so unfortunate in this world that our son would be of no service to us. First I thought that it meant his death, at the age of eighteen, according to my calculations. Atirûpa cleverly proved this to be false, but what of that after all? He may live for a hundred years, but he has left us! Let him prosper somewhere or other happily. Enough if he returns before we die and consoles us. But I do not think that such happiness will ever occur to us."

Thus Satyavâk continued to console his poor wife, and little by little the pair ceased to sorrow for their lost son.

To return to Chandragiri, where we left our hero asleep. Chandragiri was governed by a king, who had a very beautiful and educated daughter. He searched for a suitable match for a long time, and, confiding in his minister, one day he called him to his side, and said to him: —

"My good minister, my daughter, the princess, is growing older day by day, and still you have secured no suitable match for her. How long are we to be kept in anxiety?"

The minister replied: — "My lord! Give me leave for a month, and I will go down to the southern countries, and get you portraits of all the princes in that direction. Your Majesty can choose the most beautiful face from among them."

"Very well," said the king, and granted him leave. But the minister was a treacherous rogue, and never utilized his leave for any journey to the south. He spent the whole of it quietly in some distant corner of the king's dominions, drawing from pure imagination half a dozen awkward pictures of several supposed princes of the south. On the expiry of his leave the minister produced these pictures and said:—

"My most gracious sovereign, with the nimble feet of a deer I have roamed over all the southern countries, and bring you these pictures. This picture represents the face of the Pâṇḍyan Prince, than whom no handsomer man ever existed in the south. That picture represents the Chêra Yuvarâja. That one represents the Chôḷa Prince."

"Throw them all away," said the king, "I do not like even a single face from among them." How could he, when they had been purposely made awkward by the cunning minister?

Again after one or two months the minister took leave for a journey to the north to fetch suitable bridegrooms, and this time, also, the same trick was played. Thus did the minister deceive the Chandragiri sovereign several times, till the old king was entirely disappointed, believing that all his minister had said was truth, and nothing but the truth.

Now, besides his daughter, the king had no child, and so, after her father, the whole kingdom of Chandragiri would devolve upon her; and he who married her would become the King of Chandragiri. The minister of Chandragiri had a fair son, but he was not educated, and his father determined to get him married to the princess, and thus place him on the throne. So he made the king think there was no prince, whom he could choose as a fit bridegroom for his only daughter. The king was lost in meditation, and did not know what to do. But one evening the minister suddenly appeared with another picture in his hand, and with a joyful face.

"What! Have you, after all, succeeded in finding a suitable match?" asked the king.

"I think I have, my lord; but that is what I say every time that I approach Your Majesty. I cannot be certain of my success till Your Majesty has given your own opinion," answered the minister politely.

In his eagerness the king snatched the picture, and for the first time in his examination of pictures his face smiled, and he said replied, "Whose picture is this?"

The minister replied, "I will tell you, my lord; but are you, in any way, satisfied with it?"

"Most assuredly," said the king. "Tell me whose picture it is?"

"It is my son, my lord," replied the minister.

"Then," said the king, "we are like the old woman in the fable, who went in search of *ghî* when she had a great quantity of butter in her house. Why didn't you tell me that you had such a fair son? I would have gladly given him my daughter in marriage long ago, and saved you all the trouble of going now to the north, now to the south, and now to other directions."

The minister then explained that he did not like to be so selfish; that he had tried his best to find the best bridegroom; and that, when all his efforts proved vain, he had resolved to shew to his master his own son's picture!

Now, the minister's son was, no doubt, fair, but his father had purposely made the portrait more beautiful than the original, and at last his object was gained; for the king, not to lose any more time, at once fixed upon the fifteenth day of the approaching fortnight as the marriage day of his daughter. It was for this marriage that so many grand preparations were going on at Chandragiri when Atirûpa arrived there, and it chanced that the place in which he slept was the minister's own house.

Every one in the town of Chandragiri was rejoicing at the approaching festivity, except the minister. He had, it is true, after so many stratagems, succeeded in his great ambition, and the grand day was approaching fast. There were now only two days more, or rather two nights and one day, — for, on the morning of the third day, the happy marriage for which he had been working so hard was to come on, and still he was sad. For, alas! **the day fixed for the wedding was that on which the epileptic fits, to which his son was liable, came upon him.** The boy had epileptic attacks every alternate day, of a most virulent type. They began early in the morning, and lasted till late in the afternoon. Every other day the boy was in a most horrible plight from the fifth to the twentieth *ghaṭikâ* of the day. This was why his education had never been cared for. The minister, however, took such care, that no one in the town knew anything of his malady besides the inmates of his house, on whom he had imposed such strict penalties, should they reveal it, that no one ever dared to open his lips on the subject.

"Let the marriage rites pass off successfully, and then it does not matter much if the king finds out that my son is an epileptic," thought the minister.

But, unfortunately for him, the day fixed for the marriage was that on which the epileptic attack returned, and he did not know how to get over the difficulty. If he proposed a change of day it might lead to some suspicion or other, and the match might be broken off, and his highest ambition baulked.

After pondering the matter over in his mind for a few days he resolved upon celebrating the marriage on the day fixed.

"What if it is the day my boy is attacked? I shall not let him go through the marriage at all but will **put some one disguised in his place.** This person shall perform the rites in my son's, stead, and thus the formal marriage will take place. I shall so arrange as to send away the substitute next day, and I shall amply reward the priests, who will be my tools in this affair. Even among them it is only a few that have seen my boy."

Thus thought the minister, and for a moment care fled from his face. He imagined that he had already successfully accomplished his object; when, suddenly, his face again changed colour, as he thought he had landed himself upon new difficulties.

"Where to find the substitute?" thought he. "First of all, he must be young and beautiful, and he must be a perfect stranger to this place, and he must be entirely at our mercy."

But how to find him and where? For the time was fast approaching! In this state of mind the minister came out of his house on the night on which our hero went to sleep on his verandah.

The minister was so ferocious a personage, that no one dared to approach him or speak to him when he was moody or occupied with his own thoughts. His servants knew him very well, and avoided him always on such occasions. So on the night in question, he was standing all alone in front of his house, near the tenth *ghaṭikâ*, just as people from several directions were walking to the dining-place behind the *paṇḍâl*, bent on feeding at another's expense. By and by the bustle of the hastening crowd calmed down, and eating commenced; but the minister's mind still continued agitated. He still saw no hope of his getting out of his difficulties. This brought on such a feeling of disappointment over his mind, that he was almost weeping as he stood there alone. While thus lost in sorrow and misery, he thought he heard some one snoring in a corner of his long verandah.

"Who could it be, sleeping there so soundly? What must be the audacity of the fool, who had chosen *this* house to sleep in? But let me see. It may be a poor Brâhmaṇ, who has lingered here for a meal and fallen asleep. I will awake him, and send him to the dining-hall."

Thus thinking, the minister slowly walked up to the spot. There was a light in the verandah, but the face of the sleeper was covered with a cloth.

"Ah, I see. It must be one of my servants, who has thus fallen asleep at his duty of watching the house. I have caught the wretch now, and will dismiss him."

Thinking thus, the minister removed the cloth from the face. The exhausted Atirûpa never stirred an inch. He slept on, and what did the minister see? A beautiful face, fairer than his own son's, and thus approaching almost the representation he had given to the king. Again, the age of the boy, who was asleep, was almost equal to that of his son. So perfect a duplicate was he, as the minister thought, of his own son, that he was charmed at the discovery. To crown his great success, the boy appeared to be a stranger to Chandragiri.

"Has fortune conducted me to this boy to-night?" thought the minister, and at once roused him from his sleep."

"Who are you, Sir?" asked the minister, and the boy did not reply.

"Do you know Telugu?" asked the minister. The boy nodded his head to indicate that he did not know it.

"Sanskṛit?" asked the lord of the house.

"Yes," said the boy.

The minister was overjoyed to find that the person was a perfect stranger, and, without wasting any time, the minister secretly took the boy inside, and told him that he would help him in every way, if he only promised to obey his orders. All that Atirûpa wanted was a sum of money large enough to enable him to continue his journey to Banâras, and perform the intended ceremonies there. That the minister promised, and Atirûpa was well fed and left to rest for the night.

Next morning the minister explained to him his plan, and asked Atirûpa to take the place of his son and celebrate the marriage with the princess. But he must not reveal the secret to anyone, and as soon as the marriage was over he was to proceed on his journey to

Banâras, for which the minister would arrange and amply supply him with funds. Never, again, in his life was Atirûpa ever to turn towards that direction. The arrangements were thus successfully made, and to the repeated questions of the minister as to his parentage, &c., Atirûpa kept silent, and only gave out that he was a poor Brâhmaṇ.

Thus, on his pilgrimage towards the north, our hero was detained for a day or two on account of a sham marriage! Refusal would only have endangered his head, for his keen sense told him that he was in the hands of the minister. And our hero also thought to himself:—

"Why should I chide prosperity that throws itself in my way? I am now a wandering beggar, travelling over strange countries, with not a *kauḍî* in my hand. There is this minister, who promises to arrange conveniently for my journey, if I oblige him. In addition to my obliging him and getting myself obliged, there is another object attained by this my sham marriage. As long as I remain a bachelor I am debarred from celebrating certain ceremonies at Banâras, Gayâ, and other places. Fortunately, without my ever expecting it, my bachelorhood will also be removed. I can, with full liberty, then perform all the rites at those holy places. So I am, in no way, a loser."

Atirûpa thought thus, and freely gave his consent to all the projects of the minister, and at last the marriage day came. Grand preparations went on over the whole town. A great *paṇḍâl* had already been erected between the minister's mansion and the royal palace, along which the bridegroom had to be conducted from his house to the bride's house, where the rites were to be performed, and during the whole of that day the boy could not leave the girl's house. Agreeably to all these rules, Atirûpa was cleverly transformed into the minister's son by being profusely decorated from head to foot, whereby only a portion of his face was visible. In this guise he was conducted to the marriage-hall in the royal palace. The princess, who was an intelligent and beautiful girl, was waiting with the greatest eagerness to get a secret glance at her future husband, and was delighted at heart to see that her chosen lord was fair to see and intelligent withal. The marriage ceremonies were gone through, and were very long, tedious and tiresome. Several oblations were offered to the sacred fire, and Atirûpa performed them all. Every one there assembled thought him the minister's son, and one or two that knew the secret never opened their lips. They were not only largely bribed, but were threatened with the loss of their heads, if they broke their trust. Thus the marriage was celebrated, and the formal cord of the completion of the marriage ceremony was tied round the neck of the princess by Atirûpa — the supposed minister's son — towards the close of the day, amidst the beat of drums and sound of music. The remaining rites were hastily gone through, and the auspicious hour for the entry into the decorated hall to spend the night was fast approaching.

This is a business left entirely to the management of the elder ladies of the household. Neither the priests nor the males of the household have any voice in it. As soon as the ladies appear they must retire from the scene, and according to this custom, and before the minister or the priest had any notice of it, the ladies walked in, and amidst their sweet songs and blessings conducted the newly married couple into the decorated hall. As soon as that was reached and the couple walked in, the queen, who was the mother of the bride, locked the door and carried away the key, as is the custom in Hindu society on the first day of the marriage.

Then, alone in a spacious hall, decorated on all sides, Atirûpa had the fortune of meeting a princess! He flung his heavy ornaments down on the ground, and sat silent. The princess, vexed to see her lord so sad, placed before him all kinds of fruits, sweetmeats and other dishes that were in the hall.[3] On seeing them and tasting a little, Atirûpa felt his hunger unappeased and sang a Sanskṛit verse, the meaning of which the princess, though a highly educated lady, was not able to understand. The sweet voice and the majestic tone with which Atirûpa had

[3] On the first day of the marriage and in the decorated hall meant for the couple to sleep in, all these eatables are left previously by the elder ladies of the house.

sung it delighted her, and so did the thought that her lord was no ordinary person, and that he was as fair in mind as in body. She tried her best to arrive at the meaning, but could not. She fell at her lord's feet, and requested him respectfully to expound the meaning of the verse he had just sung; and with a clear and silvery tone Atirûpa began the exposition, and after two hours' commentary concluded it thus: —

"Sweetmeats, fruits, &c., to a hungry stomach are like beauty to unchaste women. Rice alone is the food I now most need to satisfy my hunger, as it is chastity alone which a woman needs to be called beautiful."

The princess rose up, and without saying a word arranged upside down on the floor in the form of a hearth, three silver cups, in which scented sandalwood, paste, rose water and other things had been placed. There was *akshata*[3] in abundance standing in a platter at the side of the room. She took it, washed a portion of it in milk, which had been placed in the room, and, putting it in a silver milk jug with milk in it, set the pot over the overturned silver cups. Below these she placed scented sticks and sandal wood, which she found in the room, and in a minute lighted a fire. In less than a *ghaṭikâ* the washed *akshata* and the milk were cooked into boiled rice. The princess emptied the rice into a silver platter, and placed it before her lord. Atirûpa was lost in admiration at the readiness of the princess. Glad at heart that he was fortunate enough to term that intelligent lady his wife, for a short time at least (for he was sure to be sent out of the city by the minister the next morning), he dragged the platter before him. He eyed the princess with joy in his face, and politely requested her to sit by his side and partake of the meal with him, as she, too, must be hungry.

Now, during Hindu marriage ceremonies, the ritual takes up so much time, that brides and bridegrooms have scarcely any leisure for a convenient and hearty meal. The princess, proud of the company of such a beautiful and intelligent husband, sat by his side, but she ate little. She was so delighted with the verse that she requested her husband to repeat it again, and carefully copied it on the wall of the hall. After a long conversation about the various departments of knowledge with which each were acquainted, they retired to rest. Each was overjoyed, and thanked God, who, in His superior judgment, had brought them together in this world as husband and wife. Never was there a happier pair in the world than Atirûpa and the princess.

Leaving our hero to his hard-earned repose after an adventurous day and night, let us return to the minister. Before he could arrange to substitute his son in the place of the poor Brâhmaṇ boy, the ladies of the palace and Her Majesty the queen herself had outwitted him. He did not like to display any of his awkward blunders, and returned home a little sad no doubt, but glad that the marriage had gone off successfully, that throughout the whole ceremony the people assembled there thought that it was his son, who sat as the bridegroom, and that no suspicion had arisen on that head. He would fetch his supposed son in the early morning from the decorated chamber, and send the poor Brâhmaṇ boy away:— "The secret will be between myself and that fool of a Brâhmaṇ. From to-morrow my son will be the husband of the princess, and the heir-apparent to the throne of Chandragiri."

In this way the minister consoled himself, and before sun-rise sent his palanquin to the palace to bring home his supposed son, the bridegroom. In accordance with custom the palanquin from the minister's mansion waited near the princess's bed-chamber. The queen opened the door, and, seeing her son-in-law enter the palanquin, she entered her daughter's chamber and conducted her to her own room. Now, though the happy couple had retired to rest the previous night, they had never a wink of sleep, for one conversation led to another, and each found the company of the other so sweet, that time flew away without their noticing it, till the palanquin was announced. To the credit of our hero be it said that he never told

[3] Rice grain mixed with turmeric used in auspicious ceremonies.

the princess that he was not the minister's son, nor did he give her any information about his parentage. He had, however, in a careless moment, let out that he was bent upon a pilgrimage to Banâras. At the same time the princess never doubted her lord to be any other than the son of the minister. Thus, each trusted the other, and, expecting to open their hearts more freely the next time they met, they parted reluctantly in the morning.

The second day's rites must commence soon, and so the princess retired in haste to prepare herself for them, and expected to meet her lord, though not to speak with him, in the midst of an assembly.

Let us now follow our hero in the palanquin. As soon as it was set down, the minister conducted his supposed son Atirûpa into his chamber, the doors of which were closed behind them. Our hero imagined for a moment that after all he was not destined to live to his eighteenth year, as the hand of some assassin could now put an end to his life: but it was not so. The fortune that gave him the princess gave him also his life. The minister was the first to speak: —

"Poor wretch! I meant to use you for my purpose only; but circumstances have carried you further than I intended. It is no blame of yours. Get into the same palanquin. I have left in it six bags, each containing 500 *mohars*. I have posted bearers on the way, and they will conduct you for two days and nights to the boundary of our empire. Take the coins with you, and fly to any country you like. If you turn back and place your feet in our dominions, your head shall be cut off. I have issued orders to this effect. I have a mind to do so now, but the thought that I had placed you for a day at least in the position of my son, softens my temper. Fly."

Atirûpa was not allowed even a minute to reply. He was neither dissatisfied nor murmured. He was glad he was no more a bachelor, and as such had the full privilege of performing all the religious rites, prescribed by the sacred books of his religion, for his parents. There was the money promised for his expenses, and what more did he need? If he was ever destined to live in the world he was sure that the lady, who had given him her company on the previous night, would still own him as her lord. While these thoughts were passing and repassing through his mind, the Minister suddenly put him into the palanquin and gave the orders. The bearers, who had been previously instructed, started off on their journey. Without moving a muscle Atirûpa sat in the palanquin, and continued his journey; but now and then his mind flew back to the princess and her excellent accomplishments in everything.

While our hero was riding in a palanquin instead of walking on foot, the minister — glad at heart that the occasion, on which he would observe his son seated by the side of the princess, had at last come — conducted him joyfully to the sacred place. The priests had already assembled there, and begun their preliminary rites. The princess was seated in a corner of the hall with her lady friends to give her lord her company in the oblations to the sacred fire. The beauty, the learning, the magnanimous conduct in everything of her lord was so prominent in her mind that she was pondering over all the conversation of the previous night.

Just at the fifth *ghaṭikâ* it was announced that the bridegroom was entering the marriage-hall. Every eye was turned towards him. Only one person there knew that it was a different person, who was now approaching the hall. The same dress, the same ornaments and decorations, the same stature, the same colour; but one in that hall knew that now her life was hopeless. With more than the curiosity of the rest, she, too, turned her eyes in the direction of her approaching lord, but her eyes failed to catch the intelligent face that had expounded, with such nicety, the intricate Sanskṛit verse of the previous night. Her confusion and dismay were immense. But weakness might bring shame on her whole family; — might, perhaps, even endanger the very life of her real lord! So she resumed her composure, and, going up to the minister's son, sat beside him, as she had done the previous day by the side of Atirûpa. The rites proceeded, and she freely lent her help. The minister was highly

elated at the thorough success of his tricks, and that he had won a princess for a daughter-in-law and an empire for his son.

Meanwhile the princess swore in her heart to be virtuous, if the great god would give her back her real husband. She sat now with a sham husband merely to preserve her family dignity. Her heart was not in the affair, and she would rather murder the substituted husband with her own hands than prove false to the true one. The second day also drew to a close, and, in accordance with the custom, in the early part of the night, the minister's son and the princess were conducted to the bridal-chamber and the door was locked. But now that the princess was alone with her sham husband her anger knew no bounds. She was the first to speak :—

"Stand there at the door, and don't stir one step and sully my room! Tell me the honest truth. Who are you? If you are a mean wretch, placed in this position by others, I shall pity and release you."

The minister's son replied : — "I am your husband."

Before he had closed his mouth she had unsheathed a sword, and at the very sight of it an epileptic fit began. Seeing the poor wretch in such a helpless plight she put the sword back into its sheath, and raised an alarm. The door was immediately opened.

"There, take away your son-in-law. He has got epilepsy," said the princess, standing at the remotest corner of the room, to her mother.

Now no one knew the cause of this but the minister, who was still there, for the whole thing had happened so quickly that none of the party outside the hall had had time to go home. Cursing his fate, which had brought on the attack so quickly, the minister carried the bridegroom home.

"What is the matter, daughter?" said the queen.

"Mother, dear; if you wish me to live in this world, do not, please, talk upon this subject till I tell you everything," replied the daughter.

There was now confusion and dismay throughout the palace, but still no one knew the cause of the strange occurrence on the second day of the marriage.

Still, the ceremonials could not be neglected, and those of the third day were continued. The princess and the minister's son, again sat together in the hall, and, again entered the bed chamber : — the third time for the princess, the second time for the minister's son.

Said the princess to him just as the door was being shut : — "Fool that you are, that dare to approach again the bridal-chamber! I have allowed you admittance to-night, as I wanted to give you certain advice. Stand there in the place you stood last night, and hear what I have to say. You are not fit even to be the dust on my lord's feet. How did you dare, then, to assume this position? Tell me the whole truth, or you shall soon know the consequences of refusal!"

The minister's son, seeing that his life was in danger, and, giving up all hope of ever winning the princess for his wife, related, with fear and agitation, everything, except that about her real husband he could give the princess no more information than that he was a poor Brâhmaṇ boy, picked up for the occasion by the minister, and that he had been safely conducted out of the Chandragiri dominions by the orders of his father.

This news gave the greatest consolation to the princess. She was glad to hear that her lord was still alive, and that there was no fear for his life for the present. So great a soul would, of course, prosper wherever he might go.

Then, turning to the minister's son, she said : — "Never, again, set your feet in my room. You may attend my father's court as the king's son-in-law, and receive the

customary presents, and do all that you like as regards the outer world. But if you ever dare to call me your wife, or approach my room, or write to me, or send messengers to me, I'll have you beaten to death!"

The minister's son received the order, and called to his father, who was waiting outside, for fear that something might happen that night also. The door was soon opened, and the minister's son left that chamber for ever.

Ever after that day, the princess kept to her own room, and only came out for her meals. That her real lord should return and claim her was her one desire. To her he was everything. Her parents observed the great change that had come over her. She gave up her usual ornaments and decorations, and clad herself in the meanest of her attire. She renounced flowers and scents, which had been her special taste. She had always slept on the softest of silken cushions, but now curled herself up on the bare ground when sleep overpowered her. Regular sleep she had none, and she always awoke with a start. She, who had always dwelt in summer-houses made cool by a thousand and one artifices, now she took her seat between five sacrificial fires (*pañchâgni*), and did penance. To no one did she explain the mystery of her sorrow, and no one dared to ask her, for so great was the awe she was held in by all, even by her very parents.

The minister's son was so much ashamed of the treatment he had received from the princess, that he never opened his mouth about it to any one. He often frequented the palace as the king's son-in-law, and had due regard paid to him on that account, but even to his father he never said a word, notwithstanding repeated questions, threats and solicitations; and in this way days and months and years passed.

The object of the princess's penance was to regain her original lord, but no one except herself knew of this. Meanwhile the minister's son, as the royal son-in-law, received due honours and presents, and as he was a fair boy, and no one knew the secret of his disease, all expected that, sooner or later, the husband and wife would be reconciled. No one, however, dared to suggest a reconciliation and as to the minister's son, the very name of the princess sometimes brought on the fear of the unsheathed sword, and a visit of his disease. So he never dared to approach her, and, at the slightest hint that she was moving at a distance, he would glide away unobserved. He was content to be called the son-in-law of His Majesty, and his father, the minister, too, was glad, in a way, that some day or other the empire of Chandragiri would devolve upon his son.

Thus, a full year and a couple of months passed, and the princess was still engaged in her severe penance. Her life was so pure, so chaste and so simple, that no one had the heart to stay her. But, one day, her old father said: —

"My dearest daughter, you are my only child; I had a great desire to see you, in my old age, married and happy with a husband. But ever since your wedding day you have become thoroughly changed. Is this ascetic's life the life which a princess should lead? Speak out, my dear, and let me know the misery that so affects you."

Replied the princess: — "My most noble father; **all that I do now is for the good of my husband.** Don't ask me any more questions, till I tell you everything after my desires are accomplished. Till then leave me to myself. I may soon want some money, and please let me have it."

The determined air with which the princess spoke, her simple and innocent look, and the pleasure with which she evidently led her ascetic life for the time being, kept the king dumb, and he ordered his treasurer to give the princess whatever she required. **She now began to order travellers' rest-houses to be erected at every tenth kôs from her city to Banâras,** and put servants in each with instructions to entertain the pilgrims that might pass and repass to and from Banâras. Every convenience of the pilgrims was to be attended to.

Meanwhile, as soon as Atirûpa had reached the borders of the Chandragiri dominions, he got down from the palanquin, thanked the bearers for not having murdered him on the way, took possession of the wealth the minister had left, and proceeded towards Banâras. Now that he was amply provided with funds, he found his journey very convenient, and reached that holy city in a couple of months. As he was sure of never living beyond his eighteenth year, he never thought again of his wife, the princess. What hope was there in him of his ever regaining her? The minister's plans he knew well enough, and the care with which he watched for him he could well imagine! So Atirûpa never looked back upon Chandragiri, nor did he ever think of returning back.

He spent a few months at Banâras in performing the holy rites, and then proceeded to Prayâga. Here our hero went to an old woman, and, giving her all the money he had in hand, requested her to regard him as her own son, and feed him. She was a good-natured dame, and treated Atirûpa very kindly. In order not to be idle he let his knowledge of astrology be known, and thousands flocked to him to profit by his art. So, our hero thus led a good life, performing rites, distributing his knowledge, and engaged in devotion. The close of his eighteenth year was now fast approaching. The thought made him sad, but he always kept the secret to himself. Even to the kind old lady, who every day became more and more attached to him, he never said a word about it. As his end drew nearer he avoided public paths, and proceeded to the Ganges for his bath by a lonely footpath through an unfrequented jungle. He adopted this precaution so that people might not observe him at the time of his death. All this time, at Chandragiri, the princess was still at her penance, and his poor parents, at Sêtupati's capital, were anxiously expecting the return of their son.

At last the fatal day arrived, and while Atirûpa, after his morning bath, was returning home by his lonely path to his adopted mother, his foot slipped while going up a step, made slippery by some rain that had fallen, and he fell down dead! His body lay unnoticed, for very few people passed by that lonely path.

Now, the moment of Atirûpa's death was exactly the moment when the princess's austerity and penance fructified. The god Mahêśa appeared before her, and requested to know the object of her austere devotions.

"O most holy god," said she, falling at his feet; "I want to gain back my husband."

"We have granted this boon to you, overcome by your sincere devotion; your lord will soon return back to you," said Mahêśa, and disappeared.

From that moment the princess's face changed, and for the first time, since that fatal second day of her marriage, when she missed her husband's face, she felt happy.

"Mahêśa has granted my boon; my noble husband will return to me soon now. Let it be days, weeks, months, or years! I shall wait patiently," thought she. But though this thought consoled her greatly, still she did not care to shew to others that she was happy, so long as her husband's whereabouts remained unknown. Meanwhile, she issued strict orders to the several agents in her rest-houses between Banâras and Chandragiri, that every pilgrim, who passed or repassed that way, was to be carefully entertained and attended to.

Meanwhile, the old woman at Prayâga missed Atirûpa, and did not know how to account for it.

"Our boy has never been irregular, even for a single day, since he came to live with me. Perhaps he has gone out somewhere to-day."

Thus thought she till noon came, and still Atirûpa did not return. She then went here and there, but all her search was in vain. That whole day passed away. Night came on.

"Atirûpa was always shy. Who will feed him to-night? Will he have enough to eat?" thought she.

On the second day the old woman's anxiety increased, but what could she do? All her search proved useless.

Now, after thus conferring the boon upon the princess, Mahêśvara returned to his place in the heavens, and the sage Nârada came to visit him. On meeting the god, he asked him as to what the news was. Mahêśa told of the boon he had granted to the princess.

"Her husband is Atirûpa, who has died at Prayâga this morning. We fixed his life at eighteen years, and his term was over this morning. How will he return to the princess?" said the sage.

Then the great god saw the mistake he had committed, but, as he had power to alter things, he said: —

"Our word to the princess shall never prove untrue. Her austerities, also, must never remain unrewarded. If Atirûpa is already dead, let him remain so for three days only. Let him regain his life on the fourth day, and let this mystery be unknown even to himself."

Thus said Mahêsa, and cleared himself from a world of confusion!!

Just as the great god had said, Atirûpa came back to life on the fourth day after his death. He did not know what day it was, and rose up as one rising from a deep slumber. His clothes were all miry, and his body dirty, with the accumulated dirt of several days. He did not know what could have occurred to him. He only had a hazy recollection that the fatal day had come and passed away, and that he had fallen down in the struggles of death. Everything was an enigma. He rose up, went again to the river, bathed and dried his clothes, and, like a madman, returned slowly to his house without understanding what had happened. The good woman, as she welcomed him, said:—

"Where have you been to, my good boy, for the last three days? We all missed you, and all my search after you was in vain!"

It now became perfectly clear to Atirûpa that he must have been asleep on the path for three days; — or was it a three days' death? The fatal day had anyhow come and passed away, and whether it was sleep or death that had come to him he did not care to puzzle his head about. He invented an excuse for the occasion, and lived under that good dame's kind roof for a few days more, being now of one thing perfectly certain, that the fatal day had passed away, and that he was to live for many more years in the world.

The main object that now stood before him, was the misery which his poor old parents must be in. He had spent nearly two years from them. He had had good reason to fly from them, and now, he thought, he had equally good reason to return.

"Are they likely to be still living? Shall I ever have the happiness of meeting them again? If once I can rejoin them, never more will I quit my happy home. I will go and beg a thousand pardons from my father, who, I am sure, will readily grant them."

With his mind thus made up, he spoke to the kind old lady about his intended departure. Though exceedingly sorry to lose him, she allowed him his wish to return to his home, and gave back to him all that he had given her, saying that she had been already rewarded by his good acts and kindness towards her. Our hero received his money back, as he would much need it on his journey, and requested the old lady to come to him, as soon as she heard from him. He would have taken her along with him, but he wanted to know first whether his parents were alive. Hiding the money in his rags, like a true pilgrim from Banâras, he now took the road, and, with the sacred water of the holy Ganges on his shoulders, went his way homewards.

Now every step that he took on his way homewards, conducted him unawares to his wife. At the very first rest-house an officer of the princess entertained him sumptuously, and when he was about to resume his journey, put a palm-leaf manuscript in his hand, and asked

him if he could read it and explain the meaning of what was written. Atirûpa received it, glanced over it, and at once his face changed colour. Checking himself he thus replied :—

"I know the meaning of it; but I cannot tell you what I know. Permit me, please, to depart."

As soon as this was said, the master of the rest-house rose up and fell at the pilgrim's feet, and requested him to stay awhile, as his journey was not to be on foot any longer. Atirûpa was astonished.

"Am I dreaming, or is this reality ?" thought he; "what is the meaning of all this ? This is the verse that I recited to the princess of Chandragiri on my way here. Is this a trick to find me out ? Am I likely to see her again ?"

While he was thus musing, the words, — "The palanquin is ready : will your holiness be pleased to go into it ?" fell upon his ears. It was the master of the rest-house who had thus spoken to him.

"What is the meaning of this ? Why should a poor pilgrim returning home to his country ride in a palanquin ?" asked Atirûpa.

Then the master of the rest-house explained to our astonished hero the charity of the princess of Chandragiri, who had raised one thousand and one choultries on the way between Banâras and her town, with instructions to feed and entertain every pilgrim, to give to every pilgrim the manuscript he had just seen, to request him to explain the meaning, and to conduct to her that person, who could read it and explain its meaning. He further told the still astonished Atirûpa that several months had passed, that many had received and returned the manuscript unread, and that the only person, who had given him any hope, was the present pilgrim.

Everything was now plain to our hero : the verse was his own which he had repeated to his wife on the night he saw her : her name was connected with the charities. What more proof could he need ? He was now perfectly sure that all these contrivances were his wife's plans to bring him back to her. He thanked God for his good fortune, and was sure that he was to be taken back to his wife's country. But what could have become of the minister's son ? He did not like to enquire about this, lest it should lead him into danger.

Meanwhile, in accordance with instructions received, the messengers flew to the princess with the news that, at last, a pilgrim was coming in a palanquin, who was able to expound the writing on the palm-leaf. The princess's joy knew no bounds. Mahesa's boon has been granted after all, and yet she was not quite sure till she actually saw her lord. She sent for her father, and he, ever ready to obey his virtuous daughter, came at once.

"Most loving father. I have attained the object of my penance, and we have to wait only for a couple of days more. There is a pilgrim coming here from Banâras the day after to-morrow, who must be entertained in our palace and perform his *pûjâ* in our great hall, and after receiving blessings from his holy hands I shall be rejoined to my husband. Let all the great men of the city attend the *pûjâ* to bless me on the occasion. Let my husband, too, be invited. But you must not give notice of this, until we see the pilgrim actually settled in his *pûjâ* in our palace. There will still be ample time. Meanwhile you should yourself go on in advance and welcome the pilgrim, and conduct him to our hall. He is no ordinary personage. I will explain everything to you after his arrival."

Thus spoke the daughter, and her father had no other course but to obey. She was his only daughter, and had brought him the happiest of news. So he hastened out, and proceeded to welcome the approaching pilgrim. The palanquin was placed on the ground as soon as the bearers saw the king, and notice was given to the rider inside that the lord of Chandragiri was approaching. The old king himself, too, when he was informed that the palan-

quin had been put down, got down from his vehicle and proceeded on foot to welcome the pilgrim. And for the first time in their lives the father-in-law and son-in-law saw each other face to face without the former knowing the relationship that existed between them. He was lost in admiration. The beauty, the noble bearing, and the holy appearance of the pilgrim were enough for any man to bow to. The monarch, also, on putting the ascetic life of his own daughter and the approaching pilgrim together, thought that there must be some spiritual relationship between them, or that the pilgrim was a real god in human form, and shewed him the greatest respect.

The pilgrim did not like to commit himself by saying anything till he was sure that it was his wife who was at the bottom of all these adventures. There was, therefore, more silence than talk after the meeting, and the little there was of talk was so neutral that it cleared none of the doubts of either party.

Chandragiri was reached at last, and the pilgrim with the holy Ganges water safely in his hand alighted at the royal mansion, and the vessel containing it was placed in the hall. As soon as the palanquin was announced the princess took up a convenient position in her balcony to observe her lord, and when her eyes roamed over him she breathed deep for joy.

"May Mahêsvara be praised! He has brought me back my *nâtha* — my true lord!" thought she; "I shall never again lose him now."

From that very moment everything about her and in her began to change. She decorated herself with her choicest ornaments and put on the best of her apparel, and, while the pilgrim was engaged in his ablutions, came down herself from the upper story, and decorated the hall with her own fair hands for the performance of the *pûjâ*.

Every one noticed the sudden change that came over the princess, and took it to be her joy at the approaching reunion with her husband, the minister's son.

The time for the worship of the holy water of the Ganges drew on, and almost all the great people of the city were assembled for it. The holy water of the Ganges was not a thing to be had daily, so they were fully sensible of the grandeur of this occasion.[4]

The minister and his son, too, were in the assembly, and, as the son-in-law of the king, the son had taken a prominent seat. His father was seated near him overjoyed at heart that, after all, the princess was compelled by time to choose to be reconciled to his boy. The ceremonies over, every one stood up with outspread palms to receive the holy water, and our hero opened the vessel containing it and, holding it in his left hand, proceeded to distribute the contents with a small spoon (*uddhariṇi*) in his right hand.

"Shall I assist you, my dearest husband, in carrying that water? I am bound to do so on this occasion by the rules," cried out a female voice, and suddenly the princess stood by the left side of our hero with her hand on the holy vessel.

"What! what!" cried the king.

"I am the wife of this pilgrim! Let the minister be secured at once," was the reply.

The minister was soon so bound that he could not escape, and all the assembly stood in wonder, astounded and astonished. There was no time to be lost now, and the princess explained in detail the whole mystery to the listening crowd: how she had been married to Atirûpa; the Sanskrit verse; the substitution of the minister's son in his place; the disappearance of her true lord; the commencement of her misery; her penance and plans to discover the lost husband; and her success. She had carefully preserved the cups and the platter, in which she had served the food on the first night to her husband, and produced them now in proof. The minister

[4] This is a ceremony, in which worship is performed to the vessel containing the holy water of the Ganges, after which the Ganges water itself is distributed to the people assembled from the vessel containing it.

confessed his guilt, and his son attested the truth of the princess's statements as far as he knew it.

Thus everything became plain, and Atirûpa, by his good fortune, regained his life and his lost wife, the former by the latter, though he never knew it.

The minister was committed to the stake, and his son given leave to go to his house and never more to approach the palace. The marriage of Atirûpa with the princess was again celebrated with all due grandeur, and he succeeded to the throne of Chandragiri as Yuvarâja. He did not forget his parents in the time of his prosperity, nor the old lady at Prayâga. He proceeded in a royal progress to the south, met his parents, assured them that he was their son, explained to them his whole history from the day of his separation, and brought them to Chandragiri to live in his palace. The aged couple were delighted to have found their child after all, and lived in prosperity.

A word as to the prophecy of the boy-astrologer to the Sêtupati. That king and his wife and children hid themselves in a wood adjacent to his capital. It was now two years ago since the son of Satyavâk had assured him that, without trying for it, he would, after a certain period, get back his lost kingdom, and that prophecy was now fulfilled.

Chandragiri was the empire of which the kingdom of the Sêtupatis was a petty tributary State, and because the Sêtupati had failed to send in his tribute regularly, his dominions had been invaded and he had had to fly for his life. The boy-astrologer was now himself the emperor, and he, out of kindness to his old king, gave him back his State. Thus was the prophecy duly fulfilled by the astrologer who had made it, and, as Emperor of Chandragiri, Atirûpa reigned over his vast empire for many a long year in peace and prosperity.

FOLKLORE IN SALSETTE.

BY GEO. FR. D'PENHA.

No. 10. — Bâlûdâdâ and Bayôbâi.

In a certain country there once lived a king, who had one son. The prince was sent to school, where he proved himself worthy of the schoolmaster, and when he had attained maturity the king, his father, thought it high time to get him married. The prince said to him: — "*Mâlâ bâikô karâl tê aśí karâ gê bâpâschî dâŗî ani âischî sâŗî râkhil aśí bâikô karâ : nâhin tê mâlâ bâikô nakô*;[1] If you wish to get me married, I shall want a wife that will keep up the dignity of my father and the honour of my mother; else I do not want a wife."

"Very well," the king replied; "we want for nothing, and I will send my messengers to all parts of the country and even to foreign lands, and get you just such a wife as you desire."

Accordingly, he at once despatched people to all parts of the country, and also to foreign courts, with the message: — "*Kônâchî sôkrî aśêl gê bâpâschî dâŗî ani âischî sâŗî râkhîl, aśî tê tiśiṁ âmśiṁ sôirik*; If any one has a daughter that will keep up the dignity of the father and the honour of the mother, we wish to enter into an alliance with him."

The messengers went from village to village and from town to town, and penetrated into foreign countries, but with little success; for who was there that would guarantee to keep up the dignity of the father and the honour of the mother? At length the king of a distant country had an only daughter, and he too received this message, but also refused the proposal. The princess, however, asked her father what the letter contained, but the king refused to tell her. However, after much entreaty she was told what it was about, and exclaimed: — "*Hô*,

[1] *Lit.* "if you wish to get me a wife, get me such an one as will take care of my father's beard and mother's *sâŗî*, such a wife I want, or I do not want a wife."

bápá, diás mánzá zabáb, miṁ rákhín bápáschí dárí aṇi áischí sárí; **Yes, father, give them my answer, I will keep up the dignity of the father and the honour of the mother."**

The king, thereupon, sent his own men with another message to the effect that he was willing to enter into the alliance, and that **his daughter was willing to fulfil the conditions imposed by the prince.** The messengers were also authorized to settle a day for the celebration of the marriage. The messengers reached the prince's dominions, and made all the arrangements necessary, and appointed a day for the auspicious occasion.

Preparations were now made on both sides on a grand scale. Nothing was spared to make the occasion a great event. In due time, on the appointed day, the marriage took place with all possible *éclat*. The bride was still very young and consequently had to remain at her parents' house till she should attain puberty.

A year or two after the marriage the prince thought of paying a visit to his wife, and expressed his desire to his father. The king, of course, had no objection, and gave his consent, giving him money for his expenses on the way. **The prince, however, disguised himself as a poverty-stricken person,** and went to his wife's country. When he had arrived there he cut a bundle of grass, and, carrying it on his head, passed by his father-in-law's house. His wife saw him with the grass and called out to him: — "*Êh, mólkiá, môlkaṁ vikitês ká?* Hi! grasscutter, will you sell your grass?"

Our hero answered in the affirmative, upon which the princess struck a bargain and bought the bundle of grass. After this she said to him: — "*Môlkiá, môlkiá, chákar háis kaṁ békár háis?* Grasscutter, grasscutter, are you employed or without employment?"

The pretended grasscutter replied: — "*Békár háiṅ*; I am without employment."

The princess then said: — "*Môlkiá, ámchê ghará chákrilá rêtês?* Grasscutter, will you take employment at our house?"

The prince said he was willing to take employment, and was engaged as a servant by his own wife, who, of course, was unaware of the real state of affairs. But the prince knew her, and **thought it a fitting opportunity of testing,** by observing her behaviour, **whether she could fulfil the conditions imposed by him.**

This state of things went on for a few years, when one day the parents of the princess called the supposed servant and said to him: — "*Môlkiá, ámiṁ zátáuṅ bénchê gáṅván máiná dôn máinê, túṁ ámchê sôkríchá samál kar*; Grasscutter, we are going to a distant country for a month or two, during which time you must take care of our daughter."

The servant having promised to take care of the princess, her parents, the king and queen, left for the distant country, and after they were gone the princess one day said to her servant: — "*Môlkiá, môlkiá, túzaṁ náuṅ ká?* Grasscutter, grasscutter, what is your name?"

The prince replied: — "Bâlûdâdâ," and asked her in return what her name was, and she answered: — "Bayôbâi."

And then she said to him! "*Bálúdádá, miṁ kaiṅ kám sáṅgên tê karśil náhin?* Bâlûdâdâ, would you do anything for me if I were to tell you to?"

Bâlûdâdâ replied: — "*Hô, Bayôbái, jêṁ kám sáṅgśil têṁ karin*; Yes, Bayôbâi, I will do whatever work you may want me to do."

And then he said to her: — "*Bayôbái, málá ráṅdúnśiṁ kháválá dêśil náhin?* Bayôbâi, you will cook and give me to eat, wont you?"

And Bayôbâi said: — "*Hó, dên*; Yes, I will give."

And they lived together like a brother and sister; Bâlûdâdâ doing whatever he was asked to do, and Bayôbâi doing the cooking for him.[3]

[3] From this point the story runs as that of ordinary persons, and not that of a prince and princess, for they are now called Bâlûdâdâ and Bayôbâi respectively throughout, and the kings and queens are mentioned merely as *parents*.

About this time Bayôbâi attained to puberty, that is she was twelve years old,[3] and was one day walking on the sea-beach, when a great merchant arrived with a ship full of *môtiṅ pôuṅliṅ*, pearls and rubies. The merchant spied Bayôbâi walking on the sea-beach, and was so enamoured of her beauty that he determined at any cost to get hold of her. So he began to enquire in the neighbourhood if it were possible, but the neighbours said, that they could not tell, that her parents were not at home, and that she was left under the care of a servant. So he sent for Bâlûdâdâ, and asked him, too, if he thought whether his mistress would allow his advances, and promised to give Bâlûdâdâ five hundred rupees, and Bayôbâi whatever she asked for. Bâlûdâdâ thought this the best opportunity possible of testing her, and went, therefore, running to Bayôbâi, said to her : — "*Bayôbâi, êk vârtâ sâṅgtaiṅ tê âiktais?* Bayôbâi will you listen to what I have to say ?"

Bayôbâi said she would, but Bâlûdâdâ again said to her : — "*Vârtâ sâṅgên tê karśil tê sâṅgtaiṅ*; If you agree to what I say, I will tell you."

Bayôbâi, little suspecting what the nature of the talk was to be, agreed to do as he should say. Then Bâlûdâdâ told her that a great merchant, who had arrived with a ship full of *môtiṅ pôuṅliṅ*, pearls and rubies, had told him to ask her whether she would admit his advances and to tell her that if she would, he would give her whatever she asked for.

Bayôbâi, upon this, said : — "*Kâ rê, Bâlûdâdâ, mâṅzâ âis bâpûs gharan nâhin, ani tûm aiśi vârtâ kartês?* What, Bâlûdâdâ, my parents are not at home, and you tell me such a thing as this!"

Bâlûdâdâ then said that if she did not agree he would leave her service and go away. Upon this Bayôbâi said : — "*Baraṁ, baraṁ, kabûl hâiṅ, zâ tiâlâ sâṅg gê tiâchê hâtchaṁ kâgal pâijê aisaṁ gê râtchaṁ âṭ vâztaṁ tiâlâ gharan jhêin ani bârâ vâzliâ kâ lât mârûn bâir kârin, ani tiâchaṁ môtiṅ pôuṅliaṅchaṁ târûn jhêin*; Very well, very well, go and tell him that he must give me his word in writing that if I admit him at eight o'clock to-night, and turn him out again as soon as it strikes twelve, I may take his vessel of pearls and rubies."

Bâlûdâdâ immediately went and informed the merchant, and got a document prepared then and there. Then Bayôbâi sent Bâlûdâdâ to the *bâzâr* to purchase a lot of vegetables, fish, *ghî*, and such like things, and he went and brought them home. Punctually at eight o'clock that evening the merchant arrived, and Bayôbâi offered him a seat; and preliminaries being over, she began to cook in order to entertain her guest. She gave Bâlûdâdâ his meal as usual, and asked him to sleep in her house for the night; but he refused to do so, and leaving the house went and hid himself near a window, whence he could watch everything that passed. Now as Bayôbâi was cooking she wanted a cocoanut, in searching for which she spent nearly an hour and then another half hour in finding the *kôitâ* to break the cocoanut with, and in this way kept on spinning out the time. It was past eleven o'clock by the time she had finished cooking, and then she laid out the supper for the merchant. At supper the merchant was told that he must eat of everything that she might bring, and not rise from the table. Now Bayôbâi had prepared so many dishes and so many kinds of sweets, which she brought on the table one by one, that before supper was over the clock struck twelve. Upon this Bayôbâi called out to Bâlûdâdâ in a loud voice, thinking he was asleep in his own hut. Our hero, who was close by, ran off at the first call, and came back running from the direction of his hut, growling, or rather pretending to growl, for having been aroused from sleep : — "*Kâ zhâilaṁ, kâ zhâilaṁ, kalâ hâṅkâvitês?* What is the matter? What is the matter? Why are you calling me?"

[3] Twelve years is generally supposed to be the time when a girl attains her puberty, and not many years ago girls in Salsette were married at that age. The consummation of the marriage, however, did not take place for a few months, say six, and very often for the period of a whole year afterwards, though the wife lived in her husband's house.

Bayôbâi then told Bâlûdâdâ to kick the merchant out of the house and appropriate the ship full of pearls and rubies. The poor merchant was compelled to yield, for had he not given a written agreement? He had also, as he had promised, to give five hundred rupees to Bâlûdâdâ.

A month or so after this Bayôbâi's parents returned from the distant country. Not a word, however, was told them of what had happened in their absence. Bâlûdâdâ was now perfectly satisfied with Bayôbâi, for he had tested her under the most trying circumstances, and he thought to himself: — "*Bayôbâi râkhil mâṅjê bâpâschî dârî ani âischî sâṛî*; Bâyôbâi will keep up the dignity of my father and the honour of my mother."

He had been in his father-in-law's employment for nearly five years, and he now told him that he wished to go home to his parents. So he asked to be paid off for the time he had served, as he had not drawn his pay. Bayôbâi and her parents had taken such a liking to him that they were very reluctant to let him go, but as he was determined to do so they paid him off and gave him a lot of money over and above what was due to him. Bâlûdâdâ had now plenty of money besides the five hundred rupees he had got from the merchant. He took leave of his friends and returned to his own house.

When he reached home his parents enquired after his wife, but he stoutly denied his having gone to her, and said he had gone to seek employment, and had returned with a large fortune. "How could he have got so much money as he had brought with him, but for the work he had done in all these years?"

A few months after this Bâlûdâdâ asked his father to let him go and fetch his wife home, but his father said he would go and bring her himself. So the old man set out one day for his daughter-in-law's (Bayôbâi's) house, where he was cordially received. After a few days' stay there he told Bayôbâi's parents that, as she had now attained maturity, he wished to take her home. Her parents said they had no objection, and that they were very happy that he should have come to take her away. Bayôbâi, therefore, after taking a tender farewell of her parents, set out with her father-in-law, taking with her all the rubies and pearls she had got from the merchant. When they reached home it was late at night and Bâlûdâdâ had by that time gone to sleep, and accordingly Bayôbâi did not see him. But, for the next few days, Bâlûdâdâ took to his bed and covered himself up from head to foot, so that Bayôbâi had no chance of seeing him. One day, however, Bâlûdâdâ knowing that Bayôbâi would go to the well to fetch water, went out and climbed a *bôr*[4] tree, and plucking a few ripe *bôraṁ*, waited for her on her way to the well. He had not long waited, when Bayôbâi came up to him, and happy at having seen her servant (for so at least she thought him) after such a long time, addressed him: — "*Kâ rê Bâlûdâdâ, tûṁ athilâ kâ kartês? Ôs kâ tûzâ gâuṅ? Barâ hâis kaṁ?* Hallo, Bâlûdâdâ, what are you doing here? Is this your native country? Are you well?

Bâlûdâdâ replied: — "*Hô gô Bayôbâi, ós mâṅzâ gâuṅ, ani miṁ barâ hâiṅ;* Yes, Bayôbâi; this is my country, and I am well." Bâlûdâdâ then asked Bayôbâi: — "*Kâ gô, Bayôbâi, tuṁ athilâ kâ kartês? Barî hâis kaṁ? Nauriachê gharâ ailêis kâ? Naurâ barâ hâi kaṁ? Sâsû sasrâ kaśiṁ hân?* Bayôbâi, what are you doing here? Are you well? Have you come to your husband's house? Is your husband well? How are your mother-in-law and father-in-law?"

To these questions Bayôbâi replied: — "*Hô rê Bâlûdâdâ, barî hâiṅ, nauriachê gharâ ailâuṅ; sâriṁ bariṁ hân, pûn nauriachaṁ tôṇḍ nâhin bagilaṁ azûk;* Yes, Bâlûdâdâ, I am well enough, and I am come to my husband's house. All are well, but I have not yet seen my husband's face."

Upon this Bâlûdâdâ said: — "*Thauriṁ bôraṁ nê ani naurialâ dês, maṅjê tiâchaṁ tôṇḍ kalêl;* Take a few *bôraṁ* and give them to your husband, and then you will have a chance of seeing

[4] *Bôraṁ* (singular, *bôr*) are fruits which ripen about the months of January, February and March. They are both sweet and sour. The tree is also known by the name of *bôr*.

his face." And Bayôbâi answered : — "*Kâ, rê Bâlûdâdâ, naurâ tê bôlê nâhin, châlê nâhin, ani mârlaṁ tê?* But, Bâlûdâdâ, my husband won't speak or do anything, and perhaps he would beat me!"

Said Bâlûdâdâ : — "*Nâhin, nâhin mârâvâchâ*; No, he won't beat you."

Bayôbâi took the *bôraṁ* and went home, and Bâlûdâdâ, going home before her, went to sleep as before.

A few days more passed, and Bâlûdâdâ again went, and climbing a mango tree plucked a few ripe mangoes and waited for the arrival of Bayôbâi. She soon came and Bâlûdâdâ asked her : — "*Kâ gô, Bayôbâi, bôraṁ diliṅs kaṁ nauriala?* Well, Bayôbâi, did you give the *bôraṁ* to your husband?"

Bayôbâi answered : — "*Nâhin, rê Bâlûdâdâ, mâril karil tê miṁ bitaiṅ*; No, Bâlûdâdâ, I was afraid he might beat me."

Bâlûdâdâ then gave her the mangoes, saying : — "*Miṁ sâṅgtaiṅ aisaṁ kar. Êh ambê jhê, ani râtchaṁ kâ karśil : êk kâtar jhê ani tiâchê ṭôṇḍâvarchaṁ kâpar khâṇḍ ani tê âmbê tiâchê ṭôṇḍâvar ṭâkh, maṅjê tiâchaṁ ṭôṇḍ kalêl ani tô âpśiṁ bôlêl*; Do as I tell you. Take these mangoes, and do you know what to do in the night? Take a pair of scissors and cut the cloth off his face and throw him these mangoes. Thus you will see his face and he will be obliged to speak."

Bayôbâi again asked : — "*Mâril karil tê?* But suppose he beats me?"

Bâlûdâdâ then said : — "*Nâhin mârâvâchâ, sâṅgtaiṅ aisaṁ kar.* No, he won't beat you, only do as I tell you."

And away went Bâlûdâdâ and slept as before.

When she had drawn the water Bayôbâi went home, and in the night she took a pair of scissors and, as advised by Bâlûdâdâ, cut a piece off the sheet covering him and threw the mangoes on his face. This was too much for Bâlûdâdâ, who could not stifle his laughter, and revealed himself to Bayôbâi. Bayôbâi was quite surprised, and asked Bâlûdâdâ why he had played so many tricks. Bâlûdâdâ answered : — "*Tûlâ viâd hâi gê varâḍâchê pûraṁ miṁ bôtlaṁ gê bâpâschî dârî ani âischî sâṛî râkhil tiśiṁ miṁ varâḍên; tiâ kartaṁ miṁzûn auriṁ ḍhôṅgaṁ kêliṁ bagâvâ gê kharêchârâśiṁ tûṁ bâpâschî dârî ani âischî sâṛî râkhitês kâ*; Do you remember that, before the wedding, I said that I would marry only her, who would keep up the dignity of my father and the honour of my mother; and it was to find out whether you could really keep the dignity of my father and the honour of my mother, that I played so many tricks."

They then lived together happily to a green old age.

MISCELLANEA.

THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF URASA, THE MODERN HAZARA.

The site of the old capital of **Urasa** has never been determined. Hiuen Tsiang mentions it as lying either 300 or 500 li, that is, 50 or 83 miles, from Taxila. The serious discrepancy in the pilgrim's itinerary renders his statement useless. The country of Urasa corresponded pretty nearly with that of the modern **Hazara**, if we include in that term the whole tract up to the Indus, now held by the Tanaolis, the Hassarzais, the Akazais and others. Naturally the capital of the region would stand rather in the fertile neighbourhood of Haripur than elsewhere. Now with reference to the capital in the seventh century, Hiuen Tsiang writes thus:— "The capital is 7 or 8 li in circuit, the air is soft and agreeable, there is very little ice or snow. To the south-west of the capital 4 or 5 li is a *stûpa* about 200 feet or so in height, which was built by Aśôka-râja. By its side is a *saṅgharama*."

It so happens that **near Haripur there are the remains of an ancient city of Buddhistic times**, which exactly answers to this description. It stands on rising ground under a range of hills, two miles from Haripur, being on the right or west bank of the Dôr, a stream which, flowing through the Haripur plain, falls into the Sirin

close to the junction of that river with the Indus. It stands too, close to the "Road of the Great Kings" leading from Taxila to Kaśmir. The containing walls of the city can be traced all round. Some of them still rise eighteen feet in height and they are beautifully built in the chequered style of the ancient *stûpas* of Gandhâra and Kophene. Within the city, which in size answers probably exactly to the dimensions given by Hiuen Tsiang, there was a citadel to the west looking down on the stream, and at least three *stûpas*, two of which have been rifled probably by the Sikhs, together with a fortified peak towering over the ruins to the east. Within a mile of the city to the south-west, but on the opposite bank of the shallow river, are the remains of an old *stûpa*, and in connection with it there are indications of buildings of considerable extent.

The Muhammadans have a little shrine (*ziárat*) close under the citadel hill, which they call **Pîr-Mânaka**, and the ancient name is preserved also in **Mânakrâi**, which is applied to the modern village close by. The coincidence of these names with **Mânikyâla** is suggestive. The climatic conditions are exactly fulfilled.

It is curious that the existence of this beautifully situated and strongly constructed place should have been apparently unknown to Sir Alexander Cunningham. I discovered the place quite by accident, having been directed to it by a Native, who told me that I should find there an old inscription.

The tope to the south-west is crowned by a modern Muhammadan tomb.

Mânaka or Mânika, as Cunningham informs us, was a prince living in the time of Kanishka and the probable founder of the great tope Mânakyâla. The Muhammadans have appropriated this prince and raised him to the dignity of a Pîr. May I venture to suggest that **Pîr-Mânaka** is probably the city which was visited by Hiuen Tsiang, and which he described as **the capital of Urasa**?

CHARLES SWYNNERTON, F.S.A., Chaplain.

Potosi, Black Mountains;
March, 1891.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

LUCK AND ILL-LUCK.

(*a*) In Telingana.

With reference to *Indian Notes and Queries* Vol. 1. note 218,— in the Northern Circars red is not objected to by the Musalmâns during the Muharram, but is on the contrary much affected by them.

Masulipatam. H. G. PRENDERGAST.

(*b*) In Bihâr.

It is advisable to put on clothes, proved to have been prosperous, on going to visit a *hakîm* or on any important business. Hindus should mark their foreheads on such occasions, and a Musalmân should wear rings inscribed with texts, or silver armlets containing texts from the *Qurân* or other holy book beneath his sleeves. He must break in half the piece of wood, through which he passes the girdle that ties his trousers, and should not put on his trousers standing but sitting, at any rate while he draws the *pácchas* over his legs.

SAYYID KHAIRAYAT AHMAD.

Gayá.

BOOK-NOTICE.

CHANTS POPULAIRES DES AFGHANS, recueillis par JAMES DARMESTETER. Paris; Leroux; 1890.

I received this volume with pleasant expectations, I opened it with surprise, and I closed it with envy. Any work by M. Darmesteter was certain to be both original and scholarly, and readers of his *Lettres sur l'Inde* were justified in looking forward with interest to his promised collection of Afghân song and folklore. But the result has surpassed the expectations. We have here a portly volume of some 700 pages, containing not only a selection of Afghân songs with text, translation, vocabulary and commentary, but three admirable essays on the language, the literature, and the history of that nation. The work is the direct result of the liberality of the French Government, which deputed M. Darmesteter to India on a "*mission d'études*:" and this is what gives rise to the envy which I referred to in my opening sentence. Here we are beaten on our own ground. If there has been hitherto one domain of science which Anglo-Indians have made peculiarly their own, it has been the study of Indian dialects and Indian folk-lore. But even on this ground of study, the ever-increasing demands of official work have given little leisure for the complete and thorough exploitation of any particular tract, and few facilities are afforded by a Government, which, however sympathetic, finds itself unable to spare either the men or the money for research by specialists. What the Government of India cannot do, a foreign Government has done. It has enabled a scholar of the highest eminence to come to India and to thoroughly survey an area, of which but the outlines have been hitherto known. Let it not be

thought that I am forgetting the names of Trumpp, of Raverty, of Bellew, of Plowden or of Thorburn. These authors would themselves be amongst the first to admit the great addition to our knowledge which has been made by M. Darmesteter. Let us now take heed to the laurels we have hitherto won, and let the book under notice spur us to fresh efforts, and impel us to fresh conquests. Above all, let our rulers note that work, which should be peculiarly their own, has been elsewhere thought sufficiently important to induce a foreign nation to send a specialist, to India to carry it out.

It is difficult to give a complete account of Prof. Darmesteter's book within the limits of as single article. A mere sketch, and an extract or two, must suffice. Chapter I. of the Introduction (pp. iii — clii) deals with the language of the Afghâns, in its two dialects, — the *Pukhtû* of the north and the *Pushtû* of the south. Save for a few varieties of pronunciation,[1] these dialects have few points of difference. The language has borrowed largely from Persian and from the Indian dialects, and also, through the Persian, from Arabic. In borrowing Persian words, it, as a general rule, retains the original sounds, except that of *f*, which it does not possess and replaces by *p*. The characteristic Arabic letters (ص, ث &c.) it abandons, substituting the nearest indigenous ones. As regards Indian sounds, the aspirated letters drop their aspiration, and ष is represented by ڼړ *nṛ*. Thus *khara*, pure, becomes *kara*; *chhâp*, printed, *châp*; and *jhûṭhâ*, false, *jûṭâ*. As a rule, cerebral letters only appear in Indian words, the exceptions being the appearance of an ړ *ṛ* or ڼړ *nṛ* in certain pure Afghân words, representing etymologically in the one case an earlier *rd*, *rt*, and in the other an earlier *rn*.

A minute discussion of the phonetics of the language leads the author to the following conclusions:—(1) Afghân is not an Indian dialect; (2) It is an Iranian dialect; (3) it is not a dialect of modern Persian or derived from Pehlavî; and, most probably, (4) It is derived from Zend or from some very similar dialect. In short, the phonetics and the vocabulary of the Afghân language induce us to consider it as bearing the same relation to Zend that modern Persian does to the ancient language of Persia. We have, however, no proof of a corresponding Pehlavî. But such a Pehlavî is less necessary, for phonetic and morphological corruption is less advanced in Afghân than in Persian. Afghân bears that modern witness to the ancient Zend, which has hitherto been sought for in vain, and the wild tibes of the Khaibar and the fanatical Musalmâns of the Sulaimân range, have preserved the language of the old time Magi and of Zoroaster, better than the Pârsîs of Bombay.

In its morphology, Afghân occupies an intermediate position between the synthetic Iranian languages and the extremely analytic Persian. In conjugation it is almost as analytic as the latter, but for nouns it retains the idea not only of grammatical gender, but also of declension. It has a direct and an oblique case. As in India, the latter appears to be derived from an ancient genitive. The numerals show remarkable agreement with Zend, as will appear from the following table: —

Afghân	*Zend*	*Persian*	*Hindûstânî.*
1 yau	aêva	yak	êk
2 dva	dva	dô	dô
3 drê (*or* têr)	thri	si	tin
4 tsalôr	chathwâro	chuhâr, châr	châr
5 pindza	pañcha	pañj	pâñch
6 shpazh	khshvash	shash	chha
7 ôva	haptan	haft	sât
8 ata	ashtan	hasht	âṭh
9 nô	navan	nô	nau
10 las	dasan	dah	das

In the verb, Afghân has, like the Pehlavi-Persian, substituted a passive construction in the past tenses. While, however, this substitution has become obscured in Persian, Afghân retains the evidence of it with perfect clearness. Just as Hindustâni, so Afghân, says 'this has been done by me' (*main nê yah kiyâ hai*), and not 'I did this.'

The second chapter of the Introduction deals with the history and origin of the Afghâns. M. Darmesteter traces their history from the first recorded mention of the nation by Albîrûnî (1030 A. D.), as inhabiting the Sulaimân Range, down to the present time. Tradition makes them servants of Pharaoh, who emigrated thither after his destruction, and they must, at any rate, have been converted to Islâm at an early period, their country having been conquered by Muhallab, son of Abû Safra, about the year 665 A.D.[2] Since then, history relates little except internecine quarrels, varied by invasions of India. The latter are well-known to students of Indian history, and for the former the reader is referred to M. Darmesteter's interesting account. Bâbar's (1526) conquest of Afghânistân is told in his own words. We learn how 'when the Afghâns saw the impossibility of resisting, they presented them-

[1] The North has *kh* (ح) and *g* (ګ) where the South has *sh* (ښ) and *zh* (ژ).

[2] [Would it not be more correct to say that the Musalmân conquest of Afghânistân was the result of a long struggle extending over the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D.?—R. C. T.]

selves holding grass between their teeth, as much as to say "I am your ox."' A footnote refers us to Major Temple's *Legends of the Panjâb* (II., 101, 103, I. 37), who quotes this as a conventional phrase, the cow being the most sacred of all things in the Hindû's eyes; to be treated as his cows is to be well treated by him. A much older authority on this point is the Dehli Siwâlik Pillar inscription of Visala Dêva, dated 1164 A.D.,[3] where we read *pratyarthi-daṁt-ântarê pratya-kshâni triṇâni.* After the death of Bâbar the Afghâns regained their power temporarily in India to be finally expelled by Akbar in 1556. It was not till 1761 that Ahmad Shâh, the Durrânî, held the Grand Mughal a prisoner at Dehli, and destroyed the Marâthâ power at Pânîpaṭ. He thus left the way open to the European conquest of India, while giving rise at the same time to the Afghân Principalities of Farrukhâbâd and Bundêlkhaṇḍ.[4] The Durrânî dynasty was succeeded (1818) by that of the Bârukzais, which now occupies the throne of Kâbul.

The Afghân race is, at the present day, divided into three main branches, — those of Afghânistân, under the dominion of the Amîr: the independent tribes of Yâghistân[5] (Ṣvât, Bunêr, Bâjaur, &c.), which, being absolutely free of all foreign influence, have best preserved their national characteristics: and those of British India, in the six districts of the North-West frontier.

It is doubtful whether the classical writers have mentioned the Afghân nation by name. Arrian and Quintus Curtius, mention Indian mountaineers whose country was traversed by Alexander on his way to the Hindû Kûsh from Arachosia (Qandahâr). Herodotus mentions the Πάκτυες, *Paktyes*, who inhabited the country about Kâbul. Are these the Afghâns (*Pakhtûns*)? The details which he gives of their dress are not inconsistent with the theory, and, while he treats them as Indians, he says that their customs resemble those of the Bactrians, which would refer us to an Iranian type. There is, however, one serious difficulty. Of the two forms, Pushtûn and Pukhtûn (or more anciently Pashtûn and Pakhtûn), the latter is a derivative one. The original was Pashtûn, which would lead us to expect in Greek Πάστυες, *Pastyes*, not Πάκτυες, *Paktyes*. Pashtûn is derived from *pusht*, a mountain, and means mountaineer, highlander, and the original form of the latter word was *parshti* or **parshtu*. If, therefore, the Paktyes are our Afghâns, we must assume that Πακτυες is an imperfect transcription for Παρστυες, *Parstyes*, or rather Παρshτυες, *Parshtyes*, and that the *kt* of the Greeks, represents the exotic sound *rsht*.

We do not meet the Paktyes after Herodotus, but Ptolemy, in his description of Arachosia, mentions the "mountains of the Parsyêtai" (διὰ τῶν Παρσυητῶν ὀρῶν), and says that the Παρσυῆται, *Parsyêtai*, are the most northern of the four tribes of Arachosia. These may be the same as the Παρστυες, *Parstyes*, whom we should expect to find in this very neighbourhood.

The third chapter of the Introduction (pp. clxxxiv. — ccxviii.) describes the Afghân literature. This is of two kinds, written and oral. The former dates, according to tradition, from the Yûsufzai conquest (1413-1424), but the first writer whom we know directly by his works was Akhûn Darvêza (fl. 1685), the author of more than fifty volumes, most of which are unpublished. His principal writings consist of theological abuse, directed against the mystic heresiarch Bâyazîd Anṣârî; but one of them, the *Makhzani Afghâni*, possesses real historical value.

The most ancient poet, whose works have been preserved, is Mîrzâ Anṣârî, grandson of the Bâyazîd above mentioned. His poems, which are permeated with Persian Sufiism, have been more than once published and translated. He was followed (1631-1691) by the warrior poet Khushḥâl Khân,[6] who 'not only succeeded in throwing all his predecessors, with the exception of Mîrzâ, into the shade of oblivion, but who retains his popularity to the present day.' Whenever M. Darmesteter asked a *ḍum* to recite a song to him, he commenced by asking, 'Do you want one of Khushḥâl Khân Khaṭak?' The *dîvân* of this poet has been published by Dr. Bellew, but he was as prolific a writer as Akhûn Darvêza. Both Khushḥâl and Mîrzâ derived their inspiration from Persian, and their numerous followers have done the same, the ambition of each being to leave behind him a *dîvân*. In the last few years Pêshâwar has become an active centre from which issue translations into Pushtû of the best known Persian and Indian works, and these, together with the works of the above mentioned poets and their successors, form the bulk of the written literature of the Afghâns.

All this is a foreign and learned literature, and, with the exception of the works of Khushḥâl, tells us very little about the Afghâns, their customs or their national genius. But the true literature of this nation, the only one which is understood and

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 218, and note.

[4] See Irvine, J. A. S. B. 1878 and 1879, *the Bangâsh Nawâbs of Farrukhâbâd.*

[5] [I fancy there are several Yâghistâns (independent territories) in Afghânistân. I came across one in the country of the Kâkais; See my "Account of the Country traversed by the Second. Column of the Tal-Chôtiâli Field Force, in the Spring of 1879;" *J. R. G. S.*, Vol. L.—R. C. T.]

[6] Since M. Darmesteter's book was written, Mr. Biddulph has published selections from this Poet's works (Kegan Paul and Co.)

appreciated by the people, and which in its turn gives us a true picture of them, is that which is oral and which takes the form of songs.

These songs are the work of illiterate poets. The *ḍum*, or poet-minstrel, plays in Afghân life a part analogous to that taken by the bard amongst the Gauls. These poets form regular schools. A beginner goes to a celebrated *ḍum*, and becomes his *shâgird*, or disciple. The master, or *ustâd*, teaches him his own songs, and those of other popular poets, and introduces him at the festivals, public and private, to which he is invited. When the pupil feels himself strong enough to fly upon his own wings, he leaves his master, composes under his own name, and sets up for an *ustâd* in his turn. An *ustâd* takes half the fees paid by his host for himself, and divides the other half amongst his *shâgirds*. A good *ḍum* dies a rich man. The famous Mîrâ would not open his lips under fifty rupees, and received a fee of Rs. 500 at the wedding of the son of the Navâb of Peshâwar.

This Mîrâ is almost the only celebrated *ḍum* of Afghân birth. They are nearly all Afghanized Indians, recruited principally from the Ḍôm caste. Caste rules not being so strict in Afghânistân as in India, other Indians also follow the same profession, but they are always of low-caste, such as *tâlîs*, *bhaṭiyârâs*, *mâlîs* or *dhôbîs*. They are usually, though not always, Musalmâns, but are indifferent as to the subject of their songs. A good Hindû thinks it no shame to earn an honest livelihood by singing the triumphs of the Prophet. This generalization of the caste-term Ḍôm, should be noted by historians of the Gypsies. The Lûris, from whom our modern Rômanis are descended, were singers and musicians imported into Persia from India by Bahrâm Gaur.

M. Darmesteter's collection of songs is divided into five main divisions, historic songs, religious ones, romances, love-songs, and songs illustrating Customs and Folklore. With the last are given a number of proverbs and riddles.

The interest of the historical songs is that many of them were written contemporaneously with the facts. The collection commences with a modern poem describing the Afghân victory at Pânîpaṭ in 1761, and is followed by others carrying the history down to the time of the last Afghân war. Nearly all these songs are, it is needless to say, written from the point of view of our enemies, and the light in which they view our actions is not flattering to our vanity. The best of them are too long to quote here. Passing over the religious and the romantic legends, both of which sections are full of interest, we come to the Love-songs. In Afghânistân these are innumerable, and a *ḍum* when told to sing, cannot comprehend his being asked to sing anything else. A perusal of the specimens given by M. Darmesteter shows that the imagery comes almost entirely from India. We meet all the same graces and the same comparisons which we find in the poems of Sûr Dâs or Bidyâpati. Here is a translation[7] of a portion of the well-known *Zakhmai*, the most popular of all Afghân songs, written by the poet Mîrâ.

"1. I am sitting in woe, pierced with the daggers of separation.

She came to-day, the *mainâ*, and hath borne away my heart: sweet, so sweet.

2. I am ever engaged in contest: red am I with my blood: I am a beggar before thee.

My life is one anguish. My mistress is my physician; I long for the medicine; sweet, so sweet.

3. Her bosom hath the apple, her lips the sugar, her teeth the pearl; all that hath she, my well-beloved; she hath wounded me in the heart, and therefore am I plunged in tears; sweet, so sweet.

4. To thee is my service due; dream of me, O my love, for ever and a day.

Morning and eve make I my bed at thy sanctuary; I am the first of thy knights; sweet, so sweet."

Some of the specimens given of Afghân proverbs are excellent. Here are a few:—

"She came to borrow fire, and is become the mistress of the house.

Do not stick your finger into every hole.

If you offer only an onion, do it politely.

Gram pottage and no teeth; teeth, and no gram pottage (gram requires good teeth.)

Who owns elephants, should have big doorways.

A black cow has white milk.

The cock may crow or not, but still the dawn breaks."[8]

The work concludes with a Lexicographic Index, which contains all the words in the songs not to be found in Raverty's dictionary, and other useful indexes of proper names. A word of praise must be given to the typography and paper which are in every way worthy of the traditions of the Paris Imprimerie Nationale.

G. A. GRIERSON.

[7] Taken from M. Darmesteter's French version, and not from the original.

[8] [The whole of the proverbs quoted are well known over all North India in much the same terms. See my Ed. of Fallon's *Dict. of Hindostani Proverbs.*—R. C. T.]

TWO PATTAVALIS OF THE SARASVATI GACHCHHA OF THE DIGAMBARA JAINS.

BY PROFESSOR A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D.

IN respect of the two MSS., which form the basis of the present paper, Mr. Cecil Bendall writes that they "were copies made for me by Pandit Chimanlâl of **Jaipur in Râjpûtânâ**, when I visited that city in January 1885. Enquiring as I did at every opportunity throughout my Indian wanderings as to the doings of the Jain sect, I was much interested to find that Pandit Chimanlâl was not only a Jain, but a member of the more retiring and less known branch of the faith.[1] Dr. Klatt's publication of Svêtâmbara pattâvalîs in this Journal (Vol. XI. p. 245) had rendered me keenly alive to the possible historical importance of these lists. For some time, however, I put these copies aside, under a suspicion that, as I had not seen the MSS. from which they were taken, they might be modern fabrications. On comparing them, however, with the list published in Prof. Peterson's Second Report, of which I must own I had never taken much account (probably owing to the fact that it is in verse and is printed in ordinary Nâgarî type without distinction for the proper names or any tabular statement to facilitate reference), I found that the tradition was the same. I accordingly commenced preparing my MSS. for publication, intending to print off MS. B as it stood, noting the main variants, &c., of A and of the list (P) published by Prof. Peterson. I also made the alphabetical table of pontiffs which is printed in the following paper. My studies were, however, impeded by the circumstance that the first part of MS. A is chiefly in a modern language, of which I had no knowledge. This being so, I showed the MSS. to my friend Dr. Hoernle, who most opportunely happened to be visiting England at the time. and it is due to his knowledge of the ancient and modern Jain languages[2] and institutions that the full exposition which here follows is due."

The two manuscripts are referred to, in the following remarks, by the letters A and B. MS. A comprises **an introduction and the paṭṭâvalî proper.** The introduction gives an account of the early pontiffs from Mahâvîra down to Bhadrabâhu II. and his four disciples, the first among whom was Mâghanandin, the founder of the Nandisangha. This account is in the form of **Gâthâ verses,** quoted from an earlier source, and accompanied by an exposition in a variety of **the Râjpûtânî dialect.** The introduction is followed by the paṭṭâvalî proper, *i. e.*, by a nominal list of the successive pontiffs of the Nandi Sangha or the Sarasvatî Gachchha. It commences with Bhadrabâhu II., and ends with Bhuvana Kîrti, the 108th pontiff, who ascended the chair in Saṁvat 1840 (A. D. 1783), and was still reigning at the time the original manuscript was written. MS. A, unfortunately, is defective in two places. The pontificates, Nos. 66 — 78 and Nos. 92 — 104 (both inclusive), are missing. The first lacuna (Nos. 66 — 78) is, in the following table, filled up from MS. B;[3] but the second lacuna (Nos. 92 — 104) could not be supplied from that source, as the two manuscripts begin to diverge with Nos. 88.

MS. B contains only **the paṭṭâvalî proper,** but it has the advantage of being complete. It also commences with Bhadrabâhu II. in Saṁvat 4 (B. C. 53),[4] and brings the succession down to the 102nd Pontiff, Mahêndra Kîrti, who ascended the chair in Saṁvat 1938 (A. D. 1881), and

---

[1] The Digambaras are, I think, the only religious body in India that possess an extensive literature, and yet preserve the old-world Pandits' hostility to printing, once so general. [C. BENDALL.]

[2] The modern religious literature of Jainism is, of course, much more difficult, to the European student at least, than the ancient. For the Prâkṛit there are at least a fair number of glossaries, &c.; but for Mârwârî and the forms of Western Hindî in use in Jain commentaries and original works, ordinary Hindî dictionaries and grammars are of little avail: and their Gujarâtî literature (which, as will be seen from the forthcoming catalogue of Gujarâti Books in the British Museum, is extensive) is often such as an ordinary educated Parsi, or even a Hindû, cannot understand. [C. BENDALL.]

[3] As MS. B only gives the dates of accession, I have filled in the particulars, relating to the length of the different periods of the lives, from another paṭṭâvalî in my possession which I hope to publish hereafter.

[4] See, however, the first note at the end of the paper. Bhadrabâhu may have to be placed 8 years earlier, or in 61 B. C.

who was living in Jaipur when Mr. Bendall visited that town in 1885. The entries Nos. 101 and 102, however, are in a different handwriting; and the original manuscript appears to have closed with No. 100, Naiṇa Kîrti, who ascended in Saṁvat 1879 (A. D. 1822), and accordingly must have been written some time between Saṁvat 1879 and Saṁvat 1883 (A. D. 1826) when the 101st Pontiff, Dêvêndra Kîrti, succeeded to the chair. The original of MS. A, on the other hand, must have been written some time soon after Saṁvat 1840 (A. D. 1783).

The two manuscripts do not cover quite the same ground. They give the paṭṭâvalîs of **two different sections of the same main line.** The two sections separated after the 87th pontiff of the common line. According to a remark in MS. A, the actual separation would seem to have taken place in Saṁvat 1572 (A. D. 1515), when one section appears to have removed to Nâgôr, while the other continued to reside in Chîtôr, the seat of pontificate of the 87th common pontiff. The latter, according to MS. A, was Jinachandra, the successor of Prabhâchandra; while, according to MS. B, it was the latter under whom the separation took place, and whose predecessor was Jinachandra. Whatever the true case may have been, it seems, according to both manuscripts, that the two sections continued their allegiance to the 87th pontiff till the latter's death in Saṁvat 1581 (A. D. 1524), when each section elected its own separate head, and henceforth the two sections carried on their own separate paṭṭâvalîs. Of these, MS. A probably gives the paṭṭâvalî of the Nâgôr section, while MS. B seems to give that of the Chîtôr section. This attribution, however, is, for the present, only inferential. It is certain that the two paṭṭâvalîs of MSS. A and B diverge after the 87th pontiff, under whom the separation is said by MS. A to have taken place. I presume that the line of pontiffs given by MS. A migrated to Nâgôr, until they removed their residence to Ajmîr, where they are found to be at the time of the 106th pontiff. The line, given in MS. B, would then be the section, which continued to reside in Chîtôr, the seat of the 87th pontiff, until later on they removed to Jaipur, which is their present place of residence. The point is, perhaps, not one of any great importance, and may be cleared up hereafter.

The common line (*anvaya*) of both sections is that of Kundakunda, the fifth pontiff of the **Sarasvatî Gachchha.** Hence that Gachchha is known also as the **Kundakundânvaya.** The reason of this appellation is not quite clear. Kundakunda is stated to have had four other names,[5] Padmanandin, Vakragrîva, Gṛidhrapichchha and Êlâchârya. In Professor Peterson's list his principal name is given as Padmanandin. Perhaps there was some circumstance of sufficient importance connected with his eponym Kundakunda, which caused the latter to be perpetuated in an appellation of the Gachchha which he had adorned. The founder of this Gachchha was Mâghanandin, one of the four disciples of Guptigupta, each of whom founded a separate Gachchha. From him are derived two names of the Gachchha; viz., **Nandi Saṅgha and Nandi Âmnâya.** The word *âmnâya*,[6] according to Hemachandra's Anêkârtha Sangraha, is a synonym of *kula* (or *kulakrama*), and the appellation, accordingly, means "the generations" or "successions" of Nandi. A fourth name by which the Gachchha is known is **Balâtkâra Gaṇa.**[7] The reason of this name is not known. I would venture to suggest, however, the following explanation. The second pontiff of the Gachchha was Guptigupta. He is stated to have had two other names, Arhadbalin or "he who possesses the power of an Arhat," and Viśâkhâchârya. I would suggest that the Gachchha may have derived its name of Balâtkâra or "the powerful" Gaṇa from its ancestor Arhadbalin. The origin of the name would then be analogous to that of Kundakundânvaya. As a Gachchha, the line of pontiffs is distinguished by the term **Sarasvatî**; this name it seems to have received from the miracle of the pontiff Padmanandin, who is said to have made a stone figure of Sarasvatî to speak (see below No. 83 of

[5] The MS. has the term *abhâva* for 'name' (*P. su-nâma*), which I do not understand. Is it perhaps a clerical error for *prabhâva*?

[6] Another synonymous Jain term is *santâna*, which occurs in the paṭṭâvalî of the Upakêśa Gachchha, published *ante*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.

[7] The words *gaṇa* and *gachchha*, as Muni Âtmârâmjî informs me, are synonymous.

the Tables. This miracle is also pointedly referred to at the end of the paṭṭâvalî published by Professor Peterson.) It is, further, also called **the Pârijâta Gachchha**, apparently after the celestial tree of that name. But the reason of the name I do not know. *Párijáta* is also the name of the coral tree (*Erythrina Indica*); and as Mâghanandin, the founder of the Gachchha, is said to have kept his "retreats" (*vâsa*) at the foot of a Nandi tree, the thought suggests itself, whether *párijáta* may not also be a synonym of that tree, so that the Gachchha would take its name from the tree of the retreat of its founder. The parallel character of all these terms as names of one Gachchha is clearly indicated towards the end of the introduction of paṭṭâvalî A.

Though the Sarasvatî Gachchha, as a distinct line of pontiffs, was really founded by Mâghanandin, this pontiff, in all the paṭṭâvalîs that I have seen, is always enumerated in the third place, and the Gachchha is made to begin with Bhadrabâhu II., who is the first pontiff of the line. Then follows Guptigupta, as the second pontiff, from whom, as I suppose, the line took its name of Balâtkâra Gaṇa. Then comes Mâghanandin himself as the third pontiff, after whom the line is called the Nandi Saṅgha or the Nandi Âmnâya. Then comes the fourth pontiff Jinachandra; and he is followed by Kundakunda as the fifth pontiff, from whom the line derives its name of Kundakunda Anvaya.

Lastly, the Gachchha is declared to be **a branch of the Mûla Saṅgha**, that is the Original Community, founded by Mahâvîra himself.

The principal value of the paṭṭâvalîs, now published, is that they give **complete series of dates**. MS. B gives the dates of the succession of each pontiff. MS. A is even more comprehensive. It not only states the dates of succession; but adds, in the case of each pontiff, the number of his years before he took the vows (*gṛiha-varsha* or *gṛihastha-varsha*), the number of years he lived as a simple monk (*díkshá-varsha*), the number of years he held the pontificate (*paṭṭa-varsha* or *paṭṭastha-varsha*), and lastly the number of years of his whole life (*sarva-varsha* or *sarváyu-varsha*). Professor Peterson has published a paṭṭâvalî of the Sarasvatî Gachchha in his Report for 1883-1884,[8] but it supplies no dates whatever. Moreover it carries the succession list only down to the 92nd pontiff, Narêndra Kîrti, while the paṭṭâvalî now published brings it down to the 102nd. It appears to be a paṭṭâvalî of what I have called the Chîtôr section of the Gachchha; for though it omits Nos. 88 and 89, it agrees with the paṭṭâvalî of MS. B in Nos. 90-92. How the omission of Nos. 88 and 89 is to be accounted for, I do not know. This as well as all other minor divergences from Professor Peterson's list (marked P) are noted in the following tables.

Professor Bhandarkar has also published a portion of a Digambara paṭṭâvalî in his Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-1884, p. 124, 125 (published 1887). He states that he has taken his information from a paṭṭâvalî, noted as No. 629 in the Report for 1875-1876.[9] The portion, published by him, covers the same ground as the introduction of paṭṭâvalî A now published; that is, it only goes as far as the actual commencement of the Sarasvatî Gachchha. But, in some respects, his information differs from that now given, in others it is fuller. His paṭṭâvalî must, therefore, be a different one from that of the present MS. A; if so, its full publication would be desirable.

A Digambara paṭṭâvalî is also referred to by Professor Jacobi, in the Introduction to his edition of the Text of the Kalpa Sûtra, p. 30.[10] He states that it was written in Jaipur, and that it carries the succession down to Saṁvat 1840; from this, and the other brief particulars mentioned by him, it would seem probable that it did not materially differ from the paṭṭâvalî of MS. A. Professor Bühler, indeed, informs me that it is the identical No. 629, cited by Prof. Bhandarkar, which he had temporarily brought with him from India and lent to Professor Jacobi.

[8] See *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Extra Number: No. XLIV. Vol. XVII. p. 163.

[9] See Prof. Bühler's *Detailed Report of a tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS.*, Extra Number of Journal, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1877, No. XXXIV. A, Vol. XII.

[10] See *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, published by the German Oriental Society; Vol. VII.

As the Text of the Introduction in MS. A gives a large number of dates, in some ways conflicting with one another, it is now published *in extenso* with a translation. A note on the discrepancies of the dates is added at the conclusion of the paper. The paṭṭâvâlî proper, however, which is given in both MSS. A and B, is published, in abstract, in a tabular form, in which it will probably be found more convenient for study and reference. As a specimen of the full text, the first entry is here quoted: — १ संवत् ४ चैत्र सुदि १४ भद्रबाहु जी गृहस्थवर्ष २४ दिक्षावर्ष ३० पट्टस्थवर्ष २२ मास १० दिन २७ विरहदिन ३ सर्वायुवर्ष ७६ मास ११ जाति ब्राह्मण ॥; — "(1) In Saṁvat 4, Chaitra Sudi 14, Bhadrabâhu Jî (succeeded); for 24 years he lived as a householder, for 30 years as a (simple) monk, for 22 years 10 months and 27 days as pontiff. The days intervening (between his death and the accession of his successor) were 3. The total period of his life was 76 years and 11 months. By caste he was a Brâhman."

This will sufficiently explain the form of the entries of the tables. Regarding the abbreviations in the second column, S. stands for *sudi*, and V. for *vadi*; Ch. = Chaitra; Ph = Phâgun (Phâlguna); Â or A. = Âsôj or Asâ (Âśvayuja or Âśvina); P. = Pôsa (Pôshadha); K. = Kâtî (Kârtika); J. = Jêshtha; As. = Asâṛh; Bh. = Bhâdavâ (Bhadrapada); M. = Mâha (Mâgha); S. = 'Srâvan; Mr. = Mârgasir; V. = Vaisâkh. If the numbers of any entry show a discrepancy, they are shown in round brackets. In some cases (*e. g.*, in No. 24) the discrepancy may be due to a mere error in summation; but I have thought it better to leave the numbers as given in the MS. If any number is wanting in the MS., it is indicated by a query (?). The bracketed remarks in the last column are additions of my own; P. refers to Professor Peterson's List. All other remarks are translated from the manuscript.

As to the exact meaning of the term *viraha* (see the quotation above), I am uncertain. I have taken it to mean the time which intervened between the death of one pontiff and the enthronisation of his successor; this time varies from a few days to upwards of one month. It occurs in the first 24 entries; from the 25th entry onwards the synonymous term *antara* is used.

Both paṭṭâvalîs are written in a rather rugged form of the Râjpûtânî dialect, with the exception of the Prâkṛit Gâthâs which are quoted in the introduction of MS. A, and the beginning and concluding portions of that introduction which are written in a wretched attempt at Sanskṛit verse and prose.

The method of the introduction is to quote Prâkṛit Gâthâs from an authoritative work, and to accompany it with explanatory glosses in the vernacular dialect. These glosses are modern; the Prâkṛit Gâthâs appear to be old. How old they are, and from what work they may be quoted, I do not know.[11] It would be important to determine this, and thus perhaps be able to restore the true text of the Gâthâs. As they stand at present, their readings are often corrupt and in some places inconsistent with one another. I have made no attempt to render them correct or consistent; only a few obvious clerical errors have been corrected. From the manner of the vernacular commentary it is clear, that its writer found the Gâthâs already in their present confused state, and knew not how to harmonise their statements.

TEXT.

Introduction of Paṭṭâvalî A.

९९० ॥ अथ पट्टावली लिख्यते ॥

श्रीत्रैलोक्याधिपं नत्वा स्मृत्वा सद्गुरुभारतीं ।
वक्ष्ये पट्टावलीं रम्यां मूलसङ्घगणाधिपं ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमूलसङ्घप्रवरे नन्द्याम्नाये मनोहरे ।
बलात्कारगणोत्तंसे गच्छे सारस्वतीयके ॥ २ ॥
कुन्दकुन्दान्वये श्रेष्ठं उत्पन्नं श्रीगणाधिपं ।
स एवात्र प्रवक्ष्यंति श्रूयतां सज्जनाः जनाः ॥ ३ ॥

[11] From another MS. paṭṭâvalî, which I also hope shortly to publish, I see that they are referred to a work called Vikrama Prabandha. Of this work, however, I know nothing further.

(1) अथ वंशाधिकार प्रथम पट्टावली विषै युगादि चौदा कुलकर हूवा ॥ १४ नाम छै ॥
तैठी पाछै युग ल्या धर्मनिवारक संसारतारक आदिनाथ जी १ इति २४ वीर अन्तिम हूवा ॥
तैठा वर्ष ६२ ताई केवली रह्यं ॥ गाथा ॥

अन्तिमजिणणिव्वाणे केवलणाणी य गोयम मुणीन्दो ।
बारह वासे[12] य गये सुधम्मसामी य संजादो ॥ १ ॥
तह बारह वासे पुण संजादो जम्बुसामि मुणिरायो ।
अठतीस वास रहियो केवलणाणी य उक्किट्ठो ॥ २ ॥
बासठि केवलवासे तिण्ह मुणि गोयम सुधम्म जम्बू अ ।
बारह बारह दो जण तिय दुगहीणं[13] च चालीसं ॥ ३ ॥

(2) और पाछै गोतम स्वामी वर्ष १२ केवली रह्यो । तैठा पाछै जम्बू स्वामी ३८ केवली रह्यो । एवं वर्ष ६२ मै केवली रह्या ॥

तठै पाछै ५ श्रुतकेवली लिखिते ॥ गाथा ॥

सुयकेवलि पञ्च जणा बासठि वासे गये सु संजादा ।
पढमं चउद्दह वासं विण्हुकुमारं[14] मुणेयव्वं ॥ ४ ॥
नंदिमित्त वास सोलह तीय अपराजिय वास[15] बावीसं ।
इगहीणवीस वासं गोवद्धण भद्दबाहु गुणतीसं ॥ ५ ॥
सद[16] सुयकेवलणाणी पञ्च जणा विण्हु नन्दिमित्तो य ।
अपराजिय गोवद्धण [तह[17]] भद्दबाहु य संजादा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्ष १०० मै ए पाँच श्रुतकेवली हुवा विष्णुनन्दि १४ नन्दिमित्र १६ वर्ष अपराजित वर्ष २२ गोवरधन (sic) वर्ष १९ भद्रबाहुजी वर्ष २९ ॥ ए पाँच आचार्य श्रुतकेवली वर्ष १०० मै हूवा ॥

(3) तैठा पाछैय्या नै ग्यारा अङ्ग चौदा पूर्व को पाठ कण्ठि आवैतो अर पुस्तक न छाजै ॥ द्वादशाङ्ग का पद एक सो बारा कोडि तियासी लाख अठावन हजार पाँच पद छै ११२८३५८००० ॥ ५ ॥

एक पद का श्लोक बतीस अक्षऱ्या एता होय । इक्यावन कोडि आठ लाख चोरासी हजार छ सै साट अकवीस ५१०८८४६२१[18] श्लोक हुवा ॥

सो बारा अङ्ग नै लिखताँ स्याही पैंतीस हजार नो सै अठ्याणवे कोडिमण अर तेतीस लाखमण एक सो साठा अठाईसमण टङ्क सवा लागै ३२९९८३३००१२८ टङ्क ॥

सहस्र श्लोक लिखताँ पइसा १ भरी स्याही लागै । तै कौ लिखै तोल चालीस की एती लागै ॥

(4) तैठा पाछै महावीर स्युँ वरष १६२ पाछै दसपूर्वधारी हुवा ११ मुनि ॥ [गाथा ॥]

सद बासट्ठि सु वासे गये सु उप्पण्ण दह सु पुव्वधरा ॥
सद तिरासि वासाणि य एगादह मुणिवरा जादा ॥ ७ ॥
आयरिय[19] विसाख पोट्ठल खत्तिय जयसेण नागसेण मुणी ॥
सिद्धत्थ[20]-धित्ति-विजयं बुद्धिलिङ्ग-देव-धमसेणं ॥ ८ ॥
दह उगणीस य[21] सत्तर इकवीस अठारह सत्तर ।
अठारह[22] तेरह वीस चउदह चोदह कमे णेयं ॥ ९ ॥

श्रीवीरात् वर्ष १६२ विशाखाचार्य वर्ष १० । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष १७२ प्रोष्ठिलाचार्य वर्ष १९ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष १९१ क्षत्रियाचार्य वर्ष १७ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष २०८ जयसेनाचार्य वर्ष २१ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष २२९ नागसेनाचार्य वर्ष १८ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष २४७ सिद्धार्थाचार्य वर्ष १७ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष २६४ धृतिसेनाचार्य वर्ष १८ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष २८२ विजयाचार्य वर्ष १३ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष २९५ बुद्धिलिङ्गाचार्य वर्ष २० । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ३१५ देवाचार्य वर्ष १४ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ३२९ धर्मसेनाचार्य ॥ वर्ष १८३ पर्यन्त दशपूर्व का धारी हुवा । १८३ वर्ष एक सो तियासी मै ।

(5) सो दश पूर्व के लिखबै स्याही तोल चालीस कै, ग्यारा हजार एक सो पैसठि कोडिमण अर दोय लाखमण अठावन हजारमण तीनि सै तिराणवैमण सेर पटरा[23] लागै ॥

सो यो एतो पाठ्याँ ११ आचार्या नै कण्ठ आवैनो अर पुस्तक न छाँ ॥

---

12 MS. वासी । 13 Skr. द्विकहीनं । 14 MS. विष्णु? । 15 MS. वरक्ख 16 MS. सुद्द which agrees with neither metre nor sense. 17 Not in MS., but some such addition required by the metre. 18 MS. ५२८८४६२२ । 19 Read अयरिय metri causa. 20 This line is not orthographically correct. 21 MS. उगणीसह ; the metre is *upagiti*. 22 MS. अठारेहि and वीसह. 23 MS. पदरा ।

(6) इह स्थिति पाछै एकाइशाङ्गधारी उपनां वर्ष २२० ॥ तिह मै वर्ष १२३ ताँई तौ एकाइशाङ्ग पाट ५ हुवा ॥ गाथा ॥

अन्तिमजिणणिव्वाणे तियसय पणचाल वास जादे सु ।
एगादहङ्गधारिय पञ्च जणा मुणिवरा जादा ॥ १० ॥
नक्खत्तो जयपालग-पण्डव[24]-धुवसेण-कंस-आयरिया ।
अठारह वीस वासं गुणचालं चोद बत्तीसं ॥ ११ ॥
सद तेवीस य वासे एगादह अङ्गधर जादा[25] ।

श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ३४५ नक्षत्राचार्य वर्ष १८ । श्रीवीरात वर्ष ३६३ जयपालाचार्य वर्ष २० । श्रीवीरात वर्ष ३८३ पाण्डवाचार्य वर्ष ३९ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ४२२ ध्रुवसेनाचार्य वर्ष १४ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ४३६ कंसाचार्य वर्ष ३२ ॥

(7) वर्ष १२३ पाछै वर्ष ९७ मै दशाङ्गधारी उतरा । १२३ ता उतरता हुवा पाट[26] ४ ॥ गाथा ॥

वासं सत्ताणवदि[य[27]] दसङ्ग नव अट्ठ अङ्गधरा ॥ १२ ॥
सुभद्दं च जसोभद्दं भद्दबाहु कमेण य ।
लोहाचज्ज मुणीसं च कहियं च जिणागमे[28] ॥ १३ ॥
छह अट्टारह वासे तेवीस बावण वास मुणिणाहं ।
दस-नव-अट्ठङ्गधरा वास दुसद वीस सव्वेसु ॥ १४ ॥

वर्ष ९७ मै पाट ४ हुवा ॥ श्रीवीरात वर्ष ४६८ सुभद्राचार्य वर्ष ६ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ४७४ यशोभद्राचार्य वर्ष १८ श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ४९२ भद्रबाहु जी वर्ष २३ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ५१५ । लोहाचार्य जी वर्ष ५० ॥ एव वर्ष ९७ ॥ अङ्ग घटता घटता रह्या वर्ष २२० ताँईं ॥

(8) ग्यारा अङ्ग कै लिखवै स्याही तो गैतै को ब्योरो एक हजार दोय सै एकयासी कोडिमण अर छ लाख गुणचास हजार छँ सै चोसठिमण पावडो टङ्क । सवा लागै तोल श्चालीस कै १२८१०६४९६६४ टङ्क पाव १ ॥
एतो पाठ्याँ आचार्या नै कण्ठ आवतो अर पुस्तक न छा ॥

(9) तैठाँ पाछै वर्ष ११८ ताँई एकाङ्गधारी रह्या ॥ [गाथा ॥]

पञ्च सए पण्णसठे अन्तिमजिणसमय[29] जादे सु ।
उप्पण्णा पञ्च जणा इयङ्गधारी मुणेयव्वा ॥ १५ ॥
अहिवल्लि माघणन्दि य धरसेणं पुप्फयन्त भूदवली[30] ।
अडवीसे इगवीसं उगणीसं तीस वीस वास पुणो[31] ॥ १६ ॥

(10) एकाङ्गधारी ५ पाँच पाट हुवा ॥ श्रीवीरात् ५६५ अहिल्हिलाचार्य[32] वर्ष २८ ॥ श्रीवीरात् ५९३ माघनन्द्याचार्य वर्ष २१ । श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ६१४ धरसेनाचार्य वर्ष १९ श्रीवीरात वर्ष ६३३ पुष्पदन्ताचार्य वर्ष ३० श्रीवीरात् वर्ष ६६३[33] भूतवन्यिचार्य[34] वर्ष २० ॥ ११८ वर्ष[35] ॥ वर्ष ११८ ताँई एकाङ्गधारी घटता घटता श्रुतिग्यानी हुवा ॥ महावीर स्युँ ६८३ वर्ष ताँई अङ्ग की स्थिति रही ॥ पाछै श्रुतिज्ञानी हुवा ॥ गाथा ॥

इगसय अठार वासे इगङ्गधारी[36] य मुणिवरा जादा ॥
छ सय तिरासि य वासे णिव्वाणा अङ्गछित्ति कहिय जिणं[37] ॥ १७ ॥

एक अङ्ग का पाटी हुवा वरस एक सो अठारा मै ॥ एक अङ्ग का पद अठारा हजार त्या नै लिखताँ स्याही तोल चालीस कै मण । ५७००४७४५२[38] सतावन कोडि सैतालीस हजार च्यारि सै बावनमण टङ्क लालैं ॥
एतै पाठया आचार्या नै कण्ठ आवतो अर पुस्तक न छा ॥

(11) तैठा पाछै अबै श्रीमूलसङ्घ का पाट वर्णन कीजे छै । श्रीमहावीर स्युँ वर्ष ६८३ पाछै ॥ विक्रमादित्य को जन्म हुवौ । सुभद्राचार्य स्युँ वर्ष २ विक्रम जन्म अर राज्य विक्रम की स्युँ वर्ष ४ भद्रबाहु जी पाटि बैठा ॥ भद्रबाहु शिष्य गुप्तिगुप्त[39] । तस्य नामत्रयं । गुप्तिगुप्त[40] १ अर्हद्बलि २ विशाखाचार्य ३ ॥ तस्य चत्वारि शिष्य । नन्दिवृक्षमूलेन[41] वर्षायोगो[42] धृतः सह[43] माघनन्दि तेन नन्दिसङ्घ स्थापित । १ ॥ जिनसेननामतृणतले वर्षायोगो धृतः सह[43] वृषभ[44] तेन वृषभसङ्घ स्थापितः । २ ॥ येन सिंहगुहायां वर्षायोगो[42] स्थापित सह[43] सिंहसङ्घं[45] स्थापितवान् । ३ ॥ यो देवदत्ता वेश्यागृहे वर्षायोगो[42] स्थापितवान् सह[43] देवसङ्घश्चकार । ४ ॥

---

[24] MS. पांडव । [25] Metre: *upagîti*. [26] MS. पाद । [27] MS. om. य, *contra metrum*. [28] Metre: *ślôka*. [29] MS. °समये c. m.; the metre is *upagîti*. [30] MS भितवडो । [31] Metre *gîti* [32] Read अहिवल्ल्याचार्य । [33] MS. ६८३ [34] Read भूतवल्याचार्य । [35] MS. वीरात् for वर्ष । [36] MS. इक्कङ्गधारी c. m. [37] Metre: *gîti* । [38] MS. ५७४७४५२ । [39] So also in P., MS. गुपिगुपि । [40] MS. गुनगुप्ति । [41] MS. नंदिवृष्यमलेन । [42] MS. वृषायोगो । [43] For सः; but ead सो । [44] MS only वृष । [45] MS तेन सिंह ! ।

(12) तद्यथा ॥ नन्दिसङ्घे पारिजातगच्छे बलात्कारगणे चत्वारि मुनिनामानि । नन्दि । १ । चन्द्र । २ । कीर्ति । ३ । भूषण । ४ । पुनरपि नंदिसंङ्घे सरस्वतीगच्छे बलात्कारगणे । तथा च श्रीमूलसङ्घे नन्द्याम्नाये सरस्वतीगच्छे बलात्कारगणे चत्वारि मुनिनामानि । नन्दि । १ । चन्द्र । २ । कीर्ति । ३ । भूषण । ४ ॥ इत्यादि ॥

(13) तत्र प्रथमं वीरात् वर्ष ४९२[46] सुभद्राचार्यात् वर्ष २४ विक्रमजन्मान्त वर्ष २२ राज्यान्त वर्ष ४ भद्रबाहु जातः ॥ गाथा ॥

सत्तरि चदुसदजुत्तो[47] तिण काला विक्कमो हवइ जम्मो ।
अठ वरस बाललीला सोडस वासेहि भम्मिए देस[48] ॥१८॥
पणरस[49] वासे जज्जं[50] कुणन्ति मिच्छोवेदससंजुत्तो[51] ।
चालीस वरस जिणवरधम्मं[52] पालीय सुरपयं लहियं ॥ १९ ॥

सो यौं आचार्यां बुद्धि घटती जाणी । क्यौं ! जत्काल का दोष संती ॥ तदि भुजवलि[53] मुनि पुष्पदन्त मुनि श्रुतज्ञान सर्व पुस्तका मै थाप्यो ॥
मिति जेष्ठ सुदि पञ्चमी कै दिन ॥

TRANSLATION.

(1) Having bowed to the glorious Lord of the three worlds, and called to mind Bhâratî (*i. e.* Sarasvatî), the true Guru, I declare the charming paṭṭâvalî of the pontiffs of the Mûla Saṅgha.

(2) In the noble glorious Mûla Saṅgha, in the heart-ravishing succes sion of Nandin, in the pearl of a Balâtkâra Gaṇa, in the Sârasvatîya Gachchha ;

(3) In the line of Kundakunda there arose excellent glorious pontiffs. Even these are here set forth. Listen, oh ye men of worth !

§ 1. First in this paṭṭâvalî are to be mentioned the 14 Kulakaras who were in the beginning of the Yuga.

Next come the Establishers of the Faith and the Saviours of the world, of whom Âdinâtha is the first and Vîra the 24th and last.

Afterwards there were Kêvalins for 62 years (as related in the following three) Gâthâs :—

(1) " After the Nirvâṇa of the last Jina, (there arose) Gôyama, the great Muni, a Kêvalin, and after the lapse of twelve years there arose the lord Sudhamma.

(2) " Then again after twelve years there arose the lord Jambû, a king of Munis ; and he, the grand Kêvalin, abode for thirty-eight years.

(3) " There were sixty-two years of Kêvalins, and three Munis, Gôyama, Sudhamma and Jambû ; two men for twelve years each, the third for forty years less two." (1—3.)

§ 2. After Vîra, Gôtama was a Kêvalin for 12 years [and after him Sudharman for another 12 years] ;[54] after this Jambû Swâmin was a Kêvalin for 38 years. Thus there were 62 years of Kêvalins.

After this we now write down the 5 'Sruta-Kêvalins (as related in the following three) Gâthâs :—

(1) " Of 'Sruta-Kêvalins there were five after the lapse of (those) sixty-two years ; as the first, for fourteen years, Viṇhukumâra is to be reckoned.

(2) " Then Nandimitta for sixteen years ; as the third, Aparâjiya for twenty-two years ; Gôvaddhaṇa for twenty years less one, Bhaddabâhu for thirty less one.

(3) " For one hundred years, there arose five men as 'Sruta-Kêvalins, Viṇhu and Nandimitta, also Aparâjiya, Gôvaḍḍhaṇa and Bhaddavâhu." (4—6.)

---

46 MS. ४९३ । 47 MS चतु° । 48 MS. °षोडस वासे भम्मयदेस c. m. ; the metre is *gîti*. Cf. Hem. VI, 161. 49 MS. रसपण. 50 MS. यज्जं । 51 MS. मिछोयदेश°: 52 MS. जिणधम्मं c. m. ; the metre is *gîti*. 53 Read भूतवलि ।

54 The bracketed passage appears to have dropped out of the original text. The portions within round brackets are added to bring out more clearly the meaning of the text.

In the space of 100 years there arose five Sruta-Kêvalins: *viz.* Vishṇunandin for 14, Nandimitra for 16 years, Aparâjita for 22, Gôvardhana for 19, and Bhadrabâhu (I.) for 29 years. These five Âchâryas were Sruta-Kêvalins within the space of 100 years.

§ 3. Up to this time the text of the eleven Aṅgas and the fourteen Pûrvas was known by memory, and books did not exist. The words of the Twelve Aṅgas[55] amounted to one hundred and twelve krôṛ, eighty-three lâkh, fifty-eight thousand and five (*i.e.* 1,128'358,005).[56]

One *slôka* of words consists of thirty-two *aksharas*. Accordingly there are fifty-one krôṛ, eight lâkh, eighty-four thousand, six hundred and twenty-one *ślôkas* (*i.e.* 510'884,621).[57]

In the writing of these twelve Aṅgas there was employed a total of thirty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight krôṛ, thirty-three lâkh, one hundred and twenty-eight *ṭankas* of ink (*i. e.* 359,983'300,128).

In the writing of one thousand *ślôkas* there is spent one *paisâ* worth of ink; (hence) in the writing of all of them was spent as much as forty *tôlâs*.

§ 4. After this, *i. e.*, 162 years after Mahâvîra, there arose 11 Munis who knew (only) ten Pûrvas; (as related in the following three Gâthâs:)—

(1) "One hundred and sixty-two years having passed, there arose eleven great Munis, for one hundred and eighty-three years, who knew (only) ten Aṅgas; *viz.*,

(2) "The Âchâryas Visâkha, Pôṭṭhala, Khattiya, Jayasêṇa, Nâgasêṇa, Siddhattha, Dhitti, Vijayâ, Buhilinga, Deva and Dhamasêna;

(3) "(For whom) years ten, nineteen, seventeen, twenty-one, eighteen, seventeen, eighteen, thirteen, twenty, fourteen, fourteen are to be counted respectively." (7—9.)

From the year 162 after Mahâvîra there lived the Âchârya Viśâkha for 10 years; from 172 after Vîra, the Achârya Prôshṭhila, for 19 years; from 191 after Vîra, the Âchârya Kshatriya, for 17 years; from 208 after Vîra, the Âchârya Jayasêna, for 21 years; from 229 after Vîra, the Âchârya Nâgasêna, for 18 years; from 247 after Vîra, the Âchârya Siddhârtha, for 17 years; from 264 after Vîra, the Âchârya Dhṛitisêna, for 18 years; from 282 after Vîra, the Âchârya Vijaya, for 13 years; from 295 after Vîra, the Âchârya Buddhiliṅga, for 20 years; from 315 after Vîra, the Âchârya Dêva (I.), for 14 years; from 329 after Vîra, the Âchârya Dharmasêna. For the space of 183 years there existed men who knew (only) ten Pûrvas, *i. e.*, for one hundred and eighty-three years.

§ 5. In the writing of these ten Pûrvas were used forty *tôlâs* of ink, (and) eleven thousand, one hundred and thirty-five krôṛ, and two lâkh, fifty-eight thousand, three hundred and ninety-three *sêrs* of leaves [*i. e.*, 111,350'258,393].

Now these texts were in the memory of the 11 Âchâryas, and there were not yet any books.

§ 6. After these events these arose men who knew (only) eleven (or less) Aṅgas, for 220 years.[58] Among these men, for 123 years, there were five successions of men who knew (only) eleven Aṅgas; (as related in the following two and one-half) Gâthâs: —

[55] The fourteen Pûrvas being counted together as the twelfth Aṅga.

[56] The same number will be found given in Prof. Bhandarkar's Report for 1887, p. 107—110.

[57] This number, multiplied by 32, gives a total of 16,348'307 872 *aksharas*. Prof Bhandarkar, *ibid.*, does not state the number of *ślôkas*, but gives the total of the *aksharas* as 16,348,307,888. This, divided by 32, gives the number of *ślôkas* as 510,884,621 and ½. His paṭṭâvali, therefore, must have counted *one-half ślôka* more than the present paṭṭâvalî.

[58] The text is here not clearly expressed. It reads as if the period of 220 years referred to the Eleven-Aṅgadhârins only. But from what follows later on, it is clear, that that period is understood to be made up of the two periods of 123 years and 97 years of all the Angins of diminishing knowledge.

(1) "Three hundred and forty-five years having passed after the *nirvâṇa* of the last Jina, five great Munis arose, men who knew eleven Aṅgas; *viz.*,

(2) "The Achâryas Nakkhatta, Jayapâlaga, Paṇḍava, Dhuvasêṇa, Kaṁsa, for years eighteen, twenty, thirty-nine, fourteen, thirty-two (respectively).

(3) "For the space of one hundred and twenty-three years there existed men who knew eleven Aṅgas." (10—12).

From the year 345 after Vîra there lived the Âchârya Nakshatra, for 18 years; from 363 after Vîra, the Âchârya Jayapâla, for 20 years; from 383 after Vîra, the Âchârya Pâṇḍava, for 39 years; from 422 after Vîra, the Âchârya Dhruvasêna, for 14 years; from 436 after Vîra, the Âchârya Kaṁsa for 32 years.

§ 7. After (those) 123 years, within the space of 97 years, there arose men who knew (only) ten Aṅgas. From after 123 years there arose 4 successions; (as related in the following two and one-half) Gâthâs: —

(1) "For the space of ninety-seven years there were men who knew ten Aṅgas or nine or eight Aṅgas; *viz.*,

(2) "Subhadda and Jasôbhadda, Bhaddabâhu and Lôhâchajja, the lord of Munis, who spake the doctrine of the Jina.

(3) "Six, eighteen, twenty-three, fifty-two (respectively) were the years of these lordly Munis; two hundred and twenty were the years of all (these) men who knew ten or nine or eight Aṅgas." (12—14.)

Within the space of 97 years, there were 4 successions. From the year 468 after Vîra there was the Âchârya Subhadra, for 6 years; from 474 after Vîra, the Âchârya Yasôbhadra, for 18 years; from 492 after Vîra, the Âchârya Bhadrabâhu-jî (II.), for 23 years; from 515 after Vîra, Lôhâchârya-jî, for 50 years.[59] Thus there were 97 years. The number of Aṅgas went on diminishing through the space of 220 years.

§ 8. In the writing of the eleven Aṅgas the expenditure of ink was one thousand, two hundred and eighty-one krôṛ, and six lâkh, forty-nine thousand, six hundred and sixty-four and one quarter *ṭanka* (*i.e.* 12, 810'649,664¼). In all there were used forty *tôlâs*.

These texts were in the memory of the Âchâryas, and books did not yet exist.

§ 9. After this, for the space of 118 years, there lived men who knew (only) one Aṅga; (as related in the following two) Gâthâs: —

(1) "Five hundred and sixty-five years having passed after the *nirvâṇa* of the last Jina, there arose five men who should be understood to have known one Aṅga; *viz.*,

(2) "Ahivalli and Mâghaṇandin, Dharasêṇa, Pupphayanta, Bhûdavali. Twenty-eight, twenty-one, nineteen, thirty, and twenty, were their years (respectively)." (15, 16.)

§ 10. There were 5 successions of men who knew (only) one Aṅga. From the year 565 after Vîra there was the Âchârya Ahivalli[60] for 28 years; from 593 after Vîra, the Âchârya Mâghaṇandin, for 21 years; from 614 after Vîra, the Âchârya Dharasêna, for 19 years; from 633 after Vîra, the Âchârya Pushpadanta, for 30 years; from 663 after Vîra, the Âchârya Bhûtavali, for 20 years; altogether 118 years. For the space of 118 years there were men who knew (only) one Aṅga; (the knowledge of it) went on declining, till there were only the

[59] The Gâthâ has 52 years; the change to 50 is an alteration made by the commentator purposely, to harmonise the account of the gâthâ. See the first note at the end of this paper.

[60] This would seem to be the same person who is afterwards called Arhadvali or Guptigupta.

'Srutajñânins. Up to the year 683 after Mahâvîra (the knowledge of) the Aṅgas was conserved. Afterwards arose the 'Srutajñânins; (as related in the following) Gâthâ : —

(1) "For the space of one hundred and eighteen years there existed great Munis who knew one Aṅga. In the year six hundred and eighty-three after the Nirvâṇa of the Jina, the loss of the Aṅgas is said to have been complete." (17.)

Successions of men who knew (only) one Aṅga there were for the space of one hundred and eighteen years. In the writing of the eighteen thousand words of this one Anga there were used forty *tôlâs* of ink, or 570'047,452, *i.e.*, fifty-seven krôṛ, forty-seven thousand, four hundred and fifty-two *ṭankas*.

So much (of the sacred) text was in the memory of the Âchâryas, and books did not exist.

§ 11. Further, there shall now be related an account of the successions of the glorious Mûla Saṅgha, (beginning) from the year 683 after the glorious Mahâvîra. There had occurred the birth of Vikramâditya. In the year 2 after the Âchârya Subhadra's (accession to the pontificate) the birth of Vikrama took place; and in the year 4 of Vikrama's reign Bhadrabâhu-jî (II.) took his seat on the pontifical chair. Bhadrabâhu's disciple was Guptigupta. The latter had three names: 1, Guptigupta, 2, Arhadbalin, 3, Viśâkhâchârya. He had four disciples: 1, Mâghaṇandin who at the foot of a Nandi tree[61] kept his rainy seasons, and who established the Nandi Saṅgha; 2, Vṛishabha, who kept his rainy seasons under the tree called Jinasêna, and who established the Vṛishabha Saṅgha; 3, Siṁha, who kept his rainy seasons in the cave of a lion (*siṁha*), and who established the Siṁha Saṅgha; 4, Dêva (II.) who kept his rainy seasons in the house of the courtesan Dêvadattâ, and who established the Dêva Saṅgha.

§ 12. The detail is as follows : —

In the Nandi Saṅgha, or the Pârijâta Gachchha, or the Balâtkâra Gaṇa, there are in use four surnames for the Munis, *viz.*, Nandin, Chandra, Kîrti and Bhûshaṇa, or (in other words) in the Nandi Saṅgha which is the Sarasvatî Gachchha or the Balâtkâra Gaṇa; or again (in other words) in the Nandi Âmnâya which is the Sarasvatî Gachchha or the Balâtkâra Gaṇa, of the glorious Mûla Saṅgha, there are in use four names for the Munis, *viz.*, Nandin, Chandra, Kîrti and Bhûshaṇa; and so forth.

§ 13. Here, first of all, there was Bhadrabâhu in the year 492 after Vîra,[62] 24 after Subhadra, 22 after Vikrama's birth, 4 after Vikrama's accession; (as related in the following two) Gâthâs :—

(1). "It was the year four hundred and seventy when the birth of Vikrama took place. For eight years he played as a child, for sixteen he roamed over the country; (2), for fifteen years he performed sacrifices, being given over to false doctrine; for forty years he was devoted to the religion of the Jina and then obtained heaven." (18, 19).

The knowledge of these Munis went on diminishing. The cause of this was the badness of those times. Then the Muni Bhûtavali[63] and the Muni Pushpadanta collected all the sacred lore in books.

Dated on the fifth day of the bright half of the month Jyêshṭha.

[61] The tree *Cedrela Toona*, according to Sir M. Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary. It is the well-known Indian mahogany tree, a very large and tall tree; see Watt's *Economic Products of India*, Part VII. p. 66. *Nandi* appears to be its South-Indian (Telugu) name; see *ibid.*, part VI., p. 47, No. 185.

[62] The MS. reading is not quite distinct; originally the number seems to have been 492, but afterwards altered to 493. The former is the correct number, as may be seen from the scheme in the first note at the end of this paper.

[63] The name of this Muni is spelt variously and corruptly throughout, *Bhujavali*, *Bhûtavalli*, etc. Prof. Bhandarkar's MS. No. 629, appears also to read *Bhûtavali*.

Tables of the Kundakunda line, or the Sarasvatî Gachchha, called the Nandi Âmnâya, or Balâtkâra Gaṇa, of the Mûla Saṅgha. (From MSS. A and B.)

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	Christ-ian.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
1	Bhadrabâhu II ...	4 Ch. S. 14	B. C. 53	24	...	...	30	...	..	22	10	27	3	76	11	...	He was a Brâhman by caste.
2	Guptigupta	26 Ph. S. 14	31	22	...	...	34	...	...	9	6	25	5	65	7	...	A Pawâr by caste.
3	Mâghanandin I ...	36 Â. S. 14	21	20	...	...	44	...	...	4	4	26	4	68	5	...	A Sâh by caste.
4	Jinachandra I ...	40 Ph. S. 14	17	24	9	...	32	3	..	8	9	6	3	65	9	9	
5	Kundakunda	49 P. V. 8	8	11	...	...	33	...		51	10	10	5	95	10	15	He had 4 other names (*abhâva*); viz. Padmanandin, Vakragrîva, Gṛidhrapichchha, Êlâchârya.
6	Umâsvâmin	101 K. S. 8	A. D. 44	19	...	...	25	...	...	40	8	1	5	84	8	6	The Kâshthâ Saṅgha arose in his time. (P. 5, Umâsvâti.)
7	Lôhâchârya II ...	142 A. S. 14	85	21	...	...	38	...	...	10	10	20	6	69	10	26	
8	Yaśaḥkîrti	153 J. S. 10	96	12	...	...	21	...	...	58	(8)	(21)	(5)	91	(9)	(15)	A Jâyalwâl by caste.
9	Yaśônandin	211 Ph. V. 11	154	16	...	...	17	...	...	46	4	9	4	79	4	13	
10	Dêvanandin I	258 As. S. 8	201	11	5	...	15	7	..	49	10	28	4	76	11	2	A Paurwâl by caste.
11	Pûjyapâda	308 J. S. 10	251	15	...	...	11	7	...	44	11	22	7	71	6	29	
12	Guṇanandin I	353 J. S. 9	296	14	...	...	13	5	...	11	3	1	4	38	8	5	
13	Vajranandin...... ..	364 Bh. S. 14	307	19	..	...	16	3	...	22	5	1	4	57	8	5	
14	Kumâranandin ...	386 Ph. V. 4	329	16	...	...	10	2		40	2	20	9	66	4	29	
15	Lôkachandra I ...	427 J. V. 3	360	18	...	..	16	...	...	26	3	16	10	60	3	26	(P. 9, Lôkêndu.)
16	Prabhâchandra I..	453 Bh. S. 14	396	9	...	...	24	...	...	25	5	15	11	58	5	26	(The MS. adds "*prabhâva* 1.")
17	Nêmichandra I ...	478 Ph. S. 10	421	10	...	...	22	...	...	8	9	1	9	40	9	10	
18	Bhânunandin	487 P. V. 5	430	9	...	...	15	..	...	22	...	24	12	46	1	6	
19	Harinandin	(508) M. S. 11	451	9	...	...	15	...	...	16	7	15	14	40	7	29	(Both MSS. give Saṁ 508. P. 10 has Siṁhanandin).
20	Vasunandin	525 Â S. 10	468	10	...	...	30	...	...	6	2	22	9	46	3	1	
21	Vîranandin	531 P. S. 11	474	9	.	...	13	...	...	30	...	14	10	52	...	24	(MS. B gives Pôsa S. 12.)
22	Ratnakîrti	561 M. S. 5	504	8	...	...	12	...	...	23	4	7	11	43	4	18	(P. 10, Ratnanandin.)

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Samvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
23	Mâṇikanandin......	585 As. V. 8	528	10	...	...	19	...	...	16	5	10	15	45	5	25	(P. 11, Mâṇikyanandin.)
24	Mêghachandra ...	601 P. V. 3	544	24	3	27	6	7	13	25	5	20	12	56	(6)	(2)	(P. 11, Mêghêndu.)
25	Śântikîrti I....... ..	627 As. V. 5	530	7	...	..	10	...	..	15	..	25	20	32	1	15	
26	Mêrukîrti	642 Ś. S. 5	585	8	...	...	11	...	...	44	3	16	13	63	3	29	These 26 pontificates took place in Bhaddalpur in Mâlwâ. (MS. B gives Ś. *vadi* 5.)
27	Mahâkîrti	633 Mr. S. 4	629	6	...	...	12	...	...	17	11	5	15	35	11	20	He was made pontiff in Bhaddalpur, but transferred his seat to Ujaini.
28	Vishnunandin	704 Mr. V. 9	647	7	.	...	14	..	...	21	4	...	15	42	4	15	(MS. B calls him Vîranandin.)
29	Śrîbhûshaṇa I .	726 Ch. S. 9	669	14	..	..	8	..	...	9	.	.	26	31	..	26	
30	Śrîchandra	735 V. S. 5	678	6	..	...	12	.	...	14	3	4	31	32	4	5	(P. 12, Śîlachandra.)
31	Nandikirti	749 Bh. S. 10	692	15	.	...	20	...	.	15	6	4	13	50	6	17	(P. 12, Śrînandin.)
32	Dêśabhûshaṇa ...	765 Ch. V. 12	708	18	...	..	24	..	..	...	6	6	7	42	6	13	(MS. B gives Saṁ. 764).
33	Anantakîrti	765 Â S. 10	708	11	..	..	13	...	...	19	9	25	5	43	10	...	
34	Dharmanandin ...	785 Ś. S 15	728	13	..	..	18	...	...	22	9	25	5	53	10	...	(P. 12, Dharmâdinandin.)
35	Vîrachandra...... ..	803 J. S. 15	751	13	..	...	25	...	..	32	...	4	8	70	...	12	(P. 13, Vidyânandin.)
36	Râmachandra	840 As. V. 12	783	8	...	...	11	...	..	16	10	...	6	35	10	6	(MS. B calls him also Vîrachandra.)
37	Râmakîrti.......... .	857 V. S. 3	790	14	...	...	16	..	...	21	4	26	11	51	5	7	
38	Abhayachandra ..	878 Â. S. 10	821	18	...		10	..	...	17	.	27	4	45	1	1	(P. 13, Abhayêndu.)
39	Naranandin	(897) K. S. 7	840	15	...	...	21	...	...	18	9	...	9	54	9	9	(MS. B and P. 13 call him Narachandra: MS. B has K. S. 11; it also gives Saṁ. 895.)
40	Nâgachandra	916 Bh. V. 5	859	21	.	...	13	. .	...	23	..	3	10	57	...	13	
41	Nayananandin	939 Bh. S. 9	882	8	...	.	10	..	...	8	9	11	9	23	9	20	(MS. B gives Bh. S. 3. P. 14 has Nayanandin.)
42	Harichandra	948 As. V. 8	891	8	4	..	14	8	...	26	1	8	8	49	1	16	
43	Mahîchandra I. ..	974 Ś. S. 9	917	14	...	..	10	11	...	16	6	...	5	41	5	5	(MS. B gives Saṁ. 972 and consequently deducts 2 from each date down to No. 52, where it also gives 1140.)
44	Mâghachandra I ..	990 M. S. 14	933	13	...	..	20	..	...	32	2	24	9	65	3	3	(P. 14 has Mâghavêndu.)

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Samvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
45	Lakshmîchandra	1023 J. V. 2	966	11	...	...	25	...	...	14	4	3	11	50	4	14	
46	Guṇanandin II	1037 Â. S. 1	970	18	...	...	20	...	...	10	10	29	14	48	11	13	(MS. B adds marginally Guṇakîrti, which is also given by P. 14.)
47	Guṇachandra	1048 Bh. S. 14	991	10	...	...	22	...	...	17	8	7	10	49	8	17	(P. 15 inserts Vâsavêndu between Nos. 47 & 48.)
48	Lôkachandra II	1066 J. S. 1	1009	15	...	...	30	...	...	13	3	3	4	58	3	7	
49	Śrutakîrti	1079 Bh. S. 8	1022	13	...	...	32	...	...	15	6	6	6	60	6	12	
50	Bhâvachandra	1094 Ch. V. 5	1037	12	...	...	25	...	...	20	11	25	5	58	...	...	
51	Mahîchandra II	1115 Ch. V. 5	1058	10	...	...	26	...	...	25	5	10	5	61	5	15	Down to here the seat of the Pontificate was in Ujain. (P. 16 has Mahâchandra.)
52	Mâghachandra II.	1140 Bh. S. 5	1083	14	...	...	13	...	...	4	3	17	7	31	3	24	He pontificated in Wârâ. (See remark under No. 44.)
53	Vṛishabhanandin	1144 P. V. 14	1087	7	...	...	37	...	...	3	4	1	4	47	4	5	In Wârâ. (P. 16 has Brahmanandin.)
54	Śivanandin	1148 V. S. 4	1091	9	...	...	39	...	...	7	6	17	14	55	7	1	In Wârâ.
55	Vasuchandra	1155 Mr. S. 5	1098	11	...	...	40	...	...	...	7	28	3	51	8	1	In Wârâ. (P. 16 has Viśvachandra).
56	Saṅghanandin	1156 Ś. S. 6	1099	7	...	...	32	...	...	4	...	24	5	43	...	29	In Wârâ. (MS. B calls him Sishanandin; P. 17, Harinandin.
57	Bhâvanandin	1160 - Bh. S. 5	1103	11	...	...	30	...	...	7	2	...	3	48	2	3	In Wârâ.
58	Dêvanandin II	1167 K. S. 8	1110	11	...	...	30	...	...	3	3	2	10	44	3	12	In Wârâ. (P. 17, Surakîrti.)
59	Vidyâchandra	1170 Ph. V. 5	1113	14	...	...	38	...	...	5	5	5	14	57	5	19	In Wârâ.
60	Śûrachandra	1176 Ś. S. 9	1119	10	...	...	35	...	...	8	1	29	2	53	2	1	In Wârâ.
61	Mâghanandin II	1184 Â. S. 10	1127	14	3	...	32	2	...	4	1	16	5	50	6	21	In Wârâ.
62	Jñânakîrti	1188 Mr. S. 1	1131	10	...	...	34	...	...	11	...	3	7	55	...	10	In Wârâ. (P. 18, Jñânanandin.)
63	Gangâkîrti	1199 Mr. S. 11	1142	13	...	...	33	...	...	7	2	8	10	53	2	18	Down to here the pontificates took place in Wârâ. (MS. B adds "from here 14 pontificates took place in Gwâlêr, down to Abhayakîrti, No. 77").
64	Simhakîrti	1206 Ph. V. 14	1149	8	...	...	37	...	...	2	2	15	16	47	3	1	In Gwâlêr (Gwâliyar).
65	Hêmakîrti	1209 J. V. 3	1152	13	...	...	24	...	...	7	3	[27	6	44	4	3	(From the middle of No. 65 MS. A breaks off down to the middle of No. 79. The lacuna is supplied from MS. B.)
66	Sundarakîrti	1216 Â. S. 3	1159	6	9	...	19	3	...	6	6	20	10	32	7	...	(P. 18, has Châranandin.)

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession.		House-holder.			Monk.			Pontiff.			Intercalary days.	Total.			REMARKS.
		Saṁvat.	A.D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.		Years.	Months.	Days.	
67	Nêmichandra II ...	1223 V. S. 3	1166	7	..	...	21	...	...	7	8	29	9	35	9	8	(P. 19 has Nêminandin.)
68	Nâbhikîrti	1230 M. S. 11	1173	5	...	...	35	...	...	1	11	26	4	42	...	...	
69	Narêndrakîrti I ..	1232 M. S. 11.	1175	14	...	...	13	...	...	9	...	18	12	36	1	...	(P. 19, Narêndrâdiyaśaḥ.)
70	Śrîchandra II	1241 Ph. S. 11	1184	7	...	...	25	...	...	6	3	24	7	38	4	1	
71	Padmakirti	1248 A. S. 12	1191	10	...	...	22	...	..	4	11	25	6	37	...	1	
72	(Varaddhachandra)	1253 A. S. 13	1196	18	...	...	5	...	...	2	11	28	3	26	..	1	(Perhaps wrong for Varddhamâna, as given by P. 19).
73	Akalaṅkachandra.	1256 A. S. 14	1199	14	...	...	33	...	..	1	3	24	7	48	4	1	
74	Lalitakîrti	1257 K. S. 15	1200	13	...	..	24	...	...	4	..	...	5	41	...	5	
75	Kêśavachandra ...	1261 Mr. V. 5	1204	11	...	...	34	...	...	...	6	15	6	45	6	21	
76	Chârukîrti	1262 J. S. 11	1205	13	...	..	32	...	..	2	3	2	7	47	3	9	
77	Abhayakîrti.........	1254 Â. V. 3	1207	11	2	...	30	5	...	...	4	11	7	41	11	18	In Gwâlêr (Gwâliyar.)
78	Vasantakîrti.........	1234 M. S. 5	1207	12	...	..	20	...	..	1	4	22	8	33	5	...	In Ajmêr.
79	Prakshâtakîrti......	1236 As. S. 5	1209	11	...	...	15	...	...	2	3	19	4	28	3	23	In Ajmêr. (Perhaps wrong for Prakhyâtakîrti, as in P. 22.)
80	Śântikîrti II.........	1268 K. V. 8	1211	18	...	..	23	...	...	2	9	7	8	43	9	15	In Ajmêr. (P. 23, Viśâlakîrti.)
81	Dharmachandra I.	1271 Ś. S. 15	1214	16	...	..	24	...	...	25	...	5	8	65	...	13	In Ajmêr.
82	Ratnakîrti II	1296 Bh. V. 13	1239	19	...	...	25	...	...	14	4	10	6	58	4	16	In Ajmêr.
83	Prabhâchandra II.	1310 P. S. 14	1253	12	..	...	12	...	.	74	11	15	8	98	11	23	In Ajmêr. There was an Âchârya of Prabhâchandra in Gujarat. A certain Śrâvak called Prabhâchandra for the purpose of performing a consecration; but he could not come. Then after giving the *sûrimantra* to the Âchârya, the Śrâvak conferred on him the title of Bhaṭṭâraka. Thus Padmanandin became a Bhaṭṭâraka. (MS. B adds the date Sam. 1375 = A. D. 1318.) He carved a stone figure of Sarasvatî and caused it to speak (see P. 41.)
84	Padmanandin	1385 P. S. 7	1328	10	7	..	23	5	...	65	...	18	10	99	...	28	In Dillî (Delhi).
85	Śubhachandra......	1450 M. S. 5	1393	16	...	...	24	...	...	56	3	4	11	96	3	15	In Dillî.

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession. Sam.	A. D.	House-holder. Years.	Months.	Days.	Monk. Years.	Months.	Days.	Pontiff. Years.	Months.	Days.	Intercalary days.	Total. Years.	Months.	Days.	REMARKS.
86	Prabhâchandra III	1507 J. V. 5	1440	12	...	...	15	...	...	64	8	17	10	91	8	27	In Dillî. (MS. B and P. 30 call him Jinachandra, and the next, Prabhâchandra).
87	Jinachandra II ...	1571 Ph. V. 2	1514	15	...	...	35	...	...	9	4	25	8	59	5	3	In Chîtôṛ. In Saṁ. 1572 the Gachchha split up into two; one section residing in Chîtôṛ, the other in Nâgôr.[64]

A. — The Nâgôr Line. From MS. A.

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Sam.	A. D.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	Intercalary days.	Years.	Months.	Days.	REMARKS.
88	Ratnakîrti III......	1581 Ś. V. 5	1524	9	...	...	31	...	...	21 (5	8 onl	13 y)	5	61	8	18	(All these particulars, exc. date of accession, really belong to No. 88 of the Chîtôṛ line, *q. v.* Ratnakîrti reigned only about 5 years).
89	Bhuvanakîrti I ...	1586 M. V. 3	1529	11	...	...	26	...	...	4	9	26	2-4	42	0	0	He was by caste a Chhâvaḍâ. (Intercalary 2 months 4 days.)
90	Dharmakîrti	1590 Ch. V. 7	1533	13	...	...	31	...	...	10	(10)	(20)	1-10	55	(1)	(4)	By *caste a* Sêṭhî. (Intercalary, 1 month 10 days.)
91	Viśâlakîrti	1601 V. S. 1	1544	9	...	...	58	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	(From the middle of No. 91 the MS. again breaks off down to the beginning of No. 105).
105	Bhuvanabhûshaṇa	1797 A. S. 10	1740	11	...	...	[25	1	2]	4	6	12	4-16	41	0	0	By caste a Chhâvaḍâ, in Kâlaiḍahar. (Intercalary 4 months 16 days; the period of monkhood is missing in the MS.).
106	Vijayakîrti	1802 A. S. 1	1745	9	...	...	28	...	...	27	7	0	?	?	?	?	By cast a Pâṭanî, in Ajmêr. (The intercacalary and total periods are missing.)
107	Lôkêndrakîrti	1830 K. ?	1773	7	...	...	28	...	...	10	0	0	mts. 8	?	?	?	Of a high caste (*Vaḍ jâtyâ*). His seat of pontificate was in Ajmêr. His death (*śânti*) took place in Malakâpur in Vaiśakha Sudi 5.
108	Bhuvanakîrti II ...	1840 Ch. V. 1	1783	12	...	...	27	...	...	...	...	...	.	...	...	...	He is the present pontiff.

B. — The Chîtôr Line. From MS. B.

Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession. Saṁ.	A. D.		Serial Number.	NAMES.	Dates of accession. A.D.	Saṁ.	
88	Dharmachandra II...	1581 Ś.V. 5	1524	(He reigned 21 years, see remark to No. 88 of the Nâgôr Line. P. 35 omits him.	96	Mahêndrakîrti I...	1792 P.S.10	1735	
89	Lalitakîrti II.	1603 Ch.S.8	1546	(P. 35 omits him.)	97	Khêmêndrakîrti ...	1815 A.S.11	1758	
90	Chandrakîrti	1622 V. V.?	1565		98	Surêndrakîrti	1822 V. V ?	1765	
91	Dêvêndrakîrti	1662 Ph.V ?	1605		99	Sukhêndrakîrti.....	1852 ? ?	1795	He was a householder for 4 years; (*i. e.*, he was 4 years old when he took the vows.)
92	Narêndrakîrti	1691 K.V.8	1634	(P. paṭṭâvalî closes here.)	100	Naiṇakîrti...........	1879 A V.10	1822	
93	Surêndrakîrti	1722 S.V.8	1665		101	Dêvêndrakîrti III.	1883 Â. S.10	1826	
94	Jagatkîrti	1733 S. V.5	1676		102	Mahêndrakîrti II..	1938 Ph.S.2	1881	
95	Dêvêndrakîrti II. ...	1770 M.V.11	1713						

64 This date is obscure; the separation may have taken place in that year (1572), but separate heads were not appointed till 1581, when Jinachandra died.

INDEX TO THE PROPER NAMES.[65]

[Ch. = Chitôr section, N. = Nâgôr section. The numbers refer to the Tables; the paragraphs refer to the Introduction.]

[65] The index was drawn up by Mr. Bendall. For the arrangement in the order of the Roman alphabet and for some additions I am responsible.

NOTES.

1. **Chronological.** There are several inconsistencies in the chronology, presented in the Gâthâs. Gâthâ 7 gives a total of 183 years; but the summation of the several items, given in Gâthâ 9 as constituting the total, only yields a total of 181. Either the total or one of the items may be wrong. That the text of the Gâthâs is here corrupt, is also shown by the fact that the lines do not properly scan and that the Prâkṛit names do not properly spell; thus the Prâkṛit names Dhitti and Buhiliṅga, as given by the MS., do not represent the Sanskṛit names Dhṛiti and Buddhiliṅga which in all probability are correct.

Similarly Gâthâ 12 gives a total of 97 years; but the summation of the items yields a total of 99. Here, too, the text of the Gâthâs is corrupt; and one of the verses is a *ślôka*, instead of an *âryâ*. In this case, the vernacular commentator attempted to remove the difficulty by simply altering one of the items and reading 50 instead of 52.

It is to be observed that these two errors neutralise one another; and this fact would seem to point to a manipulation of the text of the Gâthâs with a view to harmonizing their statements. Thus the given items (in Gâthâs 9, 11, 14) 10 + 19 + 17 + 21 + 18 + 17 + 18 + 13 + 20 + 14 + 14 + 18 + 20 + 39 + 14 + 32 + 6 + 18 + 23 + 52 (*i.e.*, the *real* totals

181 + 123 + 99) = 403 years. The *given* totals (in Gâthâs 7, 12) 183 + 123 + 97 also = 403. Similarly the *given* totals (in Gâthâs 7, 14) 183 + 220 also = 403.

The following table exhibits the state of the matter: —

I. Kêvalins :	1, Gôtama	(12)		up to A. V. 12
	2, Sudharman	(12)		„ „ 24
	3, Jambû	(38)		„ „ (62)
	Total......	62 or (62)		
II. Sruta-Kêvalins :	1, Vishṇu	(14)		up to A. V. 76
	2, Nandi	(16)		„ „ 92
	3, Aparâjita	(22)		„ „ 114
	4, Gôvardhana	(19)		„ „ 133
	5, Bhadrabâhu I.[66]	(29)		„ „ (162)
	Total......	100 or (100)		
III. Ten-Pûrvins :	1, Viśâkha	(10)		up to A. V. 172
	2, Prôshṭila	(19)		„ „ 191
	3, Kshatriya	(17)		„ „ 208
	4, Jayasêna	(21)		„ „ 229
	5, Nâgasêna	(18)		„ „ 247
	6, Siddhârtha	(17)		„ „ 264
	7, Dhṛitisêna	(18)		„ „ 282
	8, Vijaya	(13)		„ „ 295
	9, Buddhiliṅga	(20)		„ „ 315
	10, Dêva I.	(14)		„ „ 329
	11, Dharasêna	(14)		„ „ 343 *or* (345)
	Total......	181 or (183)		
IV. Eleven-Aṅgins :	1, Nakshatra	(18)		up to A. V. 361 *or* 363
	2, Jayapâlaka	(20)		„ „ 381 „ 383
	3, Pâṇḍava	(39)		„ „ 420 „ 422
	4, Dhruvasêna	(14)		„ „ 434 „ 436
	5, Kaṁsa	(32)		„ „ 466 „ 468
	Total......	123 or (123)		
V. Minor-Aṅgins :	1, Subhadra	(6)		up to A. V. 472 *or* 474
	2, Yaśôbhadra	(18)		„ „ 490 „ 492
	3, Bhadrabâhu II.	(23)	222-(220)	„ „ 513 „ 515
	4, Lôhâchârya I.	(52)		„ „ (565) „ 567
	Total......	99 or (97)		
VI. One-Aṅgins :	1, Arhadbalin	(28)		up to A. V. 593 *or* 595
	2, Mâghanandin	(21)		„ „ 614 „ 616
	3, Dharasêna	(19)		„ „ 633 „ 635
	4, Pushpadanta	(30)		„ „ 663 „ 665
	5, Bhûtavalin	(20)		„ „ (683) „ 685
	Total	118 or (118)		
	Total of 6 periods up to A. V.	683 or (683)		

[66] According to the Śvêtâmbara tradition, Bhadrabâhu's death took place in 170 A. V., *i.e.* 8 years later.

The bracketed numbers are those actually given in the Gâthâs. It will be seen that the final date, *i.e.*, 683 A. V., results equally from the summation of the several single successions as well as from the summation of the totals of the six periods. Yet the two series of numbers, as given in the Gâthâs, do not agree with one another; and this in two respects. First, the given total of the IIIrd period (183) does not agree with the real total (181) of the several successions; so again the given total of the Vth period (97) does not agree with its real total (99); nor does the given total of the two periods IV and V (220) agree with their real total (222). Yet if the three periods (Nos. III, IV, and V), are totalled, the result (403) comes out correctly, because the errors in the totals of periods III and V (being 2 in each) neutralise one another. Secondly, all the actual dates, given in the Gâthâs (*viz.*, 62, 162, 565, 683 A. V.), agree with the numbers given for the several successions, except the date 345 A. V. which agrees with the given total (*i.e.* 183 of the IIIrd period), and which produces a wrong final date 685 A. V. This would seem to show that that date (*i.e.*, 345 A. V.) as well as the given totals for the periods III and V are wrong. Another significant fact is to be observed. The verses, in their present state, do not give the date of the IVth period. It is the only date which is omitted: and the verse in which one would expect it, is the only verse which is not a *gâthâ* but a *ślôka*. The occurrence of a *ślôka* in the midst of a series of Gâthâs is an extraordinary thing; and one cannot help suspecting that the verse as it originally stood was a Gâthâ containing the missing date; that the date was either accidentally or intentionally omitted; and that the remnant of the mutilated Gâthâ was then turned into a *ślôka*, the latter being of shorter dimensions than a Gâthâ.

As to the cause of the confusion, I will give my own conjecture, for what it may be worth. I believe it arose from an attempt at reconciling two conflicting traditions. One of these traditions is contained in the Gâthâs, which the paṭṭâvalî quotes. This tradition gives four items of information: 1, the duration of each pontificate down to 983 A. V.; 2, the duration of each of the six periods, down to the same date; 3, the date of the termination of each period; 4, certain dates of Vikrama's life, especially those of his birth and accession. Side by side with this older tradition there appears to have been another, much later one, for which the authority of no Gâthâ is quoted and which is only given in the vernacular commentary. This later tradition enumerates a set of four synchronisms, referring to Bhadrabâhu's accession, with whom the paṭṭâvalî proper of the Sarasvatî Gachchha commences;[67] *viz.*, : 1, that the year of Bhadrabâhu's accession is the 24th after Subhadra's accession; 2, that it is the 22nd after Vikrama's birth; 3, that it is also the 4th after Vikrama's accession; and 4, that the year of Vikrama's birth is the 2nd after Subhadra's accession. The calculation starts with the year of Vikrama's birth as a fixed point. He was born in 470 A. V.; this year is the 2nd after Subhadra's accession; accordingly the latter took place in 468 (*i.e.* 468-69 A. V.). Bhadrabâhu's accession took place 24 years after Subhadra's accession; accordingly Bhadrabâhu succeeded to the pontificate in 492 (*i.e.*, 492-93) A. V. The latter year accordingly is the 22nd after Vikrama's birth (*i.e.*, $470 + 22 = 492$); it is also the 4th year after Vikrama's accession to the throne; accordingly Vikrama's accession took place in 488 (*i.e.*, 488-89) A. V. or in the 18th year of Vikrama's life (*i.e.* $470 + 18 = 488$). Having thus calculated 492 A. V. to be the year of Bhadrabâhu's, and 468 A. V. to be the year of Subhadra's accession, this result was found to collide with the older tradition of the Gâthâs. For calculating backwards from the year 468 A. V., and subtracting 123 years (*i.e.* the duration of the IVth period), the year 345 A. V. was obtained as the terminal year of the IIIrd period. On the other hand, calculating forward, from the data supplied by the Gâthâs, the year 343 A. V. resulted as the terminal year. To avoid this discrepancy, I suppose, the original text of the Gâthâs was tampered with, and the duration of the third period changed from 181 to 183, and its terminal year changed from 343 A. V. to 345 A. V., forgetting, however, that thus the dates given by the Gâthâs were rendered inconsistent

[67] It may be that this later tradition is peculiar to that Gachchha alone. Whether or not this is so, would be interesting to know. At present, however, I believe, no paṭṭâvalî of any other Digambara Gachchha is known.

with one another. That change having once been made, and the lower terminal dates (565 A. V. of the Vth period, and 683 A. V. of the VIth period) being unalterable, it was further necessary to change the duration of the Vth period from 99 to 97, in order to harmonize the whole chronology. The question may be asked, why should the first change have been made in the duration and terminal date of the IIIrd period, instead of in the IVth period. For, Subhadra's accession having been fixed in the year 468 A. V., it must at once have been found to be incompatible with the Gâthâs, the calculation from which must have shown that 466 A. V. was the real date of his accession. The nearest remedy, it would seem, was to change, in the IVth period, the date 466 A. V. to 468 A. V. and the duration of 123 years to 125. Why this was not done, is not apparent, except on the supposition that the Gâthâ which gave the date 466 A. V. was at that time already mutilated; and that the date of the IVth period being missing, recourse was had to altering the date of the next preceding (*i. e.*, the IIIrd) period.

This is, however, not the only discrepancy between the later and the older traditions. It has been shown that the calculation from the later tradition places the accession of Vikrama in 488 A. V., that is, in the 18th year of Vikrama's life. But the Gâthâs 18 and 19 seem to show clearly that he ascended the throne in his 24th year, *i. e.*, in 494 A. V.

Accepting the statements of the Gâthâs to be correct, the real synchronisms would stand thus:—Vikrama was born in 470 A. V. and ascended the throne in 494 A. V. Subhadra succeeded to the pontificate in 466 A. V., and Bhadrabâhu II. in 490 A. V. Accordingly the accession of the latter was 24 years later than that of Subhadra (herein both traditions agree); but it was 20 years after Vikrama's birth (not 22, as the later tradition says); and it was four years *before* Vikrama's accession (not 4 years *after* it, as the later tradition says); further, Vikrama's birth was 4 years after Subhadra's accession (not 2 years, as the later tradition says).

The most important point herein is, that Bhadrabâhu II.'s accession really took place 4 years *before* Vikrama, because this affects the whole of the dates of the paṭṭâvalî proper. All those dates must be set back for exactly eight years.

Or, if those dates are correct, the date of either the birth or the accession of Vikrama must be placed eight years earlier.

In the former alternative, we have the year 494 A. V. for the accession of Vikrama, which would make the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra to fall in (494 + 57 =) 551 B. C. In the latter alternative, we should have the year 462 A. V. for the birth and (462 + 24 =) 486 A. V. for the accession of Vikrama, and accordingly (486 + 57 =) 543 B. C. for the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra, that is, the very year given for Buddha's *nirvâṇa* by the chronology of Ceylon. But as the year 470 A. V. is such a prominently fixed date in the Digambara tradition for the birth of Vikrama,[68] it seems preferable to ante-date the accession of Vikrama by eight years and to place it in (494 – 8 =) 486 A. V. This would place Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa*, again, in 543 B. C., but would put Vikrama's accession in the 16th year of his life. The question is, whether Gâthâs 18 and 19 admit his accession in that year. It appears to me possible to interpret the second line of Gâthâ 18 to mean, that Vikrama was at child's play up to his eighth and wandered about up to his sixteenth year. He then ascended the throne at 16, and followed the Brâhmanic religion for 15 and the Jain religion for 40 years. The advantage of this view is that it fully agrees with the older tradition of the Gâthâs, and only corrects two of the synchronisms of the later tradition. In any case, the coincidence of the years of Mahâvîra's and Buddha's *nirvâṇa* is a curious result.

2. **On the history of Vikrama.** Gâthâs 18 and 19, which refer to the history of Vikrama, are in a somewhat corrupt state. The reading *rasapaṇa* makes no sense. I conjecture it to stand for *paṇarasa* (or *paṇṇarasa*), "fifteen." The meaning of the verses I take to be, that Vikrama was born in 470 A. V., that he lived 8 years at home and then wandered about for

[68] Also in the Švêtâmbara tradition, where, however, it is the date of Vikrama's accession.

16 years (I suppose in quest of adventures); that he lived 15 years as an adherent of the orthodox Brâhmanic religion, and then 40 years as a follower of Jainism.[69] If these periods are to be taken as successive ones, the verses would seem to indicate that Vikrama ascended the throne in his 24th year (*i.e.*, 494 A. V.), and that he died at the age of 79 years (*i.e.*, in 549 A. V.). Possibly some of the periods may be overlapping; but as, in that case, the verses would give no certain indication as to the years when Vikrama ascended and when he died, such an interpretation has not much probability. As to the possible meaning of the 16 years of wandering, see the preceding note.

Professor Jacobi's remarks on the subject, in the Introduction to his Kalpa-Sûtra, p. 30, I do not understand. The readings of his manuscript (No. 629, see above) may have differed from those of mine. But I am inclined to think that his statement, "the year of his (Pushpadanta's) death (683 A. V.) is also given for the birth of Vikrama," is merely the result of a misunderstanding of the vernacular commentary.[70] The passage, in § 11, *Srî-Mahâvîr syuṁ varsha 683 pâchhai; Vikramâditya kô janma huvau,* must be interpunctuated after *pâchhai*, and the date (683 A. V.) must be constructed with what has gone before, not with Vikrama's birth. The latter is clearly stated to have taken place in 470 A. V. Again, in the passage (in § 10): *Srî Virât varsha 633 Pushpadantâchârya varsha 30; Srî-Virât varsha 683 Bhûtavalyâchârya varsha 20,* the number 683 is clearly a mere clerical error for 663, as Pushpadanta is said to have pontificated for 30 years and to have commenced his pontificate in 633 A. V. On the other hand, Bhûtavali's pontificate, which lasted 20 years, ended in 683 A. V. Accordingly Pushpadanta's death was in 663 A. V., and not in 683 A. V., the latter is the date of Bhûtavali's death.

3. **On the title of Bhaṭṭâraka.** With regard to the notice in the paṭṭâvalî of MS. A, that the title of Bhaṭṭâraka was conferred on the pontiff Padmanandin (No. 84) by a Gujarâti 'Srâvak, in Saṁvat 1375, I may add a statement made to Mr. Bendall by his Jaipur informant, that it was the wife of Muhammad Gôrî who desired to see the chief of the Digambaras; and on his being clothed for the ceremony, the title of Bhaṭṭâraka was conferred on him. This tradition, — if it be a tradition, — does not quite agree with that of the paṭṭâvalî; and I only give it here for what it may be worth.

THE BARABAR AND NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA AND DASARATHA.

BY G. BÜHLER, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.

The transcripts of the subjoined **six inscriptions from the Barâbar and Nâgârjunî Hill Caves** have been made according to Mr. Fleet's impressions, from which the accompanying *facsimiles* have been prepared. These documents have been repeatedly transcribed and translated, and the impressions of the five well preserved ones offer very few new readings. With respect to the third, which appears to be in a very bad state, it must be noted that in the defaced portions the impressions do not agree with the distinct readings of Sir A. Cunningham's *facsimiles*, *Arch. Surv. India*, Vol. I. Plate xx. and *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, Vol. I. Plate xvi.

Short as these inscriptions are, they yet possess a very great value for the history of the Indian religions and of Indian art. Five of them state explicitly that the caves, in which they are incised, were presented "to the venerable Âjîvikas" (*âjîvikêhi bhadantêhi*). Who these Ajîvikas were, has been first recognised by Professor Kern. In his account of the history of Indian Buddhism[1] he identifies them with the Âjîvikas of Aśôka's seventh Pillar-edict, with

[69] Accordingly Vikrama's reign extended to (15 + 40 =) 55 years, and his life to 79 years. According to the Svêtâmbaras he reigned for 86 years.

[70] That statement has also puzzled Prof. A. Weber, see his Indische Studien, Vol. XVII, p. 219.

[1] Der Buddhismus und seine Geschichte in Indien, Vom Verfasser autorisirte Uebersetzung von H. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1882-84, 2 Vols. The passages regarding the Âjîvikas will be found collected in the index, *sub voce Âjîvika*.

the Âjîviyas of the Jaina scriptures, with the Âjîvakas of the Buddhist canon, and with the Âjîvikas or Âjîvins of Varâhamihira's Jâtakas, and he declares them to be an ancient ascetic order, worshipping Nârâyaṇa, or, in other words, a subdivision of the Vaishṇavas. As Professor Kern's work will not be accessible to the majority of Indian readers, I shall try to give a brief exposition of his arguments, regarding which he has kindly furnished me some fuller information. Assuming, as must be done, that the Âjîvikas of our inscriptions are the same as those named in Aśôka's seventh Pillar-edict,[2] he translates the words[3] l. 4-5: *hêm-êva bâbhanêsu Âjîvikêsu-pi-mê kaṭê imê viyapaṭâ hôhaṁti-ti* by "Likewise I have arranged it that these (*Dharma-mahâmâtras*) will be occupied also with the Brâhmaṇical Âjîvikas."[4] With the information thus elicited from the Pillar-edict, he combines the statements of Utpala regarding the Âjîvikas, who are mentioned in Varâhamihira's *Bṛihat-Jâtaka*, XV. 1, together with the Vṛiddha-śrâvakas, the Nirgranthas or Jainas, and other ascetics. Utpala says in his commentary: *âjîvika-grahaṇaṁ cha Nârâyaṇ-âśritânâm*, "and the use of (*the term*) Âjîvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nârâyaṇa," and in support of this explanation, brings forward two Prâkṛit passages, introducing them with the words: *tathâ cha vaṁ*[read *tathâ ch=aiva*]*Kâlakâchâryaḥ*, — "and thus (*says*) also Kâlakâchârya." In the first of these passages the term *êaḍaṇḍiâ*, *i. e.* *êkadaṇḍin*,[5] "(*an ascetic*) carrying one staff" (instead of the usual triple staff) is used for *âjîvika* and in the second[6] a longer explanation is given, which Utpala renders by *Kêśava-mârga-dikshitaḥ Kêśavabhaktaḥ Bhâgavata ity=arthaḥ.* Accepting as correct this explanation of the term, which agrees remarkably well with his translation of the passage from the seventh Pillar-edict, Professor Kern further identifies Aśôka's and Varâhimihira's Âjîvikas, with the Âjîvakas of the Buddhist canon[7] and with the Âjîviyas of the Jaina Âgamas,[8] who in the time of Śâkyamuni Gautama and Vardhamâna were a numerous and influential order of naked monks, acknowledging as their teachers Nanda Vachchha (*Nanda Vâtsya*), Kisa Saṁkichcha (*Kṛiśa*(?) *Sâṁkṛitya*) and above all Makkhali Gôsâla (*maskarin Gôśâla*) or Gôsâla Maṁkhaliputta. The accounts given by the Jainas and the Bauddhas of the transcendental doctrines of the last named show him to have been a fatalist.

Though it is of course possible to interpret the sentence from the seventh Pillar-edict differently and to take the words *hêm=êva bâbhanêsu* as an appendix to the preceding sentence, and though no proof is furnished that the Âjîvakas or Âjîviyas of the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures were worshippers of Nârâyaṇa, it must be conceded that Professor Kern's views are greatly preferable to those of other translators of Aśôka's edicts who take *âjivika* to mean 'religious mendicant' in general and to refer in the cave-inscription to the Buddhists.[9] The latter renderings and interpretations are untenable. **For wherever the word âjîvika or âjîvaka occurs, it always denotes a member of a particular order of ascetics, and it is in no case applied to Buddhist monks.** Irrespective of the fact that

[2] See Der Buddhismus, Vol. II. p. 55.

[3] See ante, Vol. XIII p. 350 and the *facsimile* opposite.

[4] See Der Buddhismus, Vol. II. p. 386.

[5] The same explanation is also given by Utpala on the parallel passage. *Laghu-Jâtaka*, IX. 12, (See Prof. A. Weber's Indische Studien, Vol. II. p. 287 note) in explanation of the term *âjîvin.*

[6] Prof. Kern reads this passage as follows: *Jalaṇa-Hara-Sugaa-Kêsava-Sui-Bamhaṇaggamaggêsu, dikkhâṇaṁ ṇâavvâ sûriug thâ kaveṇu ṇihayaâ.* The passage refers, like Varâhamihira's, to the influence of the planets on the production of various ascetics. Compare also Prof. Leumann's version of the same passage in the Actes du Sixième Congrès int. des Or. III. 2, p. 554, and his remarks thereon.

[7] Regarding the Âjîvakas of the Buddhists see the indices, Vol. II., p. 350 and Vol. V. p. 254, in Professor Oldenberg's edition of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, Dr. Wenzel's index of names in the Journal of the Pâli Text Society of 1888, p. 63 *sub voce* Makkhaligosâla, and Dr. Hoernle's second Appendix to his edition of the *Uvâsagadasâo.* In addition to the passages collected in the works quoted, I may point out that, according to the commentator, a curious custom of the Âjîvakas is mentioned in the last line of verse 113 of the *Tittira-Jâtaka* (Fausböll, Jâtakas, Vol II., p. 541). It appears that, on entering the order, the novices were burnt in the hand with a heated ball (of metal?). It looks as if the Âjîvakas, like some modern Vaishṇava sects, had used the *taptamudrâ*.

[8] Regarding the Âjîviyas of the Jainas, see especially Dr. Hoernle's translation of the *Uvâsagadasâo*, note 253.

[9] See e. g. M. Senart's translations of the Pillar-edicts, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 307, and of the Cave inscriptions in his Inscriptions de Piyadasi, Vol. II. p. 210, ff. and *ante*, Vol XX. p. 169 ff. M. Senart follows Burnouf and others.

Professor Kern steers clear of these old errors, and that his interpretation of all the passages is self-consistent, his confidence in the statements of Utpala appears justifiable, because the latter are supported by so ancient a writer as Kâlakâchârya. The Kâlakâchârya, quoted by him, is in all probability the famous Jaina teacher, who is said to have changed the date of the Pajjusan festival in the year 993 after Vîra,[10] or A. D. 466. The identification is suggested by the fact that Utpala's Kâlakâchârya is the author of a work on astrology and that the Jainas ascribe to their latest Kâlakâchârya an innovation which presupposes the study of astronomy. If thus the author, quoted by Utpala, belongs to the fifth century, his statements deserve to be treated with all due respect.

Under the circumstances stated, it appears to be certain that the monks, for whom Aśôka and his grandson Daśaratha provided cave-dwellings were not Buddhists, but members of some other sect, and it is probable that they were Vaishṇavas. As Aśôka himself says in the twelfth Rock-edict that he honoured men of all creeds with gifts and various honours, it is no matter of surprise that he excavated caves[11] for others than Buddhists. But the interesting point is that he did so as late as his thirteenth year, and possibly, if the Âjîvikas were named also in the third inscription,[12] even as late as his twentieth year. The first fact alone is sufficient to upset the usual theories regarding his conversion to Buddhism, but it agrees with the correct interpretation of the hints contained in the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth edicts, which will be given on another occasion.

For the present I will only state that Aśôka became really a zealous Buddhist in the twenty-ninth year of his reign.

Of equal importance is the second lesson which these inscriptions teach. Their correct interpretation helps to upset a very generally received, but completely erroneous doctrine in Indian archæology. For a long time it was almost an article of faith with Indian archæologists that the Buddhists invented and first developed the cave-architecture, and that the Brâhmaṇical sects and the Jainas adopted this style at a very late period. Even the newest and standard work on this subject, Dr. Fergusson's and Dr. Burgess' Cave Temples of India, gives repeatedly expression to very similar views. It no doubt somewhat pushes back the remoter limit for the beginning of the excavation of caves by the Brâhmaṇs. But the Buddhists are still represented as the inventors of the cave temples, and, according to the concluding remarks. p. 510, "the Jainas only awakened to the idea that they, too, might share in the spoils" at a late period, "when Buddhism was tottering to its fall, and the Brâhmaṇs were stripping them (sic) of their supremacy and power." Such utterances were only natural ten years ago, when the early activity, which the adherents of Vardhamâna displayed in this direction, had not been recognised. At present the case is far different. Dr. Bhagvânlâl has shown, independently from Professor Kern (Der Buddhismus, Vol. II., pp. 239-40), that a most important group of caves of the pre-Christian period, that at Udayagiri in Kaṭak, belongs not to the Buddhists, but to the Jainas. If we now have to admit further, that at least five of the oldest caves are certainly not Buddhistic, and probably Brâhmaṇical, it becomes evident that **the adherents of all sects have equally contributed to the development of the cave-architecture.** They all used caves for housing their ascetics who wished to live in retirement, and as places of worship or at least for the protection of images of their gods. The full realisation of this principle will, I think, not merely have a theoretical value, but possess also a practical importance. It will probably induce the Indian archæologists to reconsider their views regarding some excavations which have been assigned to the Buddhists on very weak evidence or even

[10] Regarding the several Kâlakâchâryas of the Jainas, see Prof. Jacobi, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Vol. XXXIV. p. 253 ff. I may mention as a curiosity that in late South-Indian inscriptions the term *âjîvika* denotes the Digambara Jainas, see Hultzsch, South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., p. 88, and *passim*.

[11] Caves may be well included under the head of gifts.

[12] The position of the cave in the immediate vicinity of the other two, where the name occurs, makes this very probable.

against evidence pointing in a different direction. The most important case of this kind is that of the Junâgaḍh caves. Bâvâ Pyârâ's Maṭh and the monastery in the Upar Kôṭ have invariably been declared to be Buddhistic, though the inscription, found in the former, does not agree with this view. As I have pointed out when first editing it,[13] the word *kêvaljñânasamprâptânâṁ*, "of those or to those who have obtained the knowledge of Kêvalins," which seems to be applied either to the donees or to the prophets worshipped by them, is clearly not a Buddhist but a Jaina term. The only possible conclusion is, therefore, that this large establishment was a Jaina monastery. The authors of the *Indian Cave Temples*[14] seem to have disregarded this important evidence, because they felt convinced that the caves belong to an early period, antecedent to the reign of Rudrasiṁha who must have been named in the inscription, and because they trusted to the symbols over the door of cave K. as well as to the "chaitya-window ornament." Dr. Bhagvânlâl's remarks on the symbols and on his Jaina slab from Mathurâ, attached to the Hathigumphâ inscriptions, as well as Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Kankâlî Tîla show that all the marks and ornaments, formerly believed to be exclusively Buddhistic, were used by the Jainas. Even the wheel and the Stûpa are no longer safe guides for the archæologist. With this state of things I believe that certainly Bâvâ Pyârâ's Maṭh and probably also the caves in the Upar Kôṭ will have to be strûck off the list of Buddhist establishments. Another case, which looks to me suspicious, is that of the Ḍhânk caves, where Dr. Burgess has noticed an image of Pârsvanâtha.[15]

I. BARABAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF PIYADASI.

A.

1. Lâjinâ Piyadasinâ duvâḍasa-[vas=âbhi iḍ . .[16]
2. i[ya]ṁ [nigô]ha-kubhâ di[nâ â . [vi]kêhi[17] [ı*]

B.

1. Lâjinâ Piyadasinâ duvâ-
2. ḍasa-vas=âbhisitênâ iyaṁ
3. kubhâ Khalatika-pavatasi[18]
4. dinâ . [jîvi]kêhi[19] [ı*]

C.

1. Lâ[jâ]Piyadasî ê[ku]n[a-[vî]-
2. sati-vas=â[bh]isi[t]ê . . .
3. . . . uthâ ta . . . .
4. supi . ê kha i
5. . [ı*][20]

II. NAGARJUNI HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF DASHALATHA.

D.

1. Vahiyak[â][21] kubhâ Dashalathêna[22] dêvânaṁ piyênâ
2. ânaṁtaliyaṁ abhishitênâ [Âjîvikêhi]
3. bhadaṁtêhi vâsha-nishidiyâyê nishiṭhê[23]
4. â-chaṁdama-shûliyaṁ [ı*]

---

13 Arch. Rep. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 140 f.

14 See the discussion of this point at p. 196.

15 Arch. Rep. West. Ind. Vol. II. p. 150.

16 Restore °*bhisitênâ.*

17 Restore *Âjîvikêhi.* The second letter cannot have been *dî*, as others have read it. But the remnants agree well with the suggestion that it was *jî*. And we have *Âjîvikêhi*, as plain as possible in Dasharatha's second inscription.

18 This is in Sanskrit *khalatika*, 'bald, bare,' and a *khalatika parvata* is mentioned in the Bhâshya on Vârttika 4 to Pâṇini I, 2, 52 (Kielhorn, Vol. I. p. 229), see also the larger Petersburg Dictionary sub voce *khalatika.*

19 Restore *Âjîvikêhi.* The first letter is not recognisable. The outlines of the blot, representing the second, agree with the supposition that it was *jî*.

20 I do not dare to propose any restoration of the badly defaced portion of this inscription.

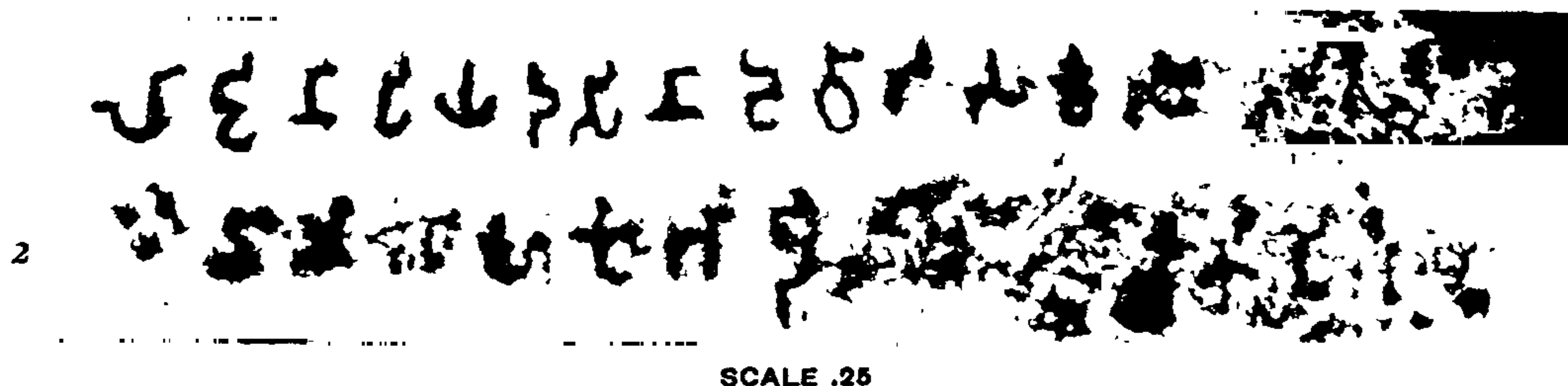
21 *Vahiyakâ*, not *vapiyakâ* as the earlier transcripts have, is the plain reading of the impression. *Vahiyakâ* corresponds to Sanskrit *vahyakâ*, which is mentioned as a feminine name in the *gaṇa tikadi* of Pâṇini. Here it is probably the feminine of an adjective which may be derived from *vahya*, 'a palankeen' or 'sopha,' and qualifies *kubhâ*.

22 Those who believe the second sign of this word to be merely a variety of *sa*, not the old sign for the lingual *sha*, will read *Dasalathêna*, and in the sequel *abhisitênâ* and so forth.

23 This is a clerical mistake for *nishiṭhâ*, as the corresponding forms in B. and C. show.

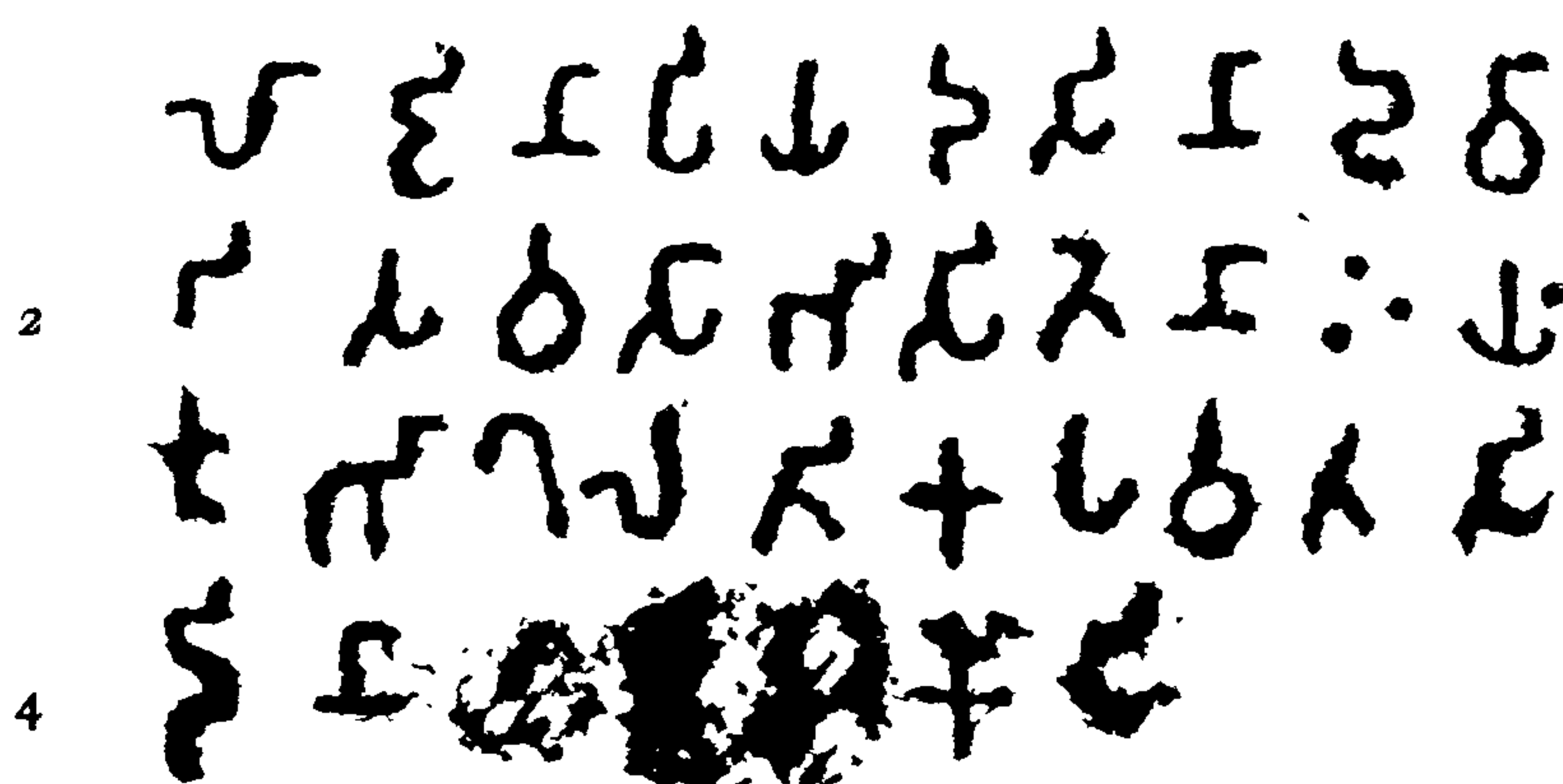
ASOKA INSCRIPTIONS.

A.—Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Piyadasi.



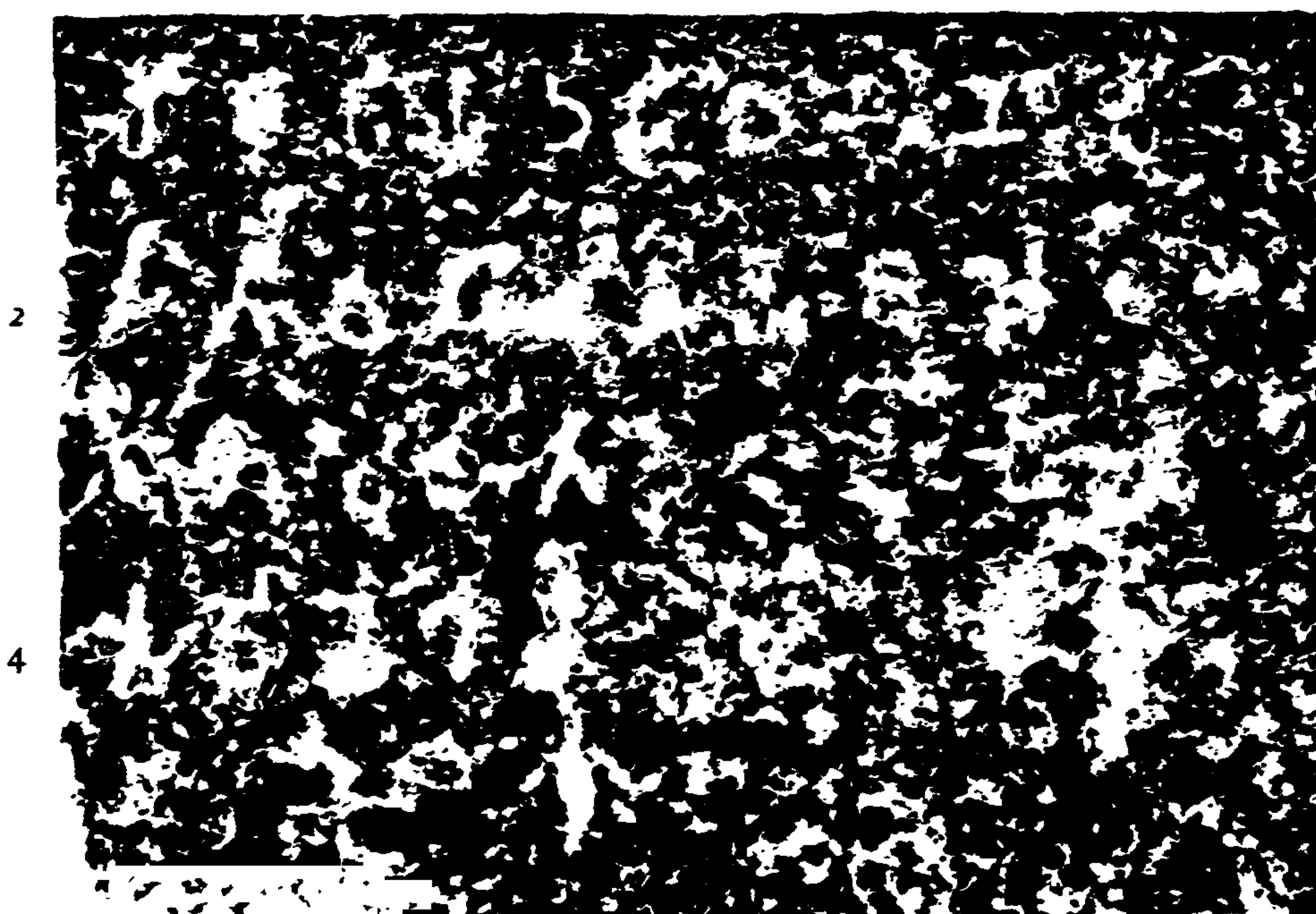
SCALE .25

B.—Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Piyadasi.



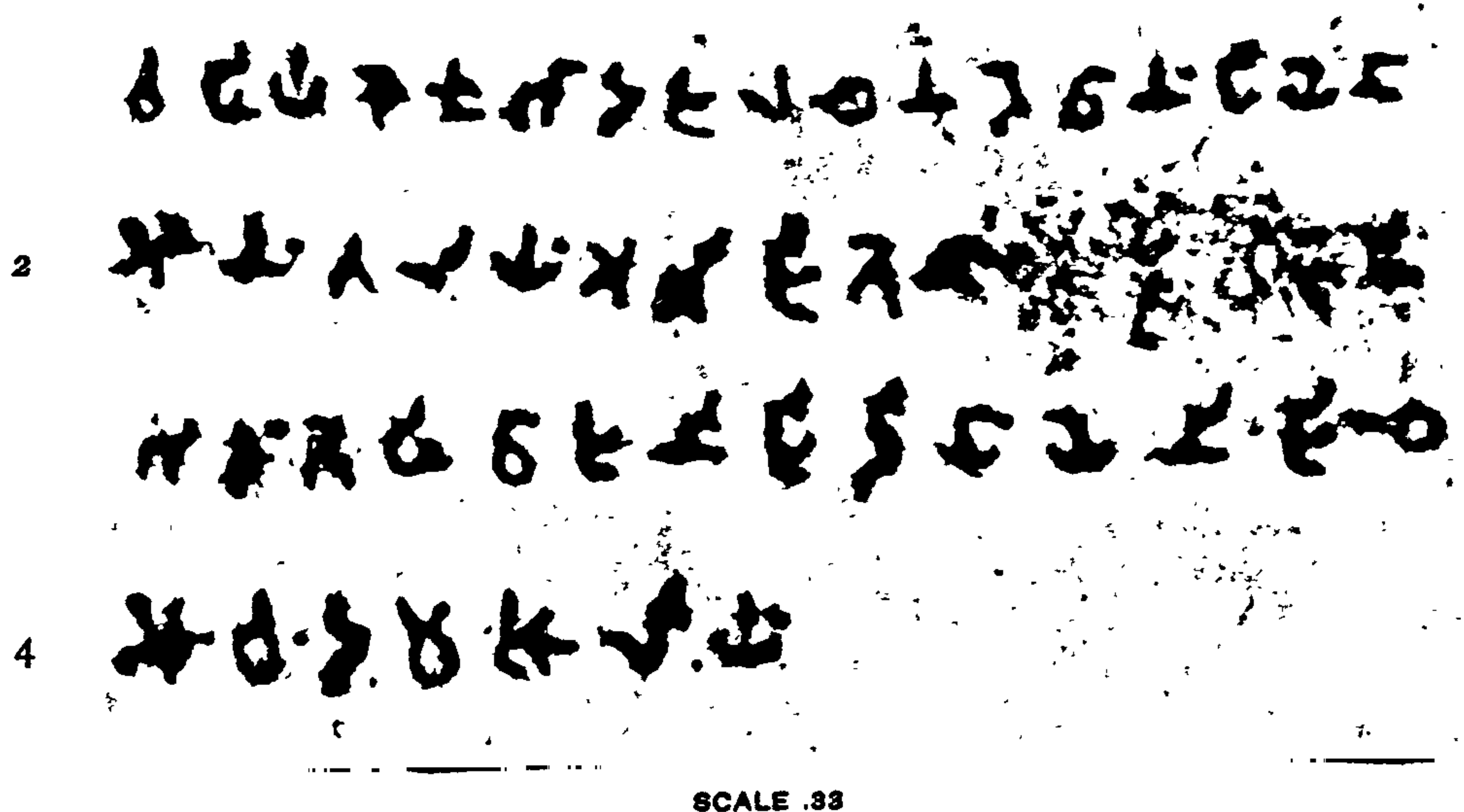
SCALE .25

C.—Barabar Hill Cave Inscription of Piyadasi.



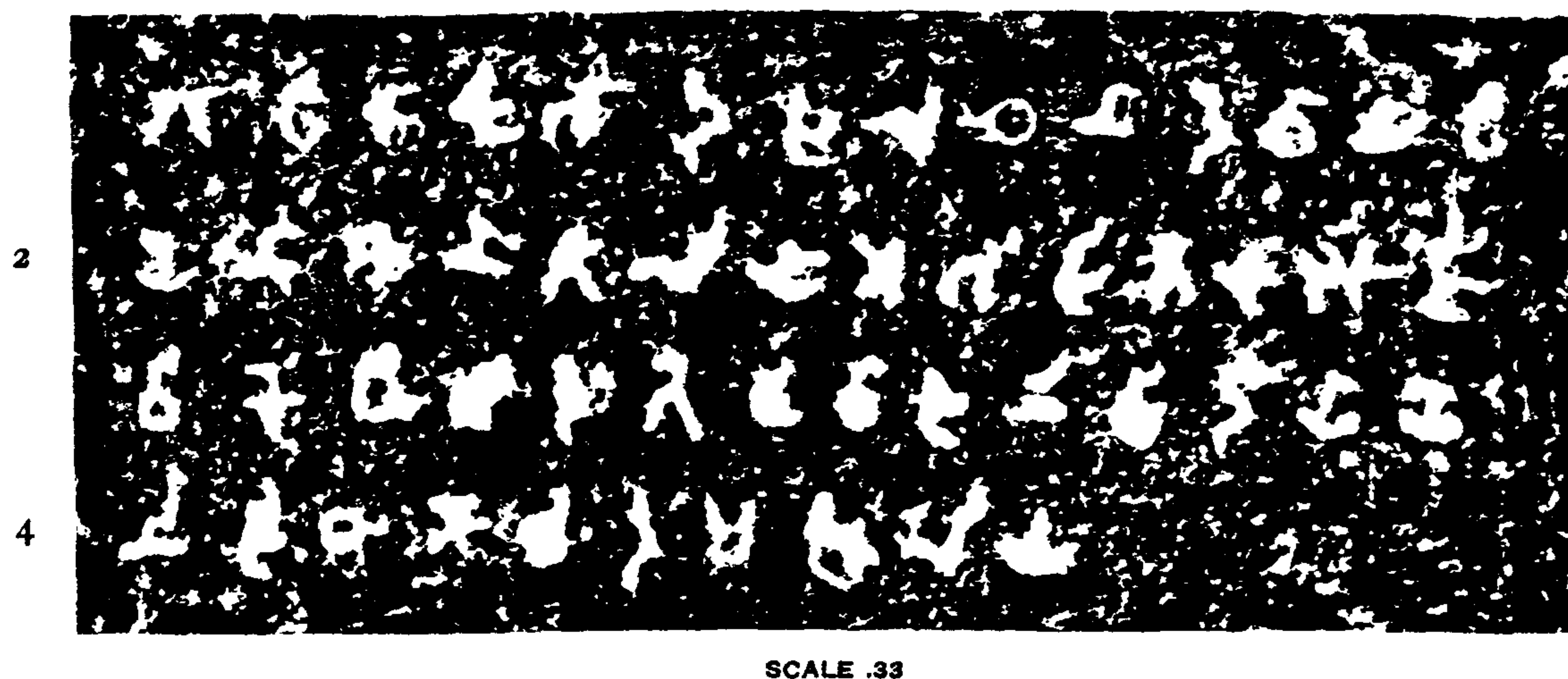
J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. SCALE .25 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

D.—Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Devanampiya-Dasalatha.



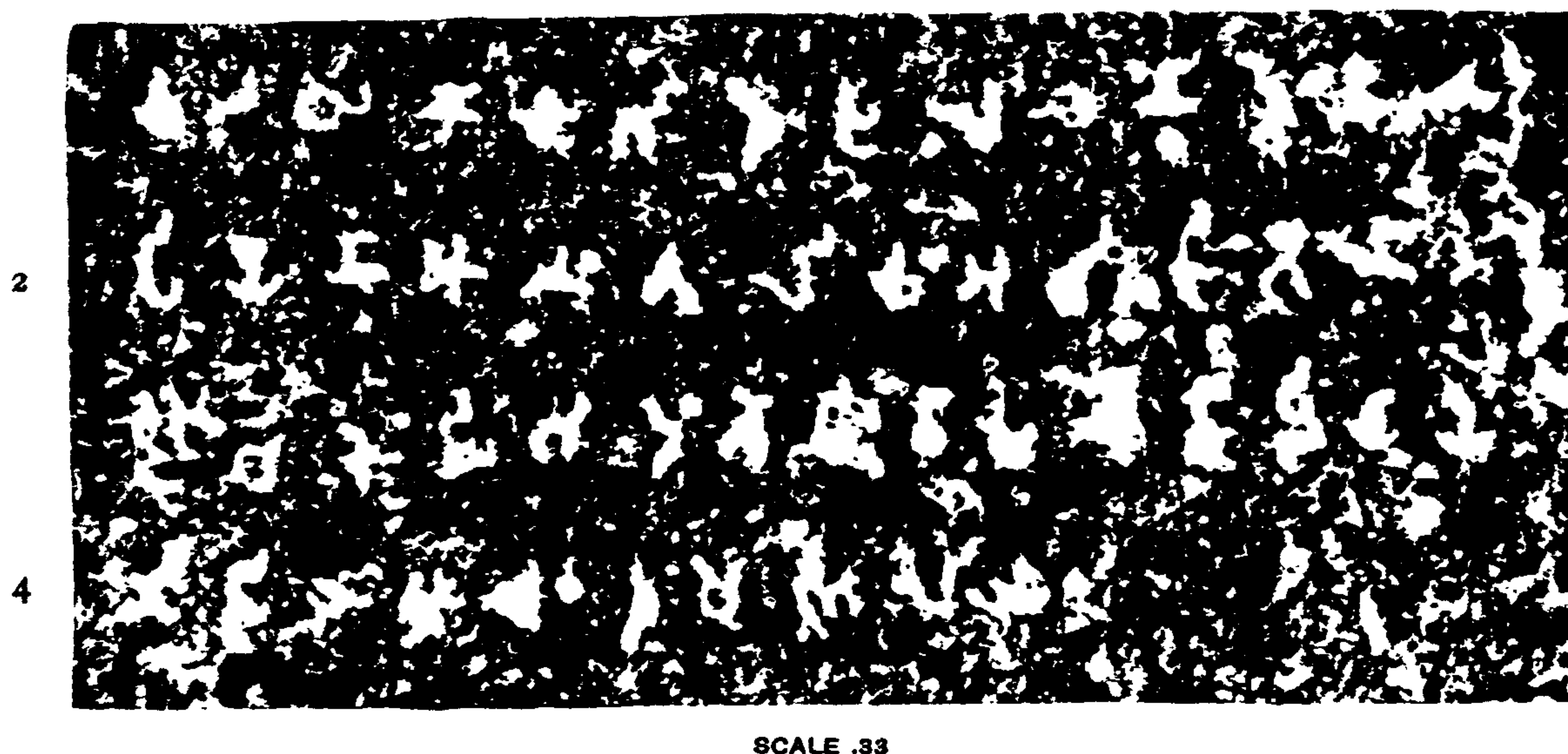
SCALE .33

E.—Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Devanampiya-Dasalatha.



SCALE .33

F.—Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription of Devanampiya-Dasalatha.



SCALE .33

E.

1. Gôpikâ kubhâ Dashalathênâ dêvâ[na]ṁ pi-
2. yênâ ânaṁtaliyaṁ abhishitênâ Âjî-
3. vikê[hi bhadaṁ]têhi vâsha-ni[shi]diyâyê
4. nishiṭhâ â-chaṁdama-shûliyaṁ [1*]

F.

1. Vaḍathikâ kubhâ Dashalathênâ dêvânaṁ
2. piyênâ ânaṁtaliyaṁ abhi[shi]tênâ
3. [Ajîvi]kêhi[24] bhadaṁtêhi vâ[sha-ni]shidiyâyê
4. nishiṭhâ â-chaṁdama-shûliyaṁ [1*].

WEBER'S SACRED LITERATURE OF THE JAINS.

TRANSLATED BY DR. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

(*Continued from page 182*).

The second part of the Siddhânta is formed by the **12 uvaṁgas, upâṅgas.** This title is applied in the aṅgas to the Brâhmanical upâṅgas alone. In aṅga 3, three of the existing uvaṁgas are apparently mentioned, but under the title aṅgabâhira and not under that of uvaṁga. In the uvaṁgas themselves this appellation occurs at the beginning of the eighth alone, but there, according to all probability, it is a special designation of uv. 8 — 12 alone, and had consequently [373] not yet acquired its present signification. The Nandî, too, does not accept it in its present meaning. It enumerates all the texts in question, which now bear this name, but enumerates them among the anaṅgapaviṭṭha (for which term the Pâkshikasûtram &c. present aṅgabâhira) and in an order different from the usual one at present in vogue. The solitary passage, in which I have been able to discover this title used in the Siddhânta in its general signification, is in the Mahânisîha, Book 3 (aṅgôvaṅga . .).

At the present day there are 12 texts bearing this name, corresponding to the number of the aṅgas. This arrangement is probably intentional and dates from a period (see p. 344), in which the twelfth aṅga either really existed or at least was counted in with the others. There is an alleged[1] inter-relation between the 12 aṅgas and the 12 uvaṅgas, uvaṅga 1 being placed in connection with aṅga 1, uvaṅga 2 with aṅga 2, and so on. In the three sâmâyârî texts,[2] uv. 8 — 12 are called nirayâvaliyâsuakkhaṁdhô uvaṁgam (Âvi., Svi.), in the Vidhipr. egamuvaṁgam; each of the five vaggas of which respectively corresponds[3] to aṅgas 8 to 12. It is not improbable that [374] the existing order of the 12 texts may have been the result of such considerations; and the similarity in extent of each of the different members of both series renders this assumption the more worthy of credence.[4] There are, however, so far as I can see,

[24] The first letter has been added afterwards and stands above the *jî*. It has run together with the double i-strokes and is somewhat blurred.

[1] cf. Abhayadêva on uv. 1, Malayagiri on uv. 2, 4, Śântichandra on uv. 6.

[2] The order of succession adopted there, and which I follow from this point on, varies so far as the position of uv. 5 — 7 is concerned from that of Bühler — see above p. 223 — where these appear as Nos. 6, 7, 5.

[3] In the Vidhiprapâ we read: Some, however, regard both uv. 7 and uv. 5 as belonging to aṅga 5, and according to their view, the uvaṁgam belonging to aṅgas 7 — 11 is the śrutaskandha formed by uv. 8 — 12: annê puṇa chaṁdapaṇṇattiṁ sûrapannattiṁ cha bhagavaî-uvaṁge bhaṇaṁti, têsiṁ maêṇa uvâsagadasâîṇa paṁcaṇhaṁ aṁgâṇaṁ uvaṁgaṁ nirayâvaliyâsuyakkhaṁdhô. This is manifestly an arrangement of those who no longer count the diṭṭhivâa as belonging to the aṅgas, and is in entire harmony with the actual facts of the case. The statement in V. that follows is a riddle: ôrâji annavaṇâ sûjaṁchaṁuikakapupphavaṇhidasâ âyârâi-uvaṁgâ nâyavvâ âṇupuvvîê (this is the close of the uvaṁgavihi).- The same remarkable statements are repeated in the Jôgavihâṇa in v. 60: vachchaï satta-diṇêhiṁ nirayâvaliyâsuyak khaṁdhô || 59 || ôrâjî paṇṇavaṇâ sûjaṁchaṁuikakapupphavaṇhidasâ || âyârâi-uvaṁgâ nêyavvâ âṇupuvvîê || 60 || A solution of this riddle is, however, not far to seek, if we read ô° râ° jî° sû° jaṁ° chaṁ° ni° ka° ka°. By this means we have the beginning syllables of uvaṁgas 1—3, 5—10 in their present order; and here again there is reference to 12 uvaṁgas and to 12 aṅgas.

[4] The last members in both series have the least, those in the middle the greatest, extent.

no instances of real inner connection between the aṅgas and the uvaṅgas having the same position in the series. I say this, despite the fact that the scholia are only too zealous in attempting to establish such an inter-relation.

Definite groups are recognizable here as in the case of the aṅgas. Though all the uvaṁgas with the exception of uv. 3 begin with the legendary introductory formula têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ . . , yet in the case of uv. 2. 4 the paṁchanamukkâra, which we have met with already in aṅga 5, is placed before this introduction. In uv. 4 a verse, designed to glorify this paṁchanamukkâra, follows upon it, and then come several other verses of an introductory character. In the case of uv. 5 there is a larger number of introductory verses or of verses descriptive of the contents of the whole, before the legendary beginning; in the case of uv. 7 these are placed after the legendary beginning. Both of these uv. (5 and 7) differ from the others in the following particular, — [375] they make use of the title pâhuḍa for their sections, a title which we have met with in the case of the 14 pûrvas. In the introduction of uv. 7 and in uv. 4 there is a direct reference to the puvvas. These two uv. are peculiar in being identical or at least in representing two recensions of one and the same text. Uv. 5, 7 and 6 are mentioned together in aṅga 3, and share an introduction that is completely identical, mutual references in the text to each other, and above all in the concluding part of their titles, the common factor pannatti, prajñapti. A part of uvaṁga 3, the dîvasâgarapannatti, belongs to the same category with them, since it has on the one hand the same termination in its title, and on the other is mentioned in aṅga 3 with them. At the period of the Nandî and of that of aṅga 3 it appears to have enjoyed a separate existence. Finally the title of upâṅga 4, pannavaṇâ, is to be brought into this connection, so that **upâṅgas 3 — 7** may be regarded as a group which is bound together by external criteria. The word pannatti which is here the link between them, was found in the title of aṅga 5. The words pannatta (prajñapta) and pannatti (prajñapti) and the finite verb prajñapay have such a special use in the Bhagavatî and, as was discovered later, in the entire Jaina-Siddhânta, that (Bhag. I. 368) I called attention to the [376] Pannattivâda, or Prajñaptivâdins, who are mentioned by the northern and southern Buddhists[5] among the 18 chief sects of Buddhism at the time of the second council of Aśôka. According to Wassiljew, pp. 228, 244 (German transl. pp. 251, 268), this sect dates from the second century after Buddha's nirvâṇa.

Upâṅgas 8—12 form a second group closely connected with each other (see above). They form, as tradition itself asserts, in reality but five chapters of a single śrutaskandha, and are counted as five special texts merely to complete the parallel with the twelve aṅgas. The title of uv. 8 is later on, *e. g.* in the Vidhiprapâ, regarded also as the collective title of all five; and a special name, kappiyâô, kalpikâs, is allotted to uv. 8. In the Nandî all the 6 titles are placed together.

According to the introduction of the avachûrṇi to the Ôghaniryukti (see above, p. 217) the daśapûrvins gained especial honour in performing the meritorious service of composing saṁgrahaṇî to the uvaṁgas (or of composing the uv. *and* the saṁgr. ?), and therefore had just claim to the salutation (namukkâra) in the first verse of that Niryukti. Tradition calls Ajja Sâma the author of the fourth uvaṁga, the Pannavaṇâ; see verse 4 of the introduction to that uvaṁga. There is, however, another, who in this passage characterizes himself as the real promulgator, and introduces himself with the word "I."

[377] In the case of the first uvaṁga, secondary additions are, according to Leumann, clearly demonstrable. The second uvaṁga appears, however, to have suffered more, and the present text may, in fact, be a different one from the original. The reader is further referred to my remarks made on aṅgas 8—10 and especially on aṅga 10.

In the remarks of the redactor scattered here and there in the aṅgas, there were many

[5] °pannatti is found in Pâli as the title of a work. See Childers s. v. pannatti (Abhidhammap). Works of the same were produced by the later Jains. See (above p. 371) my remarks on the śrâvakaprajñapti of the Umâsvâti(mi)vâchaka.

references to the upâṅgas, their titles being directly mentioned or the names of particular divisions cited. In the upâṅgas *vice versâ* there is no lack of references both to the aṅgas and to other upâṅgas. Apparently we must recognize in these remarks of the redactor a hand aiming at unity (see above, p. 228), — a hand which has dealt uniformly with the aṅgas and upâṅgas in that form of the text which both at present possess.

The varying statements in the MSS. in reference to the extent of each of the upâṅgas are as follows: up. 1 has 1320 granthas,[6] — 2. 2079, — 3. 4750, — 4. 7785, — 5. (2000?),[7] — 6. 4454, — 7. 1600,[8] — 8 — 12. 1109.

XIII. The first upâṅgam, uvavâiyam, aupapâtikam, of renewed births. The explanation of the name by aupapâtika is (see above, p. 323, Leumann, p. 2) an incorrect Sanskṛit rendering, since the formation is from √pad + upa and not from √pat + upa. The work is divided into two parts, which are, however, not separated by any recognized dividing line. The first, which is greater in extent than the second [378], treats in great detail of the appearance and sermon of Mahâvîra in Champâ under king Kûṇiya Bambhasâraputta,[9] and of the pilgrimage of the king to Mahâvîra. The many varṇakas, which, on such occasions as this, are found in the legendary introductions to the aṅgas, uvaṅgas, &c., occur in this instance in their full form. They are consequently cited elsewhere merely by their introductory words; and for anything beyond this, reference is generally made to our text. The law proclaimed by Mahâvîra is here (§ 57) designated partly as âgâradhammê and partly as âgârasâmâiê. See my remarks on page 244 *ad* aṅga 1. The second part, which contains the essence of the work, is in extent scarcely more than a third of the whole, and looks, as Leumann says, like a more detailed treatment of Bhag. 1, 1, 77 (see Bhag. 1, 162). It is divided into divisions of tolerably small compass, which all possess a form equally solemn. These small divisions are not equal in extent nor are they counted on to the end. At the end there are 22 kârikâs, which describe the abode &c. of the Siddhas, *viz.* of those that have escaped migration of souls. We find the teaching of Iṁdabhûti by Mahâvîra treated of, partly in a general way, partly in reference to 16 definite categories of men as regards their uvavâya among the nêraïyas, &c., up to the heavenly worlds, and to the final perfection and residence of the blessed in the Îsîpabbhârâ puḍhavî. Dr. Ernst Leumann has given a detailed account of its contents in the introduction to his edition of the text ("the aupapâtikasûtra," Leipzig, 1883), accompanied by an excellent glossary.

Among the interesting facts contained in the middle part of the work, the following is of especial importance. In § 76 there is an enumeration of alien sects, [379] parivvâyâ, viz.: the Saṁkhâ Jôgî Kâvilâ[10] Bhiuchchâ[11] haṁsâ[12] paramahaṁsâ bahuudagâ kulivvayâ[13] Kaṇhaparivvâyâ.[14] In immediate connection with this is an enumeration of the 8 representatives of each class[15] from the Brâhmaṇa caste: tattha khalu imê aṭṭha mâhaṇaparivvâyâ bhavaṁti: Kaṇṇê[16] ya Karakaṁṭê ya Ambaḍê ya Parâsarê | Kaṇhê Dîvâyaṇê chêva Dêvaguttê ya Nârahê[17] ||, and from the warrior caste: tattha khalu imê aṭṭha khattiyaparivvâyâ bhavaṁti, taṁ: Sîlaî Masihârê[18]

[6] The statements vary here e. g. between 1167 (Kielhorn's Report, 1880-81, p. 50) 1200, 1267, 1320 and 1500. Leumann counts 1220.

[7] The statement is here omitted; cf. uv. 7.

[8] Other statements are: 1854, 2000.

[9] cf. chhêdasûtra, 4, 10.

[10] Kapilô dêvatâ yeshâṁ, Sâṁkhyâ êva nirîśvarâḥ.

[11] Bhrigur lôkê prasiddha *ri*shiviśêshas, tasyai'va śishyâḥ Bhârgavâḥ (!).

[12] In reference to the following names see Wilson Sel. works 1, 231 (ed. Rost).

[13] kuṭîvratâḥ : kuṭîchara in Wilson, also in the Âruṇikôp. Ind. Stud. 2, 179.

[14] Nârâyaṇabhaktikâ iti kechit.

[15] Kaṁṭṭâ (Kaṁḍv-â ?) Kaṇṇê refers, it is true, to Kaṇva as Leumann affirms in his glossary) dayaḥ shôḍaśa parivrâjakâḥ lôkatô 'vasêyâḥ.

[16] Kaṇhê var. 1.

[17] These Jains, possessed by the desire of changing everything, have not allowed even the name of the old Nârada to remain unaltered. Some MSS. have even Nârabhê.

[18] var. Masiṁ°, Masaṁ°, Masah°, also °hârê. The Mashṇâra name of a country in the Ait. Br. may perhaps be compared.

Naggaî Bhaggaî Tiya (Tika ?) Vidêhê râyâ Râmê Balê 'ti ya. After this follows an enumeration of the works of Brâhmanical literature, which is identical in every particular with that in the fifth aṅga.[19] See above p. 304.

The sage Ambaḍa,[20] who is enumerated among the 8 mâhaṇaparivvâyâs, must have played no unimportant *rôle* in the opinion of his Jain colleagues or enemies, either at the time of the composition of this upâṅga or at that of those who interpolated the statements in reference to him. There have been inserted two detailed legends concerning him, the first of which deals especially with his [380] scholars,[21] the second with himself, with his second birth in the person of the boy Daḍhapaïnna, and with his final perfection. Here occurs an enumeration of the (§ 107) 72 kalâs, which are in fact essentially the same as those in aṅga 3, and (§ 105) of the foreign peoples from whom the female attendants of the boy (as in aṅga 6) came. These names are in general identical with those enumerated in aṅgas 5 and 6, and are also mentioned in a previous passage (§ 53) where the maid-servants of the queen are treated of. The list is as follows:— bahûhiṁ khujjâhiṁ Chilâihiṁ vâmaṇîhiṁ vaḍabhîhiṁ Babbarîhiṁ Paüsiyâhiṁ (baii°) Jôṇiyâhiṁ Palhaviyâhiṁ Isiṇiyâhiṁ Châruiṇiyâhiṁ (Vâru° Thâru°) Lâsiyâhiṁ Laüsiyâhiṁ Damilîhiṁ Siṁhalîhiṁ Ârabîhiṁ Pulimdîhiṁ Pakkaṇihiṁ Bahalîhiṁ Maruṁḍîhiṁ Sabarîhiṁ Pârasîhiṁ nâṇâdêsîhiṁ. For v. l. see Leumann, p. 60.

The 18 dêsîbhâsâs[22] unfortunately are merely mentioned here (§ 109) and not enumerated by name. We might readily conjecture that the 18 foreign peoples, just mentioned, were here referred to, though the expression dêsî is not in harmony with such an assumption. For the expression dêsîbhâsâvisâraê, which we meet with here, we find a fuller form in aṅga 6 (cf. above, p. 313), atthârasavihipagâradêsîbhâsâvisâraê. Dr. Leumann has had the kindness to inform me that the commentary has at least the appearance of referring this to the 18 modifications of *one* dêsîbhâsâ and not to 18 special languages; ashṭâdaśa vidhiprakârâḥ [381] pravṛittiprakârâḥ ashṭâdaśabhir vâ vidhibhir bhêdaiḥ prachârâḥ pravṛittir yasyâḥ sâ, tathâ tasyâṁ dêśîbhâshâyâṁ sabhêdêna varṇâvalîrûpâyâṁ viśâradaḥ paṁḍitaḥ. By the annaütthiya (§§ 26, 99) of the text, *i. e.* according to the scholia anyayûthika (see p. 299), which are opposed to the nigganṭha pâvayaṇa (§ 16) of the genuine doctrine of the Jains, we are to understand the śâkyâdayaḥ. By the chêiyas (§ 99) we must understand the arhachchaityâni jinapratimâḥ, and by the âjîviyas (§ 120) the adherents of Gôśâla.[23] The seven pavayaṇaninhagâs (§ 122), *i. e.* representatives of the seven schisms, which, to use the expression of Abhayadêva, Jinâgamaṁ nihnûyatê (! nihnuvatê?) apalapaṁti cha, are enumerated one by one in the text. They are as follows: — bahurayâ, jîvapadêsiyâ, avvattiyâ, sâmuchchhêiyâ, dôkiriyâ, têrâsiyâ (see p. 351), abaddhiyâ (avvatthiyâ var. l.). Abhayadêva characterizes them according to their order as Jamâlimatânusâriṇaḥ, Tishyaguptâchâryamatâvisaṁvâdinaḥ, Âshâḍhâchâryaśishyamatâṁtaḥpâtinaḥ, Pushpa-(shya)mitramatânusâriṇaḥ,[24] Gaṁgâchâryamatânuvartinaḥ, Rôhagupta[25] matânusâriṇaḥ, Gôshṭhâmâhilamatâvalaṁbinaḥ; on this see p. 275 on aṅga 3, p. 355—6 on pûrvas 7 — 9, and below my remarks on Âvaśy. Nijj. 8, Uttarajjh. 3, 9.

[19] saḍaṁgavi is here too explained by: shaḍaṁgavidaḥ and satthitaṁtavisâraâ by: Kâpilîyataṁtrapaṁḍitâḥ.

*[20] Also Ammada, Ammattha. — This name must be derived from Âmrata, short form of Âmrabhaṭa. — L.

[21] Who once wandered jeṭhâmûlamâsammi along the Gaṅgâ from Kaṁpillapura to Purimatâlaṁ nagaram. The name of the month is explained as follows: jyeshthâ mûlaṁ vâ (!) nakshatraṁ paurṇamâsyâṁ yatra syât sa jyêshṭhâmûlô mâsaḥ, jyaishṭhaḥ.

[22] See below pp. 399, 400 for the 18 different methods of writing.

[23] On this point cf. the interesting statements in Nêmichandra's pravachanasâroddhâra, § 94 v. 739—41. Leumann tells me that those statements are found earlier, viz., in Śîlâṅka on aṅga 1, 2. 2 and in Abhayadêva on aṅga 3, 2. They are as follows: — niggaṁtha-Sakka-tâvasa-gêruya(gairukâḥ)-âjîva paṁchahâ samaṇâ || tammi ya niggaṁthâ tê jê Jiṇasâsaṇabhavâ muṇiṇô || Sakkâ ya Sugayasissâ, jê jaḍilâ tê u tâvasâ gîyâ | jê dhâurattavatthâ tidaṁḍiṇô gêruyâ tê'u || jê Gôsâlaga-mayam aṇusaraṁti bhaṇṇaṁti tê u âjîvâ | samaṇattêṇa bhuvaṇê paṁcha vi pattâ pasiddhim imê || Here then all the five kinds of śramaṇas are represented as possessing equal authority; gêruâ is doubtless for gairikâs "ruddles," according to their dhâurattavattha, cf. Bhag. 1, 255, 273, where, "metals and jewels," is an error. — The first line of the above quotation (nigg° . . . . samaṇâ is drawn from Nisîtha-bhâshya XIII. 163a.— L.

[24] Or Aśvamitra!; on Pushyamitra, see pp. 348, 356.

[25] Or Chhalua.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION.

The system of transliteration followed in this Journal for Sanskṛit and Kanarese, (and, for the sake of uniformity, submitted for adoption, as far as possible, in the case of other languages), — except in respect of modern Hindu personal names, in which absolute purism is undesirable, and in respect of a few Anglicised corruptions of names of places, sanctioned by long usage, — is this:—

Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.	Sanskṛit.	Kanarese.	Transliteration.
अ	ಅ	a	ज	ಜ	ja
आ	ಆ	â	झ	ಝ	jha
इ	ಇ	i	ञ	ಞ	ña
ई	ಈ	î	ट	ಟ	ṭa
उ	ಉ	u	ठ	ಠ	ṭha
ऊ	ಊ	û	ड	ಡ	ḍa
ऋ	ಋ	ṛi	ढ	ಢ	ḍha
ॠ	ೠ	ṛî	ण	ಣ	ṇa
ऌ	—	lṛi	त	ತ	ta
—	ಎ	e	थ	ಥ	tha
ए	ಏ	ê	द	ದ	da
ऐ	ಐ	ai	ध	ಧ	dha
—	ಒ	o	न	ನ	na
ओ	ಓ	ô	प	ಪ	pa
औ	ಔ	au	फ	ಫ	pha
Visarga	*Visarga*	ḥ	ब	ಬ	ba
Jihvâmûlîya, or old *Visarga* before क् and ख्	—	ẖ	भ	ಭ	bha
Upadhmânîya, or old *Visarga* before प् and फ्	—	h̤	म	ಮ	ma
Anusvâra	*Anusvâra*	ṁ	य	ಯ	ya
Anunâsika	—	m̐	र	ರ	ra
क	ಕ	ka	—	ಱ	r̤a
ख	ಖ	kha	ल	ಲ	la
ग	ಗ	ga	ळ	ಳ	ḷa
घ	ಘ	gha	—	ೞ	ḻa
ङ	ಙ	ṅa	व	ವ	va
च	ಚ	cha	श	ಶ	śa
छ	ಛ	chha	ष	ಷ	sha
			स	ಸ	sa
			ह	ಹ	ha

A single hyphen is used to separate words in composition, as far as it is desirable to divide them. It will readily be seen where the single hyphen is only used in the ordinary way, at the end of a line, as divided in the original Text, to indicate that the word runs on into the next line; intermediate divisions, rendered unavoidable here and there by printing necessities, are made only where absolutely necessary for neatness in the arrangement of the Texts.

A double hyphen is used to separate words in a sentence, which in the original are written as one word, being joined together by the euphonic rules of *saṁdhi*. Where this double hyphen is used, it is to be understood that a final consonant, and the following initial vowel or consonant-and-vowel, are in the original expressed by one complex sign. Where it is not used, it is to be understood of the orthography of the original, that, according to the stage of the alphabet, the final consonant either has the modified broken form, which, in the oldest stages of the alphabet, was used to indicate a consonant with no vowel attached to it, or has the distinct sign of the *virâma* attached to it; and that the following initial vowel or consonant has its full initial form. In the transcription of ordinary texts, the double hyphen is probably unnecessary; except where there is the *saṁdhi* of final and initial vowels. But, in the transcription of epigraphical records, the use of this sign is unavoidable, for the purpose of indicating exactly the palæographical standard of the original texts.

The avagraha, or sign which indicates the elision of an initial *a*, is but rarely to be met with in inscriptions. Where it does occur, it is most conveniently represented by its own Dêvanâgarî sign.

So also practice has shewn that it is more convenient to use the ordinary Dêvanâgarî **marks of punctuation** than to substitute the English signs for them.

Ordinary brackets are used for corrections and doubtful points; and **square brackets,** for letters which are much damaged and nearly illegible in the original, or which, being wholly illegible, can be supplied with certainty. An asterisk attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation were omitted altogether in the original. As a rule, it is more convenient to use the brackets than to have recourse to footnotes; as the points to which attention is to be drawn attract notice far more readily. But notes are given instead, when there would be so many brackets, close together, as to encumber the text and render it inconvenient to read. When any letters in the original are wholly illegible and cannot be supplied, they are represented, in metrical passages, by the sign for a long or a short syllable, as the case may be; and in prose passages, by points, at the rate, usually, of two for each *akshara* or syllable.

[382] There is a **commentary** by Abhayadêva, a vârttikam or avachûri by Pârśvachandra. In reference to the difference of the constituent parts which were united to form this uvaṁgam, the reader is referred to Leumann, p. 20, who has made some pertinent remarks upon the subject.

XIV. The second upâṅgam, râyapasêṇaïyyam, which is always translated by râjapraśnîyam. This is perhaps to be explained as a complete misunderstanding of the Prâkṛit title by which this text is always cited in those passages from the hand of the redactor which refer to our text in the aṅgas, etc. For pasêṇaïyyam cannot properly be praśnîyam, since the latter word rather pre-supposes a Prâkṛit form paṇhîyam. Pasêṇaïyyam seems, according to the conclusion at which I arrived *ad* Bhag. 1, 352, to refer to the name of king Prasênajit who is well-known in the legends of the Jains.[26] There is, however, one important objection to this conclusion, — there is no mention of this king in our text, which mentions a king Paêsi but no Pasêṇaî. Inasmuch as the authenticity of the form of the name pasêṇaïyyam cannot be gainsaid,[27] there remains but one possibility open: that the original title of the text has been preserved and either the name of Paêsi has been substituted for that of Pasêṇaî[28] (see p. 384) in the text, or there has been substituted an entirely different text for the whole of the old one. [383] Though the latter conjecture savours of boldness, we are not without analogous examples as we have seen in the case of aṅgas 8 — 10. Our first means of explanation appeals much more to our sympathy, especially as we have a perfect parallel in a later legend. We possess two recensions of the Samyaktvakaumudîkathâ, in the first of which the scene is laid at the time of "Śrêṇika, son of Prasênajit," in whose place Uditôdaya, son of Padmôdbhava appears in the second. This is, however, brought about in such fashion that Śrêṇika is referred to in a two-fold introduction. The legend in question appears to be old and to antedate the two existing recensions of the Samyaktvakaumudîkathâ.

The Sanskṛit translation of the title Râyapasêṇaiyyam by râjapraśnîyam is very far from being in harmony with the contents of the work. The burden of the very smallest portion of its extent is in our text the *questions* of a *king*. The questions play here no greater *rôle* than in any other of the legends similar to this in which a king requests instruction. The irreconcilability of this Sanskṛit title with the contents of the work itself makes *eo ipso* for the conclusion that this title is nothing but a mere makeshift to conceal the original contents.

It is, therefore, of no little significance that a beautiful conjecture elaborated into an investigation by Dr. Leumann has shewn that one of the Pâli texts of the Buddhistic Tipitaka, — viz. the Pâyâsi-suttam (Dîghanikâya 1, 23), — is especially closely connected [384] with that part of our upâṅga which treats of king Paêsi. It is apparent, then, that we must assume either a common foundation for both or the use of a special Buddhistic work as a ground-work. That the original text of the Râyapasênaïyyaṁ might easily have suffered a transformation, is indicated by the irreconcilability of this title with the Sanskṛit translation and with the contents. Thus the old name Prasênajit gave place to that of our text Paêsi (Pâyâsi in Pâli).

It is noteworthy that at the conclusion of the work there is an exclamation of reverence addressed to the Jinas, to the suyadêvayâ(śruta°) bhagavaî, to the pannatti bhagavaî, and to the bhagavat arahat Pâsa. Joined to this exclamation are some very corrupt words, which are perhaps to be restored as follows,[29] Passasuyassa vâṇiê. It is at least certain that Pâsa, and not Mahâvîra, is glorified in this paragraph. Could this not be a residuum of the original text,

[26] See *e. g.* aṅga 8, p. 320.

[27] In Nandî, Pâkshikas. and Âvi. the name is râyapa(pp?)s?ṇiya; Svi. and V. have °sêṇaîya; the passages in the texts shewing the hand of the redactor always have the form ?sêṇaiyya.

[28] Leumann is of the opinion (Aupap. p. 2) that the ?? Râyapasêṇaïyya arose by "connection with Râja Prasênajit by a popular etymology." It seems to me, however, that Râyapasêṇaiyya is the *prius* and râjapraśnîyam the *posterius*.

[29] . . namô bhagavaô] arahaô, Pâsassa, passê supassê, passavâṇî namô ê A, arahaṁtô passê supassê passavâṇiê namô E, arahaṁtô passê supassa vâṇiê namô E, arahaṁtô passê suyassa vâṇiê namô G.

which had a right to the title râya Pasêṇaiyya and which perhaps treated of the relations of king Prasênajit and Pâsa? Pâsa, it should be noticed, appears as a teacher in up. 10, 11. The seer glorified in our present text is at least called Pâsâvachchiyya, *i. e.* scholar of Pâsa; and appears in a recital put in the mouth of Mahâvîra as the teacher of king Paêsi. In the other legends, in which [385] any such Pâsâvachchiyyas occur, they are invariably characterized as converts to the teachings of Mahâvîra. See above, p. 300. Malayagiri attempts to find in this reference to the Pâsâvachchiyyas a special proof of the connection of upâṅga 2 with aṅga 2 which, he maintains, treats of the views of the foreign pâshaṇḍas.

We were for some time left in doubt whether the references in the aṅgas to the Râyapasêṇaïyyam were in reality all contained in the Râyapasêṇaïyyam (cf. Jacobi Kalpas. p. 107); but Leumann has shewn that this doubt is without foundation. See above, p. 299. But, granted the actual occurrence of all these citations, this fact only makes for the conclusion, that, at the period of these remarks by the redactor, the substitution, which I assume, was already a *fait accompli*. Nor does this exclude the assumption that our text originally possessed a contents that was really in harmony with its title.

The subject of the largest portion (almost two-thirds) of the existing text, which after the paṁchanamukkâra begins with the customary legendary introduction têṇaṁ kâlêṇaṁ, is as follows: The god Sûriyâbha, who has his throne in the Sôhammakappa, makes a pilgrimage with a numerous retinue to Amalakappâ, the city of king Sêa (Svêta), in order to offer his reverence to Mahâvîra (who is abiding in that city), especially by means of music, dancing and singing.[30] Furthermore, the information is treated of which, in long spun-out details, is imparted in reference to Sûriyâbha, his synonymous vimâna and all his splendour, by Mahâvîra to Gôyama (Indabhûti), who questions him on these points. [386] The discussion of the subject consists in reality of a mere heaping together of compounds; and the sentences often extend over several pages. It is idle to talk of this as *style*, since it exceeds even the widely extended license which is customary in these sacred texts. We recall Bâṇa's Kâdambarî in this connection, though the latter possess a wealth of poetic thoughts and images which elevates it above this dreary and insipid hodge-podge. We have however, the right to propound the question whether there may not be a genetic connection between works like the Kâdambarî and this species of Jain literature, since at least the confused style of the Indian novel may have been influenced by Jain legends of this sort.[31]

On page 205 of the edition[32] (of the text of 296 pages printed in India), Mahâvîra finally comes to the point and informs us how Sûriyâbha reached this glory of his, and of his first birth as king Paêsi (Pradêsi) in Sêyaviyâ. The latter sent his charioteer Chitta [387] with presents to his vassal Jiyasattu at Sâvatthî in the land of Kuṇâla.[33] At that place Chitta heard the sermon of the "Pâsâvachchijjê Kêsî nâmaṁ kumârê,"[34] and was so much edified thereby that after his return home he induced his master Paêsi to let him drive him to the sanctuary, where Kêsî happened to be preaching at that very time. Chitta brought about that conversation between Paêsi and Kêsi to which the translation of the name Râyapasêṇaiyyam by Râjapraśnîyam refers. This

[30] 32 naṭṭavihi, 4 vâitta, 4 gêya, again 4 naṭṭavihi and 4 naṭṭâbhiṇaya are given here in great detail. The commentator, Malayagiri, however, offers scarcely any explanation on this point.

[31] It is certain that Indian fables are greatly under the influence of the simple jâtaka tales of the Buddhists. Likewise, the modern stories as Siṁhâsanadvâtriṁśikâ etc. are without doubt influenced by the kathânakas which were gradually cultivated more and more by the Jains. It is noteworthy, that in Bâṇa as in the Daśakumâra, the style of which is much better than that of Bâṇa, the same persons are frequently born thrice. This three-fold birth is the special delight of the Jain legends. Our text, in this very place, affords an example of this fact. Cf the verse quoted, *Ind. Stud.* 16, page 156 from the Aṇuyôgadv. in reference to the abbhuarasa.

[32] The quarto edition contains the commentary of Malayagiri and a gloss in Bhâshâ. The text gives the year Saṁvat 1732 (?), the gloss 2732 (?). Pâvâgrâma is mentioned in the latter as being the scene of the events narrated.

[33] Reference to this point is found in upâṅga 8

[34] See Uttarajjh. Cap. 23. See the statements of Dharmaghôsha in his Kupakshakauśikâditya (1, 7), in my treatise on this subject, page 22, Journal of the Berlin Acad. of Sciences, 1882, p. 812, in reference to modern descendants of the Kêsikumâra, who themselves claim this title until the end of the XVI century.

conversation, which starts with the question in reference to the relation of the jîva to the sarîra, reaches in the printed text from page 242 to page 279, and contains, therefore, about an eighth part of the whole. In reality, however, there is more than an eighth, since the beginning contains a good deal of commentary.

With the relation of the former birth of Sûriyâbha as Paêsi, Mahâvîra connects his prophecy in reference to his future birth as Daḍhapaïnna. This prophecy is in all essentials completely identical (though somewhat more detailed) with that form of the history of this person, which we met with in up. 1 and in up. 8 (cf. also Bhag. 11, 11.)[35] We have then discovered here a fact that is likely to cast a somewhat suspicious light upon the history of the text of up. 2. The enumeration of the 72 kalâs (p. 290) varies here but inconsiderably; and Malayagiri does not help us by giving any explanation of the names. The enumeration of the foreign peoples is in essential agreement with Bhag. 9, 33 (above p. 302), with the single exception [388] that here, too, the Chaüsiyâ (Vaü°, Paü°) and the Jôṇiyâ have been included in the list. There are, however, some few variations in the names and in the order of their succession. See Leumann, Aup. p. 60. On page 52 chîṇapiṭṭharâsi is adduced among the red stuffs, and likewise in up. 3; cf. chînapaṭṭa in aṅga 10, p. 333.

The **commentary** of **Malayagiri** dates, according to Aufrecht, Catalogus, p. 396b, from the year (Vîra ?) 1772; according to Leumann this is merely the date of the ṭabâ based upon Malayagiri.

XV. The third upâṅgam, jîvâbhigamasûtram, = instruction, in dialogue form, of **Gôyama** (Iṁdabhûti) in reference to the different forms and groups of animated nature. This instruction is not placed in the mouth of Mahâvîra, but in that of a person who is not designated. The introduction is composed without any legendary ballast, and reads as follows : — Îha[36] khalu Jiṇamayaṁ Jiṇâṇumayaṁ Jiṇâṇulômaṁ Jiṇappaṇîtaṁ Jiṇaparûviyaṁ Jinakkhâyaṁ Jiṇâṇuchinnaṁ Jiṇapannattaṁ Jiṇadêsiyaṁ Jiṇapasatthaṁ aṇuvîtîyaṁ (?) taṁ saddahamâṇâ taṁ pattiyamâṇâ taṁ rôêmâṇâ thêrâ bhagavaṁtô jîvâjîvâbhigamaṁ nâma 'jjhayaṇaṁ pannavaïṁsu. In up. 10 these thêrâ bhagavaṁtô are adduced by Mahâvîra himself — cf. chhêdasûtra 4. The introduction then proceeds to give, in response to the question sê kiṁ taṁ jîvâbhigamê ?, a species of division of the entire work. No smaller sections, except some,[37] are marked off in the text. [389] The various views of those[38] are here enumerated[39] who characterize the jîva either as duviha (to 17a of the MS. — ms. or. fol. 1081 — consisting of 212 leaves) or as follows, — as tiviha (to 34a), as chaüvviha (to 184a ; this is the chief part, almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole[40]), as paṁchaviha (to 186a), as chhavviha (to 193a), sattaviha (to 193b), aṭṭha° (to 195a), ṇava° (to 195b), and dasaviha (to 197b). Then the same paḍivatti, follow in the same order, but according to another guiding principle. Within this system there are innumerable groups, species and sub-species of each of the jîvas according to their properties and relations. The contents is remarkably dry and offers but little of genuine interest. Very frequent are the references to the fourth upâṅga, which is quite similar to it in contents and form. At present it is impossible to decide which text has the better claim to priority. Many single verses and sometimes whole series of gâthâs, or kârikâ-like verses are inserted

The section which treats of the dîvas (and samuddas) (*i. e.* 89b to 167a) appears at the date of aṅga 3 and of the Nandî[41] to have had a separate existence under the name dîvasâgarapannatti which is mentioned twice in aṅga 3. See p. 263. This section unfortunately contains

[35] s. Leumann, Aup. p. 75 fg.

[36] This is preceded by a reverential exclamation ṇamô Usabhâ liyâṇaṁ, chaüvvisâê titthagarâṇaṁ, an unusual form, which appears to belong to the text itself and not to emanate from the copyists.

[37] In the MS chiefly used by me the conclusion of an uddêsa is given three times. [38] êgê êvam âhaṁsu.

[39] In nine groups (paḍivatti, Vidhiprapâ), introduced in a way that is quite identical in each separate case.

[40] We find treated here the division into nêraïya to 52b, tirikkhajôṇiya to 59b, maṇussa to 74b, dêva to 182a, and then a few further remarks to 184a.

[41] In the Vidhiprapâ there is a saṁgrahaṇî on it cited among the païnnayas.

almost nothing of real geographical value, [390] and nothing but fantastic conceptions concerning mythology. This holds good in reference to the astronomical (if we may use the expression) remarks concerning the different numbers (!) of the suns, moons and stars in each of the dvîpas, which appear to harmonize completely with the statements of the fifth (or seventh) upâṅga. See Ind. Stud. 10, 281. The 28 nakshatras consequently begin with Abhijit and not with Krittikâ. There are no legends whatsoever. Dr. Leumann sends me the following detailed statement of the **contents of this upâṅgam** :—

I. Introduction ; — II. Two-fold division of creatures. 1 — 10. thâvarâ : 1 — 5. puḍhavikkâiyâ êgiṁdiyâ, 6 — 7. âukkâiyâ eg., 8 — 10. vaṇassaïkkâiyâ eg ; — 11 — 26. tasâ : 11. têukkâiyâ eg., 12. vâukkâiyâ eg., 13. bêiṁdiyâ, 14. têiṁdiyâ, 15. chaüriṁdiyâ, — 16 — 26. paṁchiṁdiyâ, 16. nêraïyâ, 17 — 20. sammuchchhima-tirikkhajôṇiyâ, 21 — 24. gabbhavakkaṁtiya-tir., 25. maṇussâ, 26 dêvâ ; — 27. tasâ and thâvarâ (in general). — III. Three-fold division of creatures: 1 — 6. itthiyâô, 7 — 12. purisâ, 13 — 18. napuṁsagâ, 19 — 24. the three together and among themselves. — IV. Four-fold division of creatures. A geographical text is inserted called the dîvasamuddâ. 1. paḍhamô nêraïya-uddêsô, 2. bitiyanêraïya-uddêsaô, 3. taïô nâraya-uddêsaô, 4. tirikkhajôṇiya-paḍh. udd., 5. tirikkh. udd bîô., 6. maṇussâ, 7. 31 — 33. dêvâ. — 8 — 23. dîvasamuddâ. 8 — 16. the Jambuddîva, the inmost part of the world, of circular form. 8. Description of the above, in general the same as that of Sûriyâbhavimâṇa in Râjapr. — 9. the gate of the east, Vijaya dâra — 10. The residence râyahâṇî of the god Vijaya who rules there. 11. [391] The walk of reverence of Vijaya within his vimâṇa, — 12. The duration of the existence of Vijaya, — 13. The gates of the three remaining regions of the world : Vêjayaṁta dâra, Jayaṁta dâra and Aparâiya dâra, and the distance of the dâras from each other. — 14. Jambuddîva as bounded by the Lavaṇa sea which surrounds it on all sides like a ring, — 15. Explanation of the name Jambuddîva, — 16. Number of the constellations moving over Jamb., — 17. The Lavaṇa sea, the first ocean surrounding Jambuddîva like a ring ; the description here corresponds to that of Jamb. and from this point on is in the same strain, — 18. The Chanda-dîvâ and Sûra-dîvâ of the different parts of the earth and oceans, — 19. Appendix to 17 : Ebb and flow etc., — 20. The second part of the globe, Dhâyaïsaṇḍa, that in circular form is contiguous to the Lavaṇa sea; then the second ocean Kâlôda which, in the form of a ring, is adjacent to Dhây. ; and finally the third part of the globe, Pukkharavara, contiguous to Kâlôda, — 21. The Samaya- or Maṇussa-Khetta, consisting of the above mentioned two first parts of the globe and the first two oceans together with the inner half of the ring of the third part of the globe, which is separated from the outer half by the circular mountain, Maṇussuttara. — 22. The following parts of the globe and oceans which are connected with one another as rings : Pukkharôda, Vâruṇavara dîva, Vâruṇôda, Khîravara dîva, Khîrôda, Ghatavara dîva, Ghatôda, Khôdavara dîva, Khôdôda. — 23. The following world-ring, Nandîsaravara dîva. — 24. The following oceans and world-rings ; Nandîsarôda, Aruṇa dîva, etc., to Hâravârobhâsôda. — 25. The remaining oceans and world-rings up to Sayambhuramaṇa dîva and Sayambhuramaṇôda. — 26. The names of all these parts of the globe and oceans, — 27. The [392] waters and aquatic animals of the different oceans. — 28. In reference to the dîvasamuddâ in general (nâmadhejja, uddhârasamaya, pariṇâma and uvavâya). — 29. 30. A brief insertion, perhaps an appendix to the dîvasamuddâ. — 29. About pariṇâma. — 30. Concerning the ability of gods to catch an object that has been thrown, to split a hair (? gaḍhittaê), to lengthen or to shorten one. — 31 — 33. dêvâ continuation ; (see 7). — 31. jôisa-uddêsaô. — 32. — paḍhamô Vêmâṇiya-udd. — 33. bîô Vêmâṇiya-udd.[42] — 34. Final collective statements (duration of existence, etc.) in reference to the four divisions of creatures. — V. — X. Five-fold to the ten-fold division of creatures. — XI. Introduction to the following analogous divisions of all creatures. — XII. to XX. Two-fold to ten-fold division of all creatures.

[42] This concluding title, says Leumann, is incorrectly placed after Chapter 34 instead of after 33 in the Berlin MSS. and in those of Prof. Monier Williams.

XVI. The fourth upâṅgam, pannavaṇâ (prajñapanâ) bhagavaî, likewise treats of the different forms, conditions of life, etc., of the jîva.[43] It is divided into 36 payas, (padas), of which several (15. 17. 23. 38) consist of from two to six uddêśakas. According to the fourth of the nine verses of the introduction, it is the work of Ayya Sâma (Ârya Śyâma, also Śyâmârya), who at the same time is called the "twenty-third dhîrapurisa" *i. e.* after Vîra (after Sudharmasvâmin, according to Malayagiri). [393] This statement causes no little difficulty. According to Klatt, *l. l.* p. 247b and 251b (9, 23) and in the Journal of the German Oriental Society 33, 479, the modern Jain lists of teachers place, with some few differences,[44] Śyâma in the fourth century after Vîra; but the "twenty-third" successor of Vîra is placed by one list immediately before Dêvarddhigaṇi, 980 after Vîra, and is regarded by the other as contemporaneous with the destruction of Valabhî (Valabhîbhaṅga), 845 after Vîra. The Gurvâvalî of the Tapâgachha expressly enumerates Śyâmârya as a contemporary of the ninth patriarch; and in both of the old Thêrâvalîs of the Nandî (or Âvaśyaka) and of Mêrutuṅga he is enumerated as the 13th (not the 23rd) successor of Vîra. This apparent contradiction is done away with by the explanation of Bhâu Dâji, referred to p. 217n, according to which the eleven gaṇadharas of Vîra are regarded as being included in the designation of Śyâma as "23rd" successor. This method of including the gaṇadharas has however not been traced elsewhere.

The text begins with the paṁchanamukkâra, followed by the following glorification: êsô paṁchanamukkârô savvapâvapaṇâsaṇô | maṁgalâṇaṁ cha savvêsiṁ paḍhamaṁ hôi maṁgalaṁ ||. This glorification is to be ascribed to the last daśapûrvin, śrî Vajra (584 Vîra), according to modern tradition. See Kup. 811 (21) on this point and also the same passage in reference to the question whether in the last pâda we must read hôi or havaï,[45] about which there is fierce contention among the Jain theologians.

[394] Then follows[46] in nine verses the **real introduction,** of which Jacobi (Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc. 34, 251) says "it is manifestly the production of Dêvarddhigaṇin, the redactor of the Siddhânta." The first verse praises Mahâvîra; the second characterizes the pannavaṇâ savvabhâvâṇaṁ as uvadaṁsiyâ by him (bhagavayâ); the third and fourth pay reverence to that saint, Ajja Sâma, the "23rd dhîrapurisa," whose wisdom, perfected by listening to the pûrvas, gave to his scholars this śruta-jewel after he had brought it up from the śruta-sea: vâyagavaravaṁsâô têvîsatimêṇa dhîrapurisêṇa | duddharadharêṇa[47] muṇiṇâ puvvasuyasamiddhabuddhîê[48] || 3 || suyasâyarâ viṇêûṇa jêṇa suyarayaṇam uttamaṁ dinnaṁ sîsagaṇassa, bhagavatô tassa namô Ajja Sâmassa || 4 ||

In verse 5 an "I" promises to describe (or proclaim) the work in the same way as the "bhagavant" has described it; and the work is characterized as "dripping with dṛishṭivâda:" ajjhayaṇam iṇaṁ chittaṁ suyarayaṇaṁ diṭṭhivâyanîsaṁdaṁ[49] | jaha vanniyaṁ bhagavayâ aham avi taha vaṇṇaïssâmi || 5 || It is, of course, clear[50] that some one else than the previous speaker is to be understood by this "I;" and Jacobi's [395] conjecture, mentioned above, must

[43] Cf. in the Schol. on the Nandî: jîvâdînâṁ padârthânâṁ prajnâpanaṁ yatra sâ prajnâpanâ, sai 'va vṛihattarâ mahâprajnâpanâ. Two texts of this name are referred to there, a simple pann° and a mahâpann°. The latter is adduced as the sixth upâṅgam by Kashinath Kunte (p. 227) p. 5 and p. 7, who calls it, however, "obsolete and extinct." He does not mention the chandapannatti.

[44] The Paṭṭ(âvalî of Kharataragachha) dates his birth 376 (or 386) after Vîra; in the same year the Gurv(âvalî of Tapâgachha) assumes his death to have occurred. He was also called Kâlaka and was one of the three celebrated teachers of this name. See Jacobi, Journ. Germ. Orient. Soc. 34, 251ff.

[45] Thus in the beginning of the Kalpasûtra, see Jacobi, p. 33, and Âvaśy. 9, 132.

[46] The preceding is omitted by Malayagiri, whose commentary begins here.

[47] Jacobi translates "undergoing a severe test." I propose "holding that (in his head) which is difficult of retention"; cf. the use of dhâraê p. 304n (Bhag. 2, 245 n).

[48] buddhîṇaṁ var. l., construed by Jacobi with vâyagavara, as if we had °varâṇaṁ.

[49] dvâdaśasyâ 'ṅgasya nishyaṁdam iva. The expression di°nîsaṁdaṁ recurs in the words "aggêṇiya-puvvanissandâ" at the end of the siddhapâhuḍa. See above, page 355.

[50] Malayagiri refers "bhagavayâ" to Mahâvîra and not to Ayya Sâma as the one who in the text carries on the dialogue with Gôyama. According to his conception then the work of Ayya Sâma begins with this verse; and this is probably correct.

be referred and indeed limited to v. 1 — 4 alone in so far as these verses appear as a prelude of secondary origin. In the four verses which then follow are contained the titles of the 36 sections :—

1. Pannavaṇâ, 2. ṭhâṇâiṁ, 3. bahuvattavvaṁ, 4. ṭhiî, 5. visêsâ ya | 6. vukkaṁtî, 7 ussâsô, 8. sannâ,[51] 9. jôṇî ya, 10. charimâiṁ || 6 ||, 11. bhâsâ, 12. sarîra-, 13. pariṇâma-, 14. kasâê-, 15. 'ṁdiya-, 16. (◡ – is wanting) ppaôgê ya | 17. lêsâ, 18. kâyaṭṭhiî ya, 19. sammattê (samyaktva), 20. aṁtakiriyâ ya || 7 ||, 21. ugâhaṇâsaṁṭhâṇê,[52] 22. kiriyâ, 23. kammê i yâvarê(?), 24. kammassa baṁdhaê, 25. vêdassa baṁdhaê, 26 kammassa vêdaê,[53] 27. vêyavêyaê || 8 [54] ||, 28. âhârê, 29. uvaôgê, 30. pâsaṇayâ (darśanatâ), 31. sanni[55] (saṁjnin), 32. saṁjamê chêva | 33. ôhî (avadhî), 34. paviyâraṇâ[56] (read °raṇâ yâ), 35. vêyaṇâ (vêdanâ), 36. tattô samugghâê || 9 ||.

Then comes the text κατ' ἐξοχήν which begins with the question sê kiṁ taṁ ajîvapannavaṇâ? It consists furthermore of the questions of Gô(yama) and the answers probably of Mahâvîra, though it is uncertain whether Mahâvîra be meant or not, since there is absolutely no addition of a legendary colouring. These questions and answers are couched in the style and manner of the dialogues in the Bhagavatî, and though there is here a connecting thread (which we do not find in the Bhagavatî), every padam forming a connected whole, nevertheless, there is, as a rule, [396] no genetic succession of the padas, despite the fact that Malayagiri makes every effort at the beginning of every padam to restore[57] the connection with what has gone before. Many gâhâs are found in the middle of the text, and many of the padas begin with a short statement of contents clothed in gâthâ form — dâragâhâ (dvâragâthâ). There are no legends whatsoever. The "contents" is as dreary as that (cf. above p. 389) of the third uvaṁga, which is closely connected with it, is dogmatic, speculative or even fantastic, and contains but little of general interest. There is much, however, that is important in the first book in the section on Man, who is divided into two classes : **milikkha and âriya.** First there is an enumeration of 53 Mlêchha peoples, secondly an enumeration of 25½ (!) Aryan peoples with their chief cities, and lastly an enumeration of 18 manners of writing. All this possesses some chronological value which would be more apparent if the names had not been so corruptly handed down to us. Malayagiri offers us no assistance in the case of the first and third enumeration.

In the list of the Milikkhas (Milakkhas) the names are frequently the same as those cited, p. 332 from aṅga 10, and are arranged in the same order of succession. Various differences of detail are, however, not wanting, and in fact the names here make a less favourable impression upon us and seem to be of less antiquity.[58] They are :[59] — Saga [397] Javana Chilâya Savara Pappara (Babbara BC) Kâya (only ya BC) Muruṁdô 'dda (ḍḍha C) Bhaḍaga Ṇiṇṇaga Pakkaṇiyâ Kulakkhâ Koṁḍa[60] (Goṁḍa C) Sihara[60] (Sîhala) Pârasa[60] Godhôva (Gâdhô-

[51] âhârâi dasasaṇṇâpayaṁ, yidhiprapâ (V). [52] ôgâhaṇâpayaṁ V.

[53] 25 and 26 are transposed in BCV; in V we read kammavêyagapayaṁ 25, vêyagabaṁdhagapayaṁ 26, vêyagapayaṁ 27.

[54] The metre is faulty in v. 8. [55] maṇôvinnâṇasannâ payaṁ 31, V. [56] paviyâraṇâpayaṁ 34, V.

[57] Malayagiri claims in the beginning of his discussion of the subject that there is a special connection between this upâṅga and aṅga 4.

[58] The Chîṇa have disappeared or their name is concealed under that of another people. The name of the Ârava has received another form — Aravâyâ — and its position has been changed.

[59] Malayagiri has merely : śakadêśanivâsinaḥ Śakâḥ, Yavandêśanivâsinô Yavanâḥ, êvaṁ sarvatra, navaram amî nânâdêśâ lôkatô vijnêyâḥ. The names are found partly in the thematic form and partly in the Nom. Plur. — In Nêmichandra's pravachanasâroddhâra § 274 v. 1594 — 7 we find 38 names, among which only 20 agree with those given here; and there are important variations. His enumeration decked out in a modern dress is as follows : — Saga Javaṇa Sabara Vavvara Kâya (Kâyâḥ) Maruṁdô 'ḍḍa (Muruṁdâh Uḍrâḥ) Gôḍa Pakkaṇayâ | Aravâga (Aukhâgâ C, Akshâgâḥ!) Hûṇa Rômaya Pârasa Khasa Khâsiyâ chêva || 94 || Ḍuṁvilaya Laüsa (Lakuśâḥ) Bhokkasa Bhilliṁdha (Bhillâ Aṁdhrâḥ) Pulinda Kuṁcha Bhamararuyâ (!! Bhrâmararuchâḥ) | Kôvâya (Korpakâḥ) Chîṇa-Chaṁchuya (Chînâh Chaṁchukâḥ) Mâlava Ḍamilâ (Draviḍâḥ) Kulagghâ (Kulârghâḥ!) ya || 95 || Kêkaya Kirâya Hayamuha Kharamuha Gaya-Turaya-Miṁḍhayamuhâ (Miṁḍhakamukhâḥ) ya | Hayakannâ Gayakannâ annê vi anâriyâ bahavê || 96 ||. It is of interest that the name Aravâga has been completely misunderstood.

[60] B. omits.

damba B, Godhâi C) Damila Vilala (Villaṇa B, Chillala C) Pulimda Hîrôsâ Domva (Tôva B, Docha C) Boṭṭhakâṇa (Vokkâṇa BC) Gamdhahârava (°hâraga B) Pahaliliya (Bahayaliya B, Pahaliya C) Ayyala Râma Pâsa Paüsâ Nalayâ (Navayâ C) ya Bamdhuyâ ya Sûyali Komkaṇa gâ Mêya (Môpamya B) Palhava Mâlava Maggarî (°ra BC) Âbhâsiyâ Ṇakvavîṇâ (Kaṇavîra B) Lhasiya (Lhâ° B) Khagga (Kkhasa B) Ghâsiya (Khâsiya B) Ṇôha (Nêdû B, Ṇaddu C) Ramaḍha[61] (°ṭha B) Dombilaga (Ḍô° C) Laüsa (°ôsa C) Paôsa Kvokvatâ (! Kakkvêyâ B, Kakvêya C) Arakâga (Aravâga BC) Hûṇa Rômagâ Bharu Maruya Visâlâpavâsî (Chilâyavisavâsî ya B, Vilâyavisayavâsî yâ C) êvamâdî, sê 'ttam Milakkhâ.

The âriyas are divided into nine groups, the first of which is formed by the khettâriya, and is in gâthâ form. It is as follows: —

Râyagiha Magaha, Champâ Amgâ taha, Tâmalitti Vamgâ ya | Kamchaṇapuram Kalimgâ, Bâṇârasi (!) chêva Kâsî ya ||

[398] Sâêya Kôsalâ, Gayapuram cha Kuru, Sôriyam Kusaṭṭhâ (°ddâ B, ṭṭâ) ya[62] | Kampillam Pamchâlâ, Ahichhattâ Jamgalâ chêva ||

Bâravaî Sôraṭṭhâ, Mihila Vidêhâ ya, Vattha (chchha B) Kôsambî | Namdipuram Samḍibbhâ (llâ BC),[63] Bhaddilapuram êva Malayâ ya ||

Vaïrâḍa[64] Vattha (chchha B), Varaṇâ Atthâ (chchhâ BC), taha Mattiyâvaî Dasannâ | Sottiyamaî (°vaî C) ya Chêdî, Vîibhayam (Vîya°) Simdhu-Sôvîrâ ||

Mahurâ ya Sûrasêṇâ, Pâvâ Gambhî (! Bhamgî BC) ya Mâsapuri Vaddhâ (Vaṭṭâ BC) | Sâvatthî ya Kuṇâlâ, Kôḍîvarisam va (°sim cha B) Lâṭâ (°ḍhâ C) ya ||

Sêyaviyâ vi ya ṇayarî Kêaï-addham cha âriyam bhaṇiyam | pachch' (pachchh' C, ichch B, etth' D = atra) uppatti jiṇâṇam chakkîṇam Râma-Kaṇhâṇam ||

These names represent a later stage than the 16 names in aṅga 5 (p. 304), but date back in all probability to a remote period. Pâṭaliputra is omitted here but found in aṅga 11 (p. 337, 338). [399] It appears to be an old reminiscence (or perhaps is a trace of the influence of the Râmâyaṇa) that one half of Kêkaya is called Âryan. The other half is concealed under the name of the Kakvêya (C, where aṅga 10 has Kêkaya), cited among the Milakkhas. Bâṇârasî is modern — cf. Bhag. 2, 232 — but is found in this form also in aṅga 5.

The second group of the âriyas, the jâti-âriyâ, deserves also to be noted here: sê kim tam jâtiâriyâ? chhavvihâ paṇṇattâ, tam, Ambaṭṭhâ ya Kalimdâ Vidêhâ Vêdamâiyâ (°gâiyâ BC) Hariyâ Vamchuṇâ (Chamch° C) chêva chha êyâ ibbhâ jâtitô, sê jâtiâriyâ. What is the meaning of the last three names?

The sixth group of the âriyâs is formed by the bhâsâriyâ. We find here again the enumeration of the 18 manners of writing, which we met with (p. 280) in aṅga 4, 18, where, however, the form in which they were cited is not so correct as here. The names in this very interesting passage are as follows (together with the variants from ABC), —sê kim tam bhâsâriyâ? jê ṇam addha-Magahâê bhâsâê bhâsemti, jattha ya ṇam bambhî livî ("the sacred

[61] An acceptable reading instead of Marahaṭṭha (!) in aṅga 10.

[62] Kuśârtheshu Sauriyam, Malayagiri. In Nêmichandra who, l. l. § 275 v. 1598 — 1603 quotes the above verses directly, the name is Kusattâ, or Kusajjâ; in the scholiast Śaurikanagaram Kuśârthô dêśaḥ.

[63] Śâmdibhyô Śâmḍilyô vâ dêśah, Nem. schol.

[64] Vatseshu Vairâṭapuram (the Vatsa were already mentioned once in conjunction with Kôsambî), Varaṇeshu Achchhâpurî, Chêdishu Śoktikâvatî; Vîtabhayam Simdhushu, Sauvîreshu (! by this separation of the Sauvîra from the Sindhu the next three cities are displaced) Mathurâ (!), Sûrasêneshu Pâpâ (!), Bhamgeshu Mâsapurivaṭṭâ (! by means of this compound the copyist hopes to extricate himself from his dilemma) · Kuṇâleshu Śrâvastî, Lâṭâsu Kôṭîvarsham, Śvêtambikâ (!) nagarî Kêkayajanapadasyâ 'rdham, êtâvad ardhashaḍviṁśatijanapadâtmakam kshetram âryam bhaṇitam, Malayagiri. — Instead of the second Vachchha Nêmichandra has the correct reading Machchha; instead of Varaṇa he reads Varuṇa and explains as follows: — Varuṇô nagaram Achchhâ dêśaḥ, anyê tu Varuṇê-Achchhâpurî 'ty âhuh; for No. 23 he has: Mâsapuri Vaṭṭî (Vaḍḍhâ C), and in the schol.: Varttô dêśaḥ, anyê tu . . Vûḍhâ iti; at the end: jatth' uppatti.

writing") pavattaï; baṁbhîê ṇaṁ livîê aṭṭhârasavi*halikkha*vihâṇê[65] paṇṇattê, taṁ, baṁbhî Javaṇâliyâ Dâsâ*p*uriya[66] Kharoṭṭhî *Pukkha*rasâ*r*iyâ[67] Bhôgavaïyâ Pahârâiyâu (Paha° B, Êha° C) ya aṁtarakariyâ (aṁtakkhar° B) akkharapuṭṭhiyâ[68] vêṇaïya[69] niṇhaïyâ aṁkalivî[70] gaṇitalivî[71] gaṁdhavvalivî[72] *âyâsa*livî[73] mâhêsarî[74] Dâmilî[75] Pôliṁdâ,[76] sê 'ttaṁ bhâsâriyâ. Malayagiri has on this merely : — [400] brâhmî-Yavanânî (!) 'ty âdayô lipibhêdâs tu saṁpradâyâd avasêyâḥ. It is evident that here too we have to deal with an ancient enumeration, since we find five of these names among the 65 names of writing mentioned in Lalitavistara, Chap. 10, p. 143 fg. (ed. Râjendra Lâla Mitra, see also Foucaux, Transl. p. 123). These names are as follows, — brâhmî (at the head in the Lalavist.), Kharôshṭî,[77] Pushkarasârî,[78] Drâviḍalipi, gaṁdharvalipi, and a few other names as gaṇanâvartalipi, antarikshadêvalipi, madhyâksharavistâralipi are not far removed from the names enumerated here. The antiquity of these names becomes at once apparent if we compare them with similar enumerations of kinds of writing which comprise quite different names (though they hold fast to the number 18). In the Kalpântarvâchyâni we find (on Kalpas. § 209) the following peculiar verse in reference to acquiring a knowledge of writing through the help of Jina : —

Lêhaṁ lihîvihâṇam jiṇêna bambhîi dâhiṇakarêṇaṁ | gaṇiaṁ saṁkhâṇaṁ suṁdarîi vâmêṇa uvaïṭṭhaṁ ||, then an enumeration of the 72 kalâs, which is followed by the following statements in reference to writing, the first of the 72 : lekhanaṁ lipayaḥ 18, tad yathâ : haṁsalipi bhûtalipi yaksha° râkshasa° Uḍḍî Yâvanî Tur*a*shkî karî (?) Drâviḍî Saiṁdhavî Mâlavî nâḍî nâgarî Lâte Pârasî animittalipi (ichhâsaṁkêtâdirûpâ gloss) Châṇakkî Mauladêvî. A second and more modern enumeration *ibid.* reads : — [401] dêśâdiviśêshâd anyathâ vâ 18 : Lâḍî Chôḍî Ḍâhalî Kânhaḍî Gûjarî Sôraṭhî Marahaṭhî Kauṁkaṇî Khurasâṇî (!) Sasî (?) Siṁhalî Hâḍî Kîrî Hammîrî (!) Paratîrî Mâgadhî Mâlavî Mahâyodhî. In this enumeration the introduction is of especial interest, since it calls the addha-Magahâ bhâsâ, the language of the bambhî livî. — See p. 221. — No weight is to be laid upon the statement, which the text evidently intends to make, that all the 18 methods of writing mentioned above were brought into use for the bambhî livî. This passage and that of the Lalitavistara must be regarded as of paramount importance for the history of Indian writing, though these accounts contain much that can be recognized as purely fictitious.

THE GUPTA-VALABHI ERA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

The Introduction to my *Gupta Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III., published in 1888 (see also *ante*, Vol. XV. pp. 189-194, Vol. XVI. pp. 141-154, and Vol. XVII. pp. 243-246, 331-339, 359-369), contains some matter that would have been stated more concisely, and some that would have been omitted altogether, if I had known then as much as I have learned since, about the conversion of Hindu dates into their European equivalents. I now take the opportunity of recasting my remarks on the classification of the dates and the exact epoch of the era, with some subsidiary points. For a long time past, I have intended to do this; but I have only lately had leisure to carry out my intention.

---

[65] °vihê lêha(A, kha BC)vi° 4. [66] dasâüriyâ (ûri BC) 4. [67] kharoṭṭhiyâ | kharasâhiyâ 4.

[68] in 4 in another order: pahârâiyâ (râi° BC) uvvattariyâ akkharapuṭṭhiyâ bhôgavaïttâ (°vayatâ BC).

[69] vêṇaṇiyâ BC in 4. [70] aṁkilavî A in 4. [71] 4 is omitted.

[72] 4 then adds bhûyalivî. [73] âdaṁsalivî 4. [74] mêhasaralivi A, mâhêsarilivi BC in 4.

[75] dâmilivi livi A, dâsilalivi B, dâmilalivî C in 4. [76] vôliṁda A, liṁdiṁlivî B, lidiṁlivî C in 4.

[77] Is Kharôshtha who, according to Wassiljew, is called by the Chinese Buddhists the first astronomer, honoured here under this name? Schiefner long ago referred to the Kharoshthî lipi of the Lalitavistara in this connection. Wassiljew attempts to find in Kharoshṭi the name of a Xarustr mentioned in an Armenian chronicles who together with Zoroaster is said to have invented astronomy in Chaldæa. See Ind. Streifen 3, s. 9, or another conjecture on this subject.

[78] The grammarian Paushkarasâdi may be recalled in this connection.

I.— THE ORIGINAL GUPTA ERA IN CENTRAL INDIA.

1.— The Nature and Initial Day of the Years.

The dates that naturally require to be first considered, are those which, belonging to **the Early Gupta period itself**, also contain details that can be actually tested by calculation. Of these, we have five. One is the date in the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta. The other are the dates in the copper-plate grants of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas.*

A.— The Êraṇ inscription of the year 165.

A. Here the details (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 80) are : — The year 165 ; Âshâḍha śukla 12 ; Thursday. From the Mandasôr inscription written in Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired, with Albêrûnî's statements, we know that the English equivalent must lie in, or just before or after, A. D. 484. And by actual trials it is found that the exact day, for the *tithi* as an ended *tithi*, is **Thursday, 21st June, A. D. 484;** on which day the *tithi* ended, according to Professor Kero Lakshmaṇ Chhatre's Tables, with Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's corrections for the *abdapa, &c.,* at about 48 *ghaṭis,* 55 *palas,* = 19 hours, 14 minutes, after mean sunrise for Bombay, and 30 *palas* or 12 minutes later for Ujjain.

In A. D. 485, the *tithi* ended on Tuesday, 11th June ; and thus in that year it cannot be connected with a Thursday in any way.

In A. D. 483, the *tithi,* ending, according to the same Tables, at about 56 *gh.* 45 *p.* (for Bombay), on Friday, 3rd June, began at about 58 *gh.* 45 *p.* on the **Thursday** ; and thus it might be connected with the Thursday for the space of 1 *gh.* 15 *p.*, = 30 minutes, just before the sunrise at the end of that day. This is, however, an altogether improbable time for the completion of the work which is recorded in the inscription ; *viz.* the erection of the pillar. Moreover, even this result is not obtainable from Professor Jacobi's Tables ; according to which the *tithi,* ending at about 23 hrs. 22 min., = 58 *gh.* 25 *p.*, (for Ujjain), on the Friday, began at 26 minutes, = 1 *gh.* 5 *p.*, on the same day, and cannot be connected with the Thursday at all. The possible result for A. D. 483, therefore, must undoubtedly be rejected on its own merits; to say nothing of the fact that it would not fit in uniformly with the results for the other dates.

The English equivalent, accordingly, is **Thursday, 21st June, A. D. 484.** This day corresponds to **Âshâḍha śukla 12 of Śaka-Saṁvat 407 current.** And, putting aside for the present the question of current or expired Gupta years, Gupta-Saṁvat 165 may have commenced with any day from Âshâḍha śukla 13 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 406 current, up to Âshâḍha śukla 12 of 'S.-S. 407 current.

This, however, leaves the initial day of the year altogether indefinite, within the range of twelve entire lunations. And the next step is to see what can be done to locate it within closer limits.

B. and C. — The Khôh and Majhgawâṁ grants of the years 163 and 191.

This can be done, to a very reasonable extent, by means of the dates in two of the grants of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâja* Hastin.[1]

B. Here the details (*loc. cit.* p. 110) are : — The year 163 in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings ; the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* ; Chaitra śukla 2. The Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* is one of the years of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter. With the result for the Êraṇ date as a guide, it is found that the *saṁvatsaras* in this and the other similar dates can be determined, on uniform principles, by nothing but the system which is regulated by the heliacal risings of the planet. And by that system, the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* in question

[1] In respect of the other two dates in the Parivrâjaka grants, of the years 156 and 209, it is unnecessary on this occasion to say more than that the results for them answer exactly to the conditions established for the two which are now treated of. For the present purpose, we have to choose only the two dates which are the earliest and the latest with reference solely to the months of the Hindu luni-solar year.

began on the 5th April A. D. 481, and ended on the 11th May, A. D. 482. These days correspond to the *pûrṇimânta* Vaiśâkha krishṇa 6 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 404 current, and Jyêshṭha śukla 8 of Ś.-S. 405 current. The intermediate Chaitra śukla 2 (ending on the 7th March, A. D. 482) was the Chaitra śukla 2 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 405 current. Accordingly, Chaitra śukla 2, Gupta-Saṁvat 163, is Chaitra śukla 2 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 405 current; and Gupta-Saṁvat 163 may have commenced on any day from Chaitra śukla 3 of Saka-Saṁvat 404 current, up to Chaitra śukla 2 of S.-S. 405 current.

C. Here the details (*loc. cit.* p. 114) are:—The year 191 in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara*; Mâgha krishṇa 3. Determined in the same way as in the preceding instance, the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* began on the 29th September, A. D. 510, and ended on the 28th October, A. D. 511. These days correspond to Âśvina śukla 11 of Saka-Saṁvat 433 current, and the *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśîrsha krishṇa 7 of S.-S. 434 current. The intermediate *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 (ending on the 3rd January, A. D. 511) was the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 433 current. Accordingly, the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3, Gupta-Saṁvat 191, is the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 of Saka-Saṁvat 433 current; Gupta-Saṁvat 191 may have commenced on any day from the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 4 of Saka-Saṁvat 432 current, up to the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 of S.-S. 433 current; and, for direct comparison with the result deduced under B., Gupta-Saṁvat 163 may have commenced on any day from the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 4 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 404 current, up to the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 of 'S.-S. 405 current.

Now, the period from Chaitra śukla 3 to the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 404 current, which is admissible by the result under B., is excluded by the result under C., which fixes the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 4 of that year as the earliest possible initial day.

And, on the other hand, the period from Chaitra śukla 3 up to the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 3 of Saka-Saṁvat 405 current, which is admissible by the result under C., is excluded by the result under B., which fixes Chaitra śukla 2 of that year as the latest possible initial day.

Accordingly, it follows that, by the practice of the time when these two records were drawn up, **Gupta-Saṁvat 163 began with some day from the pûrṇimânta Mâgha krishṇa 4 of Saka-Saṁvat 404 current, up to Chaitra śukla 2 of S.-S. 405 current**; the possible range being seventy-three *tithis*, or roughly seventy-two days.

A reference back will shew that these limits suit the result under A., just as well as the results for the two dates from which they are deduced. For, Gupta-Saṁvat 165 would commence on some day from the *pûrṇimânta* Mâgha krishṇa 4 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 406 current, up to Chaitra śukla 2 of S.-S. 407 current; which period is well within the wider limits which are admissible by A., if taken alone.

And it may be noted here, that the limited range for the initial day which has been thus established, **excludes, for this period and locality, the possibility of a year commencing either with the month Kârttika or with the month Mârgaśîrsha.**

Now, with the exception of Chaitra śukla 1 for the luni-solar year, or the Mêsha-Saṁkrânti for the solar year, in the interval established above there is no particular day which naturally suggests itself for the initial day of the year; unless the era originated in a coronation-day, the date of which, falling in that interval, had been preserved, and was still used as the initial day of each year. Of course, such a date may have been preserved; and such an initial day may have been used. But we have no evidence at present in support of such an assumption. And, the luni-solar year being probably more used than the solar year for the practical and popular purposes of everyday life, I think that we may accept it as almost certain that, whatever may have been the real historical initial point of the era, **by the time when these records were written, the scheme of the Gupta year had become in all respects identical with the scheme of the luni-solar Saka year**, with Chaitra śukla 1 as

the initial day of each year. At any rate, in the dates hitherto obtained there is nothing opposed to this view.

The initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 163, therefore, is to be taken as Chaitra śukla 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 405 current. And, if we go back on the analogy of this, **the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 1, not yet determined either as current or as expired, would be Chaitra śukla 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 243 current.**

2.— The Arrangement of the Lunar Fortnights.

This point is determined by means of the date in another of the Parivrâjaka grants, of the *Mahârâja* Saṁkshôbha, in which the details (*loc. cit.* p. 117) are: — The year 209 in the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings; the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara*; Chaitra śukla 13: and, at the end of the record, (the month) Chaitra, the (civil) day 28.[2]

This double record is explicable only on the understanding that, in the months of the Gupta year, **the dark fortnights stood first,** according to the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement, by which each month ends with the day on which the full-moon occurs. By this means only can the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight be the twenty-eighth *tithi*, and answer to the twenty-eighth civil day, in the entire month.

A double record of the same kind is, as a matter of fact, contained in the grant referred to above as C.; in which, in addition to the full date as given above, we have at the end the words "(the month) Mâgha, the (civil) day 3." But this instance is not conclusive; as the *tithi* and the civil day, being under fifteen, might possibly be the *tithi* and day of the fortnight and not of the entire month.

To prove the point definitely, what is required is a *tithi* and day the number of which, exceeding fifteen, shews itself to be referred to the entire month, and not to the fortnight only. This we have in the grant of the year 209. And this record proves for certain that, for practical purposes, **the pûrṇimânta arrangement of the lunar fortnights is the one that was used for the Gupta years during the period in which these records were written;** and probably that this is the original system, from the commencement of the era.

II. — THE ERA AS USED IN NEPAL.

D.— The Khâṭmâṇḍu inscription of the year 386.

This date comes from Nêpâl, and is contained in an inscription of Mânadêva, of the Lichchhavi family of Mânagṛiha, on a pillar at the temple of the god Châṅgu-Nârâyaṇa, about five miles to the north-east of Khâṭmâṇḍu.

D. The details (*loc. cit. p.* 95) are: — The year 386; Jyêshṭha śukla 1; when the moon was in the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra*; in the Abhijit *muhûrta*. By actual trial it is found that the exact day is the **28th April, A. D. 705;** on which day the *tithi* ended at 57 *ghaṭîs*, 12 *palas*, after sunrise (for Khâṭmâṇḍu); the moon entered the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra* at 11 *gh.* 3 *p.*, and continued in it during the whole of the remainder of both the *tithi* and the day; and the Abhijit *muhûrta*, being the eighth among the thirty *muhûrtas* into which the sixty *ghaṭîs* of the day are divided, and beginning after the fourteenth *ghaṭî*, occurred both while the moon was in Rôhiṇî and while the given *tithi* was current. The same conditions of the *nakshatra* and the *muhûrta*, with the *tithi*, did not occur either in the preceding or in the following year.

---

[2] I read the day, first as 29 (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Texts and Translations, p. 116), and afterwards as 27 (*id.* Introduction, pp. 73 and note 3, and 117). — Accepting Prof. Jacobi's rule that the abbreviation *di*, either with or without *śu* and *ba* or *va*, denotes the civil day on which usually there ends (or occasionally there begins) the *tithi* the numeral of which stands in connection with it (*ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 145), and finding that the thirteenth *tithi* ended, and the fourteenth began, a considerable time after sunset, — and, in fact, even after midnight, — *viz.* at about 46 *gh.* 55 *p.*, = 18 hrs. 46 min., after mean sunrise (for Bombay), I think that the value of the second numerical symbol must be corrected once more, and, no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere, must be finally fixed at 8; *i.e.* "the (civil) day 28," (on which there ended the *tithi* 15 + 13 = 28.)

The English equivalent, therefore, is the **28th April, A. D. 705.** This day corresponds to Jyêshṭha śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current. And the result answers to the assumption that, on the analogy of what has been established under B. and C., Gupta-Saṁvat 386 began with Chaitra śukla 1 of Śaka-Saṁvat 628 current.

It is to be noted, however, that we have as yet no other dates from Nêpâl, which can be used for purposes of detailed comparison with the present one. Consequently, if this date is taken by itself, and without any comparison with B. and C., there are the possibilities, (1) that Gupta-Saṁvat 386 may have commenced, in Nêpâl, with any day from Jyêshṭha śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 627 current, up to Jyêshtha śukla 1 of S.-S. 628 current; and (2) that, therefore, the year used in Nêpâl with the Gupta era may have commenced either with the month Kârttika (or with the month Mârgaśîrsha) preceding the Chaitra śukla 1 with which, we are to understand, the year used in Central India commenced. This point is one that cannot be decided, until we obtain further dates from Nêpâl, with details that can be actually tested by calculation. And in the same way it is impossible to say for certain, at present, whether the *pûrṇimânta* or the *amânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights was used with the era in Nêpâl. But in A. D. 879 the Gupta era (and with it the Harsha era) was superseded in Nêpâl by a new era, known as the Nêwâr era, with Kârttika śukla 1 as the initial day of each year, and with the *amânta* arrangement of the fortnights (see Prof. Kielhorn's paper on "The Epoch of the Nêwâr Era," *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 246 ff.). And by the statement in the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvali*, that "in the time of Jayadêvamalla, who esta-"blished the Nêwâr era, there came from the South, on Srâvaṇa śukla 7, Śaka-Saṁvat 811, a "certain Nânyadêva, who conquered the whole of Nêpâl, and introduced the Karṇâṭaka "dynasty" (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 414, and *loc. cit.* p. 74), the years of this new era are connected so closely with the Vikrama era in its southern or Kârttikâdi variety, and are contrasted so pointedly with those of the eras which preceded it, that I think it must be admitted that, in all probability, the years of the so-called Gupta era, as used in Nêpâl also, were Chaitrâdi years, with the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights.

III.— THE VALABHI ERA OF KATHIAWAD AND THE NEIGHBOURING PARTS.

In the time of Albêrûnî, the era with which we are dealing was known both **as the Gupta era, and as the Valabhî era**; the reason for this being plainly that, after the cessation of the Early Gupta power in Kâṭhiâwâḍ and the neighbourhood, the use of the era of the kings of that dynasty was continued for about three hundred years by the *Mahârâjas* and kings of the city of Valabhî. The reasons for which I now nominally separate this era from the original Gupta era, with which it is practically identical, will become fully apparent further on.

E.— The Kaira grant of the year 330.

The first date in the Valabhî era that can be tested, is contained in a copper-plate grant of Dharasêna IV. of Valabhî, obtained at Kaira in Gujarât.

E. The details (*loc. cit.* p. 93) are: — The year 330; the second Mârgaśira (= Mârgaśîrsha); the *tithi* śukla 2. Here, our only definite guide is **the intercalary nature of the month Mârgaśîrsha,** which is shewn by the record. If the year is applied in exactly uniform accordance with the results obtained under B. and C., this intercalary Mârgaśîrsha ought to fall in A. D. 649. In that year, however, there was no intercalary month at all. And Dr. Schram's calculations, as well as those made by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, shew that the intercalary month fell **in A. D. 648**; when the intercalated fortnights would receive the name of Mârgaśîrsha, according to the rule for mean intercalation.

Accordingly, the (second) Mârgaśîrsha of Valabhî-Saṁvat 330, falling in A. D. 648, **was the** (second) Mârgaśîrsha of Śaka-Saṁvat 571 current. And, if we go back on the analogy of **this,**

the month Mârgaśîrsha of Valabhi-Saṁvat 1, not yet determined either as current or as expired, would be the Mârgaśîrsha of 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 current, and would fall **four months before the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 1** as established under B. and C. above, and as applicable also to A. and D. An inference which might, at first sight, be drawn from this fact, is sufficiently obvious; *viz.* that we have here a current year, and in A. to D. expired years: with the construction that I put upon the fact, it will be considered further on.

F.— The Môrbî grant of the year 585 expired.

The date to be next considered is contained in the copper-plate grant of Jâiṅka, from Môrbî in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

F. Here the details (*loc. cit.* p. 97) are: — For the making of the grant, the year 585, expressly specified as expired; on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun:[3] and for the writing of the charter, the year 585, not specified either as current or as expired; the month Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; and the (civil) day 2.

A certain amount of vagueness attends this date, because it includes no details as to the month, &c., of the occurrence of the solar eclipse, and as to the week-day of the writing of the charter. Three eclipses were put before me by Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, of which one occurred on the 16th June, A. D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon day of the *amânta* Jyêshṭha (or the *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha) of 'Saka-Saṁvat 827 current; another occurred on the 10th November, A. D. 904, corresponding to the new-moon day of the *amânta* Kârttika (or the *pûrṇimânta* Mârgaśîrsha) of the same 'Saka year; and the third occurred on the 7th May, A. D. 905, corresponding to the new-moon day of the *amânta* Vaiśâkha (or the *pûrṇimânta* Jyêshṭha) of 'Saka-Saṁvat 828 current. And, in order to bring this date into exact accordance with the conditions established for the dates that have been dealt with under A. to D. above, I selected the last of these three, as being the eclipse intended in the record.

Now, for the period somewhere within which the date of this grant must be placed, von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, pp. 202, 203, and Plate 101, gives us the following solar eclipses: —

On the 27th June, A. D. 903, corresponding to the *amânta* Âshâḍha new-moon of 'Saka-Saṁvat 826 current; a total eclipse; the central line of the eclipse ended at sunset in Lat. 33° N., Long. 1° W.; and the eclipse was not visible anywhere in India.

On the 21st December, A. D. 903, corresponding to the *amânta* Mârgaśîrsha new-moon of 'Saka-Saṁvat 826 current; a partial eclipse; the central line of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.; and so the eclipse was probably not visible anywhere in India.

On the 18th May, A. D. 904, corresponding to the *amânta* Vaiśâkha new-moon of 'Saka-Saṁvat 827 current; a partial eclipse; the central line of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.

On the 16th June, A. D. 904, corresponding to the *amânta* Jyêshṭha new-moon of 'Saka-Saṁvat 827 current; a partial eclipse; the central line of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S.

[3] In the passage which contains this date, there is a word which in the published lithograph reads *gôptê*. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has stated in 1889 (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc. Vol.* XVII. p. 97) that he found among his papers two impressions by Dr. Burgess which shew that the reading of the original is *gauptê*; and that he asked Dr. Peterson to take charge of these impressions, as Secretary to the Bombay Asiatic Society, and deposit them in the Society's Museum, where they would be available for inspection. I have not been able to obtain them for inspection; either from Dr. Peterson, or from the Museum. But the point is of importance, only as regards the nomenclature of the era. Even if the era is here specifically called the Gupta era, still the date belongs to the Valabhî variety of the era.

On the 10th November, A. D. 904, corresponding to the amânta Kârttika new-moon of Saka-Saṁvat 827 current; a partial eclipse; the central line of the eclipse was nowhere north of Lat. 30° S. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit, however, found (*loc. cit.* p. 100) that this eclipse was visible at Môrbî, though only to a very limited extent; one twenty-fifth part of the sun's disc was eclipsed there; and the middle of the eclipse was at 11· 54 a. m. of the Môrbî mean civil time.

On the 7th May, A. D. 905, corresponding to the *amânta* Vaiśâkha new-moon of Saka-Saṁvat 828 current; an annular eclipse; the central line of the eclipse was at noon in Lat. 17° S., Long. 51° E., and it ended at sunset in Lat. 11° S., and Long. 107° E.; and the eclipse must have been visible over almost the whole of Southern India. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit found (*loc. cit.* p. 99) that this eclipse was very distinctly visible at Môrbî; one ninth part of the sun's disc was eclipsed there; and the middle of the eclipse was at 12·9 midday of the Môrbî mean civil time.

On the 30th October, A. D. 905, corresponding to the *amânta* Kârttika new-moon of Saka-Saṁvat 828 current; a total eclipse; the central line of the eclipse ended at sunset in Lat. 1° N., Long. 73° W.; and this eclipse was not visible anywhere in India.

On the 26th April, A. D. 906, corresponding to the *amânta* Vaiśâkha new-moon of Saka-Saṁvat 829 current; an annular total eclipse; the central line of the eclipse was at noon in Lat. 29° N., Long. 23° E., and it ended at sunset in Lat. 36° N., Long. 98° E.; and this eclipse must have been visible all over India.

On the 20th October, A. D. 906, corresponding to the *amânta* Âśvina new-moon of Saka-Saṁvat 829 current; a total eclipse; the central line of the eclipse ended at sunset in Lat. 40° S., Long. 57° E.; and this eclipse was not visible anywhere in India.

In selecting the eclipse of the 7th May, A. D. 905, I was guided, partly by the fact that it was distinctly visible at Môrbî, even if it was not known beforehand from calculations; and partly by the fact that, on the supposition, based on the way in which I then applied the result for the date H. below, that the original nature of the Gupta year was preserved in Kâṭhiâwâḍ up to considerably later than this time, this eclipse fitted in exactly with the results that had been established and have now been re-stated and affirmed under dates A. to C. above, whereas the eclipse of the 10th November, A. D. 904, did not so fit in.

Further experience, however, has shewn that, whatever may be the strict custom of later times, instances are beginning to accumulate, in which eclipses, of the sun at any rate, which we know to have been not visible in India, are quoted in genuine early records as occasions of ceremonies (compare page 2 above, and note 2).

So far, therefore, as visibility or invisibility is concerned, we might select any of the above eclipses; without inquiring whether it was actually visible at Môrbî or not. And for this reason, and also, — taking the year at the end of the grant to be similarly the expired year 585, — in order to bring the making of the grant as close as possible to the date on which the charter was written, and further in order to place this date in precisely the same category with E. above, the eclipse which I now select is that of **the 10th November, A. D. 904.**

On this view, the month Kârttika of Valabhî-Saṁvat 585 expired or 586 current, was the Kârttika of Saka-Saṁvat 827 current. And the month Kârttika of Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current

would be the Kârttika of Saka-Saṁvat 242 current; and it would thus fall **five months before the initial day that has been established in the case of B. and C. above.** This brings the present date into the same catagory with E.; and that is all that it is necessary to say at present.

G.— The Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927.

The next date is contained in an inscription on the pedestal of an image built into a wall of the temple of the goddess Harsaṭadêvi at Verâwal in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

G. Here the details (*loc. cit.* p. 90) are: — The Valabhî year 927; the month Phâlguna; the bright fortnight; the (civil) day 2; and (as I took it originally, and take it now) on Monday.

When I first dealt with this date, there was some doubt about the word that gives the name of the week-day. In the cloth rubbing placed at my disposal by the late Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, the vowel *au* was discernible in the first syllable, and the consonant seemed to be *bh*. This would give *bhaumê*, "on Tuesday." Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, stated, from personal inspection of the original, that the consonant was certainly *s*. This gave *saumê*, which is no real word. And Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji considered that what was really intended was *bhaumê*, "on Tuesday." While my own opinion, based on the fact that the top stroke which changes the *ô* of that period into *au* was partially filled up in the rubbing, was that the intended reading was *sômê*, "on Monday."

All doubt as to the actual reading of the original has now been removed, by un-inked paper estampages, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Haridas Viharidas, Diwâṇ of Junâgaḍh. The estampages establish, beyond the possibility of argument, the fact that the consonant is distinctly *s*, and the vowel, *au*. The reading, therefore, is *saumê*. But, as stated above, this is no real word. And the question is, out of three possible corrections, — *bhaumê*, "on Tuesday;" *sômê*, "on Monday;" and *saumyê*, "on Wednesday," — which may be most wisely adopted? I decide, now as before, in favour of *sômê*, **"on Monday."**

If we adopt the correction *bhaumê*, "on Tuesday," then the equivalent English date must be **Tuesday,** 31st January, A.D. 1245, on which day there ended the *tithi* Phâlguna śukla 2 of Śaka-Saṁvat 1167 current, at about 24 *ghaṭis*.[4] There is, indeed, the possibility of connecting the given *tithi* with a **Tuesday,** three years later; for Phâlguna śukla 2 of Saka-Saṁvat 1170 current began at about 30 *gh.* 35 *p.* on **Tuesday,** 28th January, A. D. 1248. But the *tithi* thus began 14 minutes after mean sunset, and some three quarters of an hour after actual sunset; and I think that even for this reason this result must be rejected. Moreover, this result is incompatible with that obtained under E. above; for if Mârgaśirsha (and consequently also Phâlguna) of Valabhî-Saṁvat 1, which, to give the best chance, we will take as the current year, fell in Saka-Saṁvat 242 current, then Phâlguna of Va.-S. 927 current fell in S.-S. 1168 current, and, here taking the expired year in order to give the best chance, Phâlguna of Va.-S. 927 expired fell in S.-S. 1168 expired or 1169 current, which is still one year short of the year arrived at above.

If we adopt the correction *saumyê*, "on Wednesday," the *tithi* is coupled quite naturally with **Wednesday,** 29th January, A. D. 1248, on which day it ended at about 32 *gh.* 5*p.*; commencing, as has been stated just above, at about 30 *gh.* 35 *p.* on the Tuesday. But here again, as shewn in the preceding paragraph, the result cannot be reconciled with that obtained under E.

And finally, if we adopt the correction *sômê*, **"on Monday,"** the *tithi* is coupled quite naturally with **Monday, 19th February, A. D. 1246,** on which day it ended at about 30 *gh.* 5 *p.*

It is unsatisfactory, especially when so free a selection is available, that, in order to interpret this date intelligibly at all, a correction must be made in a point of leading importance.

[4] This result was overlooked, when I first wrote on this subject. I owe it now to Prof. Kielhorn.

And, for reasons which will shortly become evident, I should be glad enough if I could see my way to adopting definitely Tuesday as the intended week-day, with the result of Tuesday, 31st January, A. D. 1245. But my opinion is, as before, that the writer really did intend *sômê*, "on Monday." And it will be seen that this view places this date on, in all respects, absolutely the same footing with the other dates of this class.

I adopt, then, the correction *sômê*, "**on Monday**;" and, now as before, I take the equivalent English date to be **Monday, 19th February, A. D. 1246.** Then, Phâlguna śukla 2 of Valabhî-Saṁvat 927, falling in A. D. 1246, was Phâlguna śukla 2 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 1168 current. And Phâlguna śukla 2 of Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 would be Phâlguna śukla 2 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 current; and, as is the case under E. above, it would fall **one month before the initial day that applies in the case of A., B., and C. above.**

H. — The Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-Samvat 945.

The last available date that we have, is contained in a stone inscription, at the same temple of Harsatadêvî, which refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Arjunadêva.[5]

H. Here the details (*loc. cit.* p. 84) are :— The year of the prophet Muḥammad, *i.e.* the Hijra year, 662; Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320; Valabhî-Saṁvat 945; Siṁha-Saṁvat 151; the month Ashâḍha; the dark fortnight; the (civil) day 13, (and with it the thirteenth *tithi*); Sunday.

Irrespective of the results obtained from the other Gupta and Valabhî dates, the exact period in which the equivalent of this date must be found, is fixed by the quotation of the Hijra year 662, which commenced on the 4th November, A. D. 1263, and ended on the 23rd October, A. D. 1264. The month Âshâḍha corresponding ordinarily to June-July, it can here lie only in A. D. 1264; and the equivalent of the given date can be found only in that year. In that year, the month Âshâḍha was intercalary; and, taking both the *pûrṇimânta* and the *amânta* scheme, it spread over five fortnights, extending from the 13th May (= the first *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 1) to the 24th July (= the second *amânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 30). And there are two cases in which the *tithi* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 can be connected with a Sunday; (1) the first *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 ended at about 13 *gh.* 5 *p.* (for Bombay) on **Sunday, 25th May**; and (2) the second *pûrṇimânta* and the first *amânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13, ending at about 30 *gh.* 10 *p.* on Monday, 23rd June, began at about 35 *gh.* 50 *p.* on **Sunday,** 22nd June.

The result of Sunday, 22nd June, however, is distinctly inadmissible. In the first place, the Sunday can here be coupled with the given *tithi*, only if the latter is used as a current *tithi*, with the week-day on which it began; and even from the Hindu point of view there would be a difficulty about this, as it began appreciably after actual sunset on that day. But further, the inscription, though written in Sanskṛit, and though now standing in, I presume, a Hindu temple, is a purely Muḥammadan record. "The purpose of the inscription," as epitomised by Dr. Hultzsch (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 242), "is to grant the income from a piece of land covered with "houses, from an oil-mill, and from two shops, to a Masjid built by the donor, a Muḥammadan "shipowner from Hurmuz, the small island after which the straits leading out of the Persian "Gulf are called, and which was then under the sway of the Amîr Ruknu'd-dîn. The grant "provides also for the expenses of particular religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shiite "sailors of Sômanâtha Pâṭhaṇ. The eventual surplus is to be made over to the holy district "of Makka and Madîna. The Musalmân congregations of Sômanâtha Pâṭhaṇ are appointed "trustees." And under these circumstances it cannot well be questioned that any particular use of the Hindu *tithi*, as a current *tithi*, cannot be concerned in the matter at all. The *tithi* was plainly simply the ordinary ended *tithi* of the day, according to common everyday use.

[5] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji obtained two other dates in the Valabhî era; but the details are not available. Of one of them a hand-copy was shewn by him to me; it consists of one line, beginning *Saṁ 843*; the remaining eleven or twelve letters are not very intelligible; but they certainly do not contain any further details of the date. Of the other he shewed me a pencil-rubbing; it is a Sanskṛit inscription, in Dêvanâgarî characters, of the time of Vîra-Kumârapâla, consisting of fifty-four lines, each of about fifty-eight letters; the date is in the last line, and all of it that is extant, consists of the syllables *Valabhî-saṁvat 850 Âshâ* . . . . . .

It follows therefore that, as previously announced, the correct English equivalent is **Sunday, 25th May, A. D. 1264,** for the first *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 as the ended *tithi* of ordinary use. As far as the given Vikrama year is concerned, this day fell in Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 only as the expired southern year (see *ante,* Vol. XIX. p. 180, No. 129). And as regards the 'Saka era, it fell in 'Saka-Saṁvat 1187 current. Thus, then, the *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 of Valabhî-Saṁvat 945, was the *purṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 1187 current. And the *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 of Valabhi-Saṁvat 1 would be the *pûrṇimânta* Âshâḍha kṛishṇa 13 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 243 current. This agrees exactly, either with the results established under B. and C., or with the result established under E. This date, however, because of the period and locality to which it belongs, is to be classified with E., and not with A., B., C., and D.

I have here only one other point to mention. From the circumstances of this date, I held it to be proved (*Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 90) that the original use of the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the lunar fortnights with the years of the Gupta era was preserved in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, — irregularly, it is true; but still occasionally, — up to at any rate A. D. 1264, In reality, however, this record furnishes no such absolute proof; for, Prof. Kielhorn has been able to adduce eight other instances, ranging from A. D. 1136 to 1482 (*ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 178-81, 354), in which, for certain, the *pûrṇimânta* arrangement of the fortnights is used with southern expired Vikrama years. On this point, therefore, I now withdraw the conclusion at which I arrived in my original treatment of the Gupta era. This, and the result for the Môrbî date, are the only matters in which I have to modify my views, — in the first case, in respect of the arrangement of the fortnights in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and in the second case, in respect of the English equivalent : in other respects my original views are simply re-stated, in, I hope, a more correct and lucid form.

IV. — CURRENT AND EXPIRED YEARS; THE EXACT EPOCH OF THE ERA IN EACH VARIETY; AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE DATES.

So far we have simply taken the evident results for the dates, whether Gupta of Central India, Nêpâlese, or Valabhî of Kâṭhiâwâḍ, without any attempt to decide **whether the unqualified years quoted in the original passages are to be applied as current or as expired.** This point has now to be considered ; since on it depends the exact commencement of the era, with the other points that are now in view.

The Môrbî grant (F.) is the only one in which the year is not left unqualified. In it we have distinctly " the year 585, expired." But, unfortunately, no information is given as to the month and week-day of the eclipse, or as to the week-day on which the charter was written ; and there is a very wide choice available in the selection of the eclipse. Consequently, the quotation of the expired year here helps us in no way at all in respect of the other dates. All that can be done is to select for this date such a result as will place it on terms exactly analogous to the others ; and this is done by the result chosen by me above.

Now, the result deduced under B. and C. is that **the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 1, still to be determined as current or as expired, was Chaitra śukla 1 of Saka-Saṁvat 243 current.**

And, on the other hand, we have found under E. that **the month Mârgaśirsha of Valabhî-Saṁvat 1, still to be determined as current or as expired, must have fallen in Saka-Saṁvat 242 current, four months before the initial day of Gupta-Saṁvat 1.**

If we assume that the Gupta year and the Valabhî year both had Chaitra śukla 1 as the initial day, the inference suggests itself, at first sight, that Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 was equivalent as a *current* year to Saka-Saṁvat 242 current ; and that it is as an *expired* year that Gupta-Saṁvat 1 was equivalent to Saka-Saṁvat 243 current.

This assumption, however, would be rendered impossible if we were to accept, under G., the correction of *bhaumê*, with the result of Tuesday, 31st January, A. D. 1245. For, this date corresponds to Phâlguna śukla 2 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 1167 current. And so, Phâlguna śukla 2 of Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 would be Phâlguna śukla 2 of 'Saka-Saṁvat 241 current; in the 'Saka year before that obtained just above for Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current.

To reconcile this discrepancy, we must of necessity then assume that Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current began before Gupta-Saṁvat 1 current;[6] and we must find a suitable initial day for it, other than the preceding Chaitra śukla 1, which goes back too far. Kârttika śukla 1 naturally suggests itself, and is found to answer.[7] And then we might say: —

(1) The year in G. is a current year, answering to the equation Kârttikâdi-Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current = ('Saka-Saṁvat 241-42 current =) Kârttikâdi-Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 current.[8]

(2) The years in E. and H. are expired years, answering to precisely the same equation.

(3) The years in A., B., and C., are expired years, answering to the equation Chaitrâdi-Gupta-Saṁvat 1 current = 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 current.

(4) The year in D. is an expired year, which may answer to either of the above equations

To this, however, there is the objection, that unqualified years may consequently be capriciously interpreted as current or as expired, on no uniform rule, but just as seems to suit best the requirements of individual cases. And we are in no way bound to adopt in G. the correction of *bhaumê*, "on Tuesday:" the stroke that distinguishes *s* from *bh* is far too regular, distinct, and perfect, to be the mere result of a slip of the engraver's tool; and though it may be said that the writer would not have formed the vowel *au*, unless he intended to write *bhaumê*, still it may be urged, with equal force, that he would not have formed the consonant *s*, unless he intended to write *saumê*.

My object is to deal with all the dates on uniform principles; taking either all the unqualified years as current, or else all of them as expired. The only assumption that is necessary, — if, indeed, it is an assumption, and not an obvious fact, — is that which has to be made above also, *viz.* that the Valabhî years were Kârttikâdi, each beginning with the Kârttika śukla 1 *before* the initial Chaitra śukla 1 of the Gupta year bearing the same number. To this no objection need be taken; if we note that the Kârttikâdi variety of the Vikrama era was the standard one in the part of the country from which the Valabhî dates come; and that, when the Vikrama era was introduced into Northern India where the Chaitradi 'Saka years were in use, the standard variety there was established by turning the Karttikâdi years into Chaitrâdi years, each beginning with the Chaitra śukla 1 *before* the initial Kârttika śukla 1 of

[6] I disregard the assumption that in G. there is a *mistake* in the *year* (927 instead of 928). My object is to deal with the dates as they stand, without any alterations, except in the reading of *saumê* in G.

[7] Here, and further on in what I submit are the real results, a year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha would answer just as well for the Valabhî variety of the era; we should only have then to select, for the Morbî eclipse, that of the 30th October, A. D. 905. But the year commencing with Mârgaśîrsha is apparently connected by Albêrûnî only with a variety of the Lokakâla reckoning, and therefore it does not commend itself for present purposes, as the well-known, and undoubtedly original, Kârttikâdi Vikrama year does.

[8] In corroboration of this, we might possibly quote a point to which Prof. Kielhorn has drawn my attention; *viz.* that the real historical fact embodied in the tradition that Valabhî was destroyed 375 years after the commencement of the Vikrama era, is that 375 should be added to a Valabhî year to convert it into a (Kârttikâdi) Vikrama year. I apparently fix the difference, below, at 376 years. But it comes in reality to just the same thing; because the end of what is technically called "Vikrama-Saṁvat 375 expired" is the end of Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 current. — It may be noted here that Alberûnî gives, as will be seen, Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 = Vikrama Saṁvat 1088, with a difference of 376, and with the assertion, which I accept, that they are both expired years. Whereas, H. gives Valabhî-Saṁvat 945 (unqualified) = Vikrama-Saṁvat 1320 (unqualified, but known from the result to be expired), with a difference of 375. The discrepancy is easily reconciled if the Valabhî year in H. is taken, as I take it to be, as the current year: because then, substituting the expired year 944, we have the same difference, 376, that is given by Alberûnî's statement.

the southern Vikrama year bearing the same number. And all that now remains, is, to determine whether the unqualified years quoted in the records are to be applied as current, or as expired.

Our first impulse is to try to discover what may have been **the contemporaneous practice in neighbouring parts of the country.** Nothing definite, however, can be established in this way. On the one hand, with the Kalachuri or Chêdi era, which belongs to that part of India from which have come all the dates of the Early Gupta period that include details that can be tested by calculation, the preference appears to have been for the use of current years; thus, out of the fourteen dates examined by Prof. Kielhorn in each of which the year is not distinctly qualified either as current or as expired (see his "Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chêdi Era," *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 215 ff.), eleven have been found to be recorded in current years; two, in expired years; and one, in a year which is to be understood as expired if the first day of each year was Bhâdrapada śukla 1, but as current if the first day of each year is taken as Âśvina śukla 1, which may be done without in any way affecting the results for the other dates. But, on the other hand, with the Nêwâr era, which superseded the Gupta era (and the Harsha era) in Nêpâl, the preference appears to have been for the use of expired years; thus, out of twenty-one instances of unqualified years, in nineteen the years must be applied as expired, and in only two as current (see Prof. Kielhorn's "Epoch of the Nêwâr Era," *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 246 ff.).

This process failing us, we turn next to the only other available source of information, **the writings of Alberûnî.** Here two things are to be noted; (1) the **"gauge-year"** selected by him, which (Sachau's Translation, Vol. II. pp. 2, 7) is the year 400 of the era of Yazdajird, as corresponding to Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088, 'Saka-Saṁvat 953, and Gupta-Saṁvat and Valabhî-Saṁvat 712; and (2) his statement (*id.* p. 3) that "in all chronological dates which we have "mentioned already and shall still mention, we only reckon with **complete years,** for the "Hindus are in the habit of disregarding *fractions* of a year."

The era of Yazdajird dates from the accession of Yazdajird III., a Sassanian king of Persia, in A. D. 632 (see *Prinsep's Essays*, Vol. II., Useful Tables, p. 302 and note). Consequently, the **"gauge-year,"** the year 400 of this era, was A. D. 1031-32; and according to Mr. Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, pp. 139, 141, it began on the 9th March, A. D. 1031, and ended on the 7th March, A. D 1032. Thus, we know that the year **Saka-Saṁvat 953** quoted by Alberûnî **is the expired year,** which began on the 25th February, A. D. 1031, and ended on the 15th March, A. D. 1032. And the question is, whether, as would appear at first sight from his explicit statement (2), we really have to interpret also the Gupta and Valabhî year 712 as the expired year, and as coinciding with 'Saka-Saṁvat 953 expired.

It is to be noted that Alberûnî gives **Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088** as one of the equivalents of the gauge-year; and that elsewhere he makes another statement in support of this, in telling us (*id.* p. 6) that "the epoch of the era of 'Saka or 'Sakakâla falls 135 years later than that of "Vikramâditya " These statements are both quite correct for the northern Chaitrâdi-Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088 as an expired year; as which it extended, with 'Saka-Saṁvat 953 expired, from the 25th February, A. D. 1031, to the 15th March, A. D. 1032. But they are not correct for the Kârttikâdi variety of the Vikrama era, in which each year begins seven months later than the Chaitrâdi year that bears the same number; so that the Kârttikâdi-Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088 expired coincided, not with 'Saka-Samvat 953 expired, but with part of that year and with part of the following, — extending from the 19th October, A. D. 1031, to the 7th October, A. D. 1032. And, even if Alberûnî's statement (*id.* p. 5), that "those who use the era of Vikramâditya live in the southern and western parts of India," is not sufficient to shew that he knew the Kârttikâdi variety of the era, still the existence of it is established for his time and before it. Hence, in fact, Alberûnî has given an equation for converting Vikrama years into 'Saka years, which is applicable strictly to only one class of the Vikrama years; and **his gauge-year is not specifically correct for the Kârttikâdi variety of the Vikrama era.** In respect then,

of another era coming from just the same part of the country, it is at least possible that he gives only a rough equation, when he tells us (*id.* p. 7) that the epoch of the Valabhî era (and of the Gupta era) falls 241 years later than the epoch of the 'Saka era; and that **his gauge-year may be similarly incorrect for the expired Valabhi year** which he quotes in connection with it. I myself entertain no doubt that this is the case

Now, I think that this much, at any rate, is plain; that the Valabhî years were Kârttikâdi, each beginning before the Chaitrâdi Gupta year bearing the same number. And the question now is, how Albêrûnî's statements may be best adapted to these two differing years. The **adjustment** may be made in two ways. Valabhî-Saṁvat 712, taken according to Albêrûnî's statement as an expired year, may be treated as beginning either with the Kârttika śukla 1 before the Chaitra śukla 1 with which commenced 'Saka-Saṁvat 953 expired, or with the Kârttika śukla 1 after that same Chaitra śukla 1. By the first means, Gupta-Saṁvat 712, beginning with the Chaitra śukla 1 after the initial Kârttika śukla 1 of Valabhî-Saṁvat 712, would coincide as an *expired* year with 'Saka-Saṁvat 953 expired; but then Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 expired, which, from Albêrûnî's statements and the other considerations put forward by myself, is evidently to coincide with the Kârttikâdi-Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088 expired, would fall one year too early, and would coincide with Kârttikâdi-Vikrama-Saṁvat 1087 expired. By the latter means, Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 expired would coincide with Kârttikâdi-Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088 expired; but then it would be as a *current* year that Gupta-Saṁvat 712 coincided with 'Saka-Saṁvat 953 expired.

In short, **there is an incompleteness or an inaccuracy somewhere in Albêrûnî's statements.** In my opinion, it is more likely to have occurred in connection with the original Gupta era, than with the secondary Valabhî era which was in use even until after Albêrûnî's time. In remedying it, I follow what appears to be the true probability in the case; *viz.* that the statement regarding the Valabhî year is wrong in precisely the same manner with the statement regarding the Vikrama year as a Kârttikâdi year: and I make **exactly the same adjustment that is unavoidable in the case of the Vikrama year** given by him. And I consider, in brief, that it is plainly deducible from Albêrûnî's own statements that **he made a mistake in giving Gupta-Saṁvat 712 expired, instead of current, as the equivalent of Saka-Saṁvat 953 expired**; that Valabhî-Saṁvat 712 expired was correctly indicated by him as the equivalent of (the southern Karttikâdi)-Vikrama-Saṁvat 1088 expired; that consequently the month Kârttika of Valabhî-Saṁvat 713 current was the Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1089 current, falling in 'Saka-Saṁvat 954 current, in A. D. 1031; and that therefore the month Kârttika of Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current was the Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 377 current, falling in Saka-Saṁvat 242 current, in A. D. 319.

If any definite proof is obtained hereafter, leading to any different conclusion, I shall be glad enough to accept it, and to modify my views accordingly. Or if, such proof being unattainable, there should come to be a general consensus of opinion, among those who are entitled to speak with authority, that the unqualified years of *all* Hindu eras must be *à priori* treated as expired years, I shall be glad enough to concur in so disposing of a point which is not one of any particularly vital importance. Meanwhile, on the above grounds, I stamp the unqualified years, determine the initial years and the epochs, and classify the dates, as follows: —

I.— The Original Gupta Era in Central India.

A., B., and C. — The years are **current years**, answering to the equations, —

(1) for the first current year, Chaitrâdi-Gupta-Saṁvat 1 current = Saka-Saṁvat 243 current, = the period from the 26th February, A. D. 320, to the 15th March, A. D. 321;

(2) for the epoch or year 0, Chaitrâdi-Gupta-Saṁvat 0 = 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 current, = the period from the 9th March, A. D. 319, to the 25th February, A. D. 320.

Thus: —

A. — The date in the year 165 **current**, in the month Âshâḍha, the equivalent of which lies in June, A. D. 484, falls in 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 + 165 = 407 current, = the period from the 14th March, A. D. 484, to the 2nd March, A. D. 485.

B. — The date in the year 163 **current**, in the month Chaitra, and in the Mahâ-Âśvayuja *saṁvatsara* which was current from the 5th April, A. D. 481, to the 11th May, A. D. 482, falls in 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 + 163 = 405 current, = the period from the 6th March, A. D. 482, to the 22nd February, A.D. 483.

C. — The date in the year 191 **current**, in the month Mâgha, and in the Mahâ-Chaitra *saṁvatsara* which was current from the 29th September, A. D. 510, to the 28th October, A. D. 511, falls in 'Saka-Saṁvat 242 + 191 = 433 current, = the period from the 25th February, A.D. 510, to the 15th March, A.D. 511.

II.— The Era as used in Nêpâl.

D. — The year is **a current year,** answering most probably to precisely **the equations given above.**

Thus: —

D. — The date in the year 386 **current**, in the month Jyêshṭha, the equivalent of which lies in April, A. D. 705, falls in Saka-Saṁvat 242 + 386 = 628 current, = the period from the 1st March, A. D. 705, to the 20th March, A. D. 706.

III.— The Valabhi Era of Kâṭhiâwaḍ and the Neighbouring Parts.

E., G. (with the correction of *sômê*, and the result of Monday, 19th Febuary, A. D. 1246), and H. — The years are **current years**, answering to the equations, —

(1) for the first current year, Kârttikâdi-Valabhî-Saṁvat 1 current = southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 377 current,[9] = the period from the 1st October, A. D. 319, to the 18th October, A. D. 320; —

(2) for the epoch or year 0, Kârttikâdi-Valabhî-Saṁvat 0 = southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 current, = the period from the 11th October, A. D. 318, to the 30th September, A. D. 319.

E. — The date in the year 330 **current**, in the second month Mârgaśirsha, the equivalent of which month is November-December, A. D. 648, falls in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 + 330 = 706 current, = the period from the 24th September, A. D. 648, to the 12th October, A. D. 649.

F. — [Here, all that can be done is to select an eclipse in Valabhî-Saṁvat 585 expired or 586 **current**, which shall answer to the same equations. It must be found in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 + 586 = 962 current, = the period from the 13th October, A. D. 904, to the 2nd October, A. D. 905. And the eclipse which I have now selected is that of the 10th November, A. D. 904, because it occurred before the date, in the same year, on which the charter was written, and is therefore to be preferred to the previously chosen eclipse of the 7th May, A. D. 905, which occurred later on in the same Valabhî and Vikrama year.]

G. — The date in the year 927 **current**, in the month Phâlguna, the equivalent of which is in February, A. D. 1246, falls in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 + 927 = 1303 current, = the period from the 23rd October, A. D. 1245, to the 12th October, A. D. 1246.

H. — The date in the year 945 **current**, in the month Âshâḍha, the equivalent of which lies in May, A. D. 1264, falls in southern Vikrama-Saṁvat 376 + 945 = 1321 current, = the period from the 5th October, A. D. 1263, to the 22nd October, A. D. 1264.

---

[9] See note 8 above.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF GANADEVA OF KONDAVIDU, DATED SAKA-SAMVAT 1377.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; BANGALORE.

The original of this inscription was kindly sent to me for examination by Mr. W. H. Michael, M.C.S., Assistant Collector of **the Kistna District.** It consists of three copper-plates, the second sides of which are marked on the left margin with the Telugu numbers 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Both the ring with the seal, and the fourth plate together with any other plate that may have followed it, are lost. The alphabet is Telugu and the language Sanskrit, verse (lines 1 to 32) and prose (lines 32 to 58). The plates are not very easily read, as they are somewhat worn and as the text, though on the whole orthographically correct, appears to have been copied from a draught written in current-hand characters.

After two benedictory verses, which are addressed to Gaṇêśa and to the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu, the inscription turns to the praise of king **Kapila,** surnamed **Gajapati** (verses 3 and 6) or **Kumbhirâja** (verse 4), who belonged to **the race of the Sun** (verse 4). He was a worshipper of **Jagannâtha** (Juggernaut), the famous shrine at Purî in Orissa (verse 6). His capital was **Kaṭaka** (Cuttack) on the **Mahânadî** river (verse 7). A descendant of his race was **Chandradêva,** whose son was **Guhidêvapâtra** (verse 8). The son of the latter was **Gâṇadêva,** who assumed the surname **Rautarâya** (verses 9, 11, 12) or **Râhuttarâya** (verse 10), *i. e.* 'the king of horsemen',[1] on account of a victory over two **Turushka** princes (verse 9).[2] These may have been two generals of the **Bahmanî** king 'Alâ'u-d-dîn Aḥmad Shâh II., who reigned from A. D. 1435 to 1457. Gâṇadêva's capital was **Koṇḍavîḍu** (verse 12) in the Narasarâvupêṭa Tâlukâ of the Kistna District.[3] While residing there, he granted to a number of Brâhmaṇas the village of **Châvali** (verse 13) in the Repalle Tâlukâ of the Kistna District.[4] The date of the grant was the day of a lunar eclipse in the month of Bhâdrapada of 'Sâka 1377 (in numerical words), the cyclic year Yuvan. The remainder of the preserved part of the inscription consists of a list of the donees. The name of the cyclic year shews that the 'Saka year is an expired year; and the eclipse should therefore have occurred in August-September, A. D. 1455. For that year, however, von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* shews only one lunar eclipse, on the 1st May; and though Sir A. Cunningham's *Indian Eras* shews another, on the 25th October, still that also does not answer to the record. The nearest lunar eclipse on the full-moon of Bhâdrapada was that of the 3rd September, A. D. 1457, in 'Saka-Saṁvat 1379 expired, the Îśvara saṁvatsara.

In the above abstract I have followed the text of the inscription in representing Kapila-Gajapati as the ancestor of Gâṇadêva. It is however very probable that Kapila is identical with Kapilêśvara-Gajapati who, according to a chronicle of Koṇḍavîḍu,[5] ruled from A. D. 1454 to 1461, and with Kapilêndradêva, who, according to Dr. Hunter's *Orissa,*[6] ruled from A. D. 1452 to 1479. If this supposition is correct, it will be necessary either to translate the compound *tad-vaṁśa* in verse 8 by 'the same race as he,' *viz.* Kapila, or to refer the pronoun *tad* to the noun *bhâsvat,* 'the Sun,' which occurs in verse 4. In support of this explanation, which at first sight appears somewhat arbitrary and artificial, it may be adduced that the inscription names Kaṭaka as the capital of Kapila (verse 7), while Gâṇadêva resided at Koṇḍavîḍu (verse 12), and that it speaks of Kapila as a living person in the present tense. Especially in verse 3, the present tense cannot be explained as the historical present, as it is accompanied by the adverb *adhunâ,* 'now.' I would accordingly consider **Kapila, the Gajapati king of Orissa,** as a contemporary **of Gâṇadêva of Koṇḍavîḍu,** who appears to have been a tributary of his.

---

[1] According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary, râhuttu* or *rautu* means 'a horseman.' *Râyarâhuttamiṇḍa* occurs among the *birudas* of Veṅkaṭa II. of the third dynasty of Vijayanagara; *ante,* Vol. XIII. p. 131, verse 40.

[2] It may perhaps be further concluded from verse 9 that he bore the surname of *Srîvallabha,* and his father the surname of *Mahîvallabha.*

[3] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. I. p. 70.

[4] *ibid.* p. 78.

[5] Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities,* Vol. II. p. 188.

[6] *ibid.* p. 207.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । अस्तु हस्तिमुखं वस्तु स्वस्ति[कृ]-
2 त पूर्णविग्रहं । भाति यत्कटभृंगालिरैंद्रनीलीव मा-
3 लिका । [१*] स पायाद्दारिपोत्री य[इं]ष्ट्रोडा सरसा रसा [।*]
4 केतकीदलतुंगाग्रसंगा भृंगीव राजते । [२*] बलिः प्रादा-
5 त् प्पर्थ्वी[7] कपटवटुवेषाय हरये शिबिर्मांसं कर्णस्त्व-
6 चमपि दधीचिप्रभृतयः । वदान्याः संस्वन्ये वितरणरताः
7 पूर्वमधुना महावीरो राजा जेर्यति[8] कपिलेंद्रो गजपतिः [॥३*]
8 यद्वं[शो] लोकभर्तुः कमलवनपतेर्भास्वतोभूदमोघो यत्कीर्त्ति-
9 स्फूर्तिरुद्यादिधुकरनिकरप्रोज्वला भाति भूमौ । यत्तेजोभा-

First Plate; Second Side.

10 नुरुर्वीपरिधिगिरिमतिक्रम्य चाभाति पश्चात् सोयं निर्धूतशत्रु-
11 र्विलसति कपिलक्ष्मापतिः कुंभिरा[ज]ः ।[४*] यत्कुंभिमदधाराभिर्मेदि-
12 नी पंकिलायते । [वि]लायंते समुद्रा यद्वाटीघोटकरेणुभिः [॥५*]
13 त्रैलोक्याधिपतिः [9]सिरेतरगि[रे]श्चुडा[मणि][:*] श्रीजगन्नाथो[10] वै[भ]वचर्चितः स भग-
14 वान् श्रुत्युक्तशवाकृतिः । पारावारगभीरतीरनिलयो येनार्चि-
15 तः सवदा जिय्यात्[11] श्रीक[पि]लेश्वरो गजपतिः सोयं प्रतापो-
16 ज्वलः । [६*] कटकाख्या पुरी यस्य राजधानी विराजते । महानदीप-
17 रिसरे शक्रस्येवामरावती । [७*] तद्वंशासिंधा[12] किल चंद्रदेवो जातः कला-
18 वानिव शुभ्रमूर्तिः । तत प्रभुर्नो गुहिदेवपात्रो गुहो महे-
19 शादिव कीर्तिगाली[13] । [८*] राजा गाणमहीपतिः समुद्भुत्त-

Second Plate; First Side.

20 स्मान्महीव[ल्लभाद्वा]दुभ्यां वि[जि]तौ [तु]रुष्कनृपती तद्रौतरायाह्वयः [।*]
21 कीर्त्युद्वासित[च]क्रवालवलयो दानैकदीक्षागुरुर्देवब्राह्मण[भ]। ग-
22 [धे]यम[प]र[:*] श्रीवल्लभो जित्वरः । [९*] स पादपौरुषो विष्णुस्स शिवस्त्वर्धपौरुषः ।
23 गाणराडुत्तरायस्तु भाति संपूर्णपौरुषं[14] । [१०*] राजद्राजकिरीट-
24 कोटिमणिरुङ्नी[र]ाजितांघ्रिद्वयं कीर्त्तिस्फूर्त्तिविनिर्जितामरस-
25 रित्कल्लोलफेनच्छ[दं] । तेजोभानुविजृंभिता[वधि]गिरिप्रत्यग्दृष[त्सं]-[15]
26 पदं[16] तं नन्ययवरौतरायमपरं लक्ष्मीपतिं [भू]पतिं । [११*] स[ा]
27 कोंडवीडुनगरी [वि]पणिस्थपण्या तद्रौतरायपरिपालितराजधा-
28 नी । देवालया [च]लभिद्दो नगरीव भाति शश्वद्गजेंद्ररथवाजिपदाति-
29 रम्या । [१२*] शाके शैलतुरंगपावकशशिसंख्याते युवाब्दे शुभे प्राशात्

Second Plate; Second Side.

30 भाद्रपदे विधोर्ग्रहदिने श्रीगाणदेवो नृपः । ग्रामं चावलिनाम-
31 कं जलयुतं भूदेवताभ्यः कृती सैश्वर्याष्टकमष्टभोगस-
32 हितं श्रीकोंडवीडो[:*] स्थले [।] [१३*] अत्र प्रतिग्रहीतृविप्रगोत्रनामशाखा
33 भागक्रमादेव भाषया लिख्यते । [ओं] तत्र यजुःशाखाध्या-
34 यी काश्यपगोत्रस्तातनारायणयज्वपुत्रो यज्ञेश्वर-
35 यज्वा द्विभागी । यजुःशाखाध्यायी श्रीवत्सगोत्रो मा[धव]-
36 भट्टपुत्रो वल्ल[भा]चार्य्यो द्विभागी । यजुःशाखाध्यायी
37 [भा]रद्वाजगोत्रो वल्लयपुत्रो व[ल्ल]भोझ्झ एकभागी । य-
38 जु शाखाध्यायी भारद्वाजगोत्रोध्यलवधानिपुत्रो [र]-
39 मायोझ्[झ] एकभागी । हरितगोत्रो वि[श्वे]श्वरय[ज्व]पुत्र-

[7] Read पृथ्वीं. [8] Read जयति. [9] Read सिततर°. [10] Read °नाथो.

[11] Read सर्वदा जीयाच्छ्री°. [12] Read °सिन्धौ. [13] Read °शाली. [14] Read °पौरुषः.

[15] The *anusvâra* is engraved at the beginning of the next line. [16] Read °दृषत्संचयं, *i. e.* शिलोच्चयं?

Third Plate; First Side.

40 [:] शिगाभट्ट एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी गार्ग्य[गोत्रो] गंग-
41 नोज्झपुत्रः कोमनोज्झ एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी
42 भारद्वाजगोत्रोप्यलवधानिपुत्रस्सोमाभट्ट एकभागी [।] य-
43 ज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी कौंडिन्यगोत्रः पेद्दोज्झपुत्रः शिगायोज्झ
44 एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी हरितगोत्रः पेद्दि-
45 भट्टपुत्रो विगाभट्ट एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्याय्या-
46 त्रेयगोत्रोप्पलेभट्ट[स्तु][17] पुत्रो नागायोज्झ एकभागी । य-
47 ज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी भारद्वाजगोत्रोप्यलवधानिपुत्रः सर्वा-
48 भट्ट एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी भारद्वाजगोत्रोनंतो-

Third Plate; Second Side.

49 ज्झपुत्रो माधवभट्ट एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी भार-
50 द्वाजगोत्रो नंद्दोज्झपुत्रो य[ल्ल॰]योज्झ एकभागी । य-
51 ज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी भारद्वाजगोत्रः कुमारस्वामिपुत्रः कू-
52 नायोज्झ एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी श्रीवत्सगोत्रो
53 माधवभट्टपुत्र औचळभट्ट एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी क[ा]-
54 श्यपगोत्रः पेद्दोज्झपुत्रो मल्लायोज्झ एकभागी । यज्ञुःशा-
55 खाध्यायी भारद्वाजगोत्रोनंतोज्झपुत्रो बल्लाभट्ट एकभागी । य-
56 ज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी आत्रेयगोत्रोनंतभट्टिपुत्रो माधवभट्ट एक-
57 भागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी भारद्वाजगोत्रः कुमारस्वामिपुत्र
58 अप्पलेभट्ट[18] एकभागी । यज्ञुःशाखाध्यायी हरितगोत्रः कोम्मा-

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the blessed Gaṇâdhipati!

Verse 1. Let the being (Gaṇêśa), which has the face of an elephant, whose body is stout, and the bevy of bees on whose temples resembles a garland of sapphires — produce prosperity!

2. Let that primeval boar (Vishṇu), borne on whose tusks the lovely earth resembles a bee clinging to the high (!) tip of the petal of a *kêtakî* (flower) — protect (*us*)!

3. Bali gave the earth to Hari (Vishṇu) disguised as a young Brâhmaṇa, Sibi (*his*) meat, and Karṇa (*his*) skin. There may have formerly been other munificent donors like Dadhîchi. Now the great hero, king **Kapilêndra-Gajapati**, surpasses (*all of them*).

4. Resplendent is that conqueror of foes, king **Kapila-Kumbhirâja** (*i. e.* Gajapati), whose powerful race was descended from **the Sun**, the lord of the world and husband of the group of lotuses, whose bright fame glitters on earth like the cluster of the rays of the rising moon, and the sun of whose valour, having passed beyond the mountain which surrounds the earth,[19] shines in the west.

5. Through the streams of the rutting-juice of his elephants, the earth is made muddy; the oceans are transformed into (*dry*) holes through the dust of his war-horses.

6. Let him be ever victorious, the brave and illustrious **Kapilêśvara-Gajapati**, who has worshipped the lord of the three worlds, the crest-jewel of the black mountain (?), the blessed god **Jagannâtha**, who is full of splendour, who resembles the burning forest[20] spoken of in the *Sruti* (!), and who abides on the deep (?) shore of the ocean!

7. His capital, the city called **Kaṭaka**, on the bank of the **Mahânadî**, resembles Amarâvatî (*the city*) of Sakra (Indra).

---

[17] Read °भट्टस्य. [18] Read °पुत्रोप्पले°. [19] This expression seems to refer to the eastern mountain, as *avadhigiri* in verse 11.

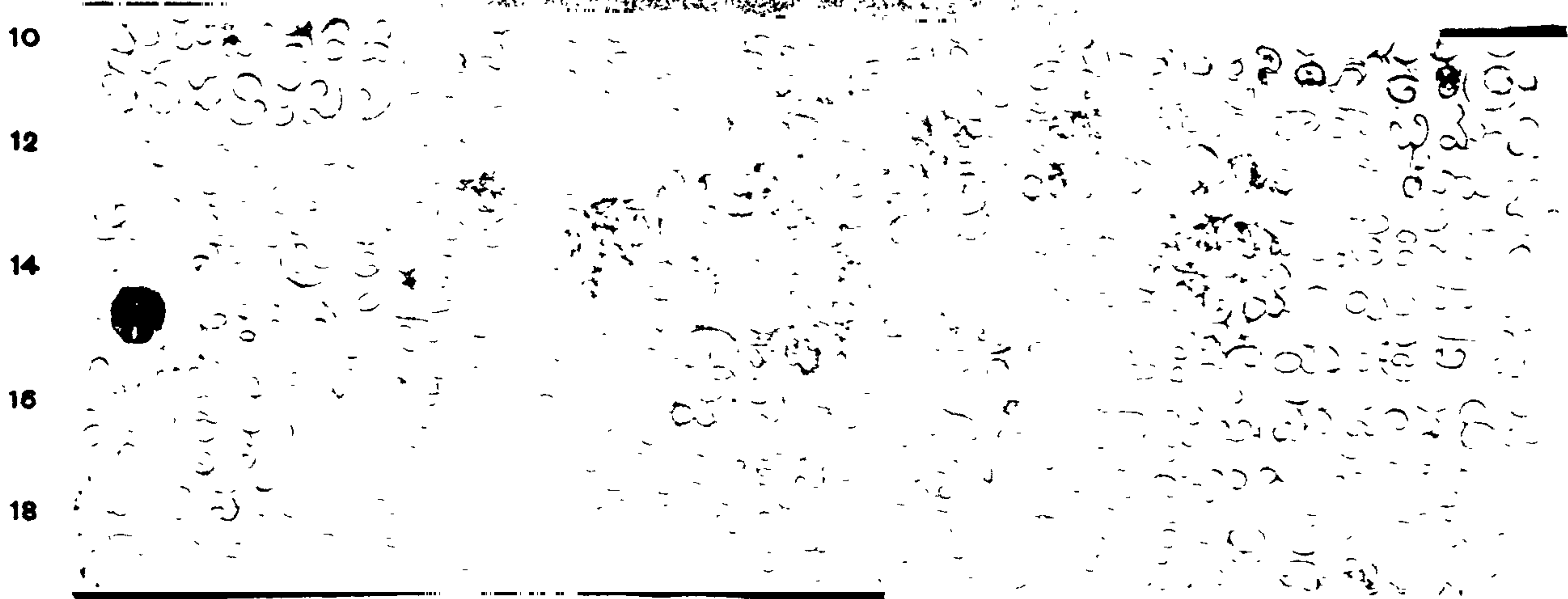
[20] This seems to refer to the fire at the end of the *kalpa*. The face of the idol Jagannâtha is of gold; see *ante*, Vol. I. p. 36. Another possible reading is *dâru-âkritiḥ*, 'consisting of wood.'

Plates of Ganadeva of Kondavidu.—Saka-Samvat 1377.

i a.



i b.



ii a.



SCALE ·66.

W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

iib.

[illegible]

iii a

[illegible]

iii b

[illegible]

8. Just as the full-moon from the ocean, the glorious **Chandradêva** was produced in his race. From him sprang the famous **Guhidêvapâtra**, as Guha from Mahêśa ('Siva).

9. From this favourite of the earth (*mahîvallabha*) came the victorious king **Gâṇamahîpati**, who, (*because*) he vanquished with his arms two **Turushka** princes, was therefore called **Rautarâya**, who perfumed the circle of the horizon with his fame, who taught (*others*) the initiation into the exclusive (*practice*) of liberality, who was the fortune of temples and Brâhmaṇas, and another 'Srîvallabha (Vishṇu).

10. Vishṇu (*as Narasiṁha*) was a man only as far as his legs (*or*, only a quarter of a man), and Siva (*as Ardhanârîśvara*) only half a man. But resplendent is **Gâṇa-Râhuttarâya**, who is a whole man (*or hero*).

11. As another (*Vishṇu*) lord of Lakshmî, I consider that king **Ayapa-Rautarâya**, whose feet are resplendent with the lustre of the jewels on the tops of the glittering diadems of kings, whose bright fame surpasses the splendour of the foam of the waves of the stream of the immortals (the Gaṅgâ), and the sun of whose valour ascends both the mountain which forms the boundary (*of the earth*) [21] and the western mountain (?).[22]

12. The city of **Koṇḍavîḍu**, the capital of this **Rautarâya**, the *bâzârs* of which are full of merchandise, and which is continually crowded with mighty elephants, chariots, horses and pedestrians, resembles the city of Balabhid (Indra), which is inhabited by gods.

13. In the **Sâka** (*year*) reckoned by the mountains (7), the horses (7), the fires (3), and the moon (1) (*i. e.* 1377), in the auspicious year (*called*) **Yuvan**, in (*the month of*) Bhâdrapada, on the day of an eclipse of the moon, at the city of **Koṇḍavîḍu** — the illustrious and victorious king **Gâṇadêva** gave to Brâhmaṇas the village named **Châvali**, together with the water, with the eight powers (*aiśvarya*), and with the eight enjoyments (*bhôga*).

Here the *gôtras*, names and *śâkhâs* of the Brâhmaṇa donees are written in the order of the shares (*bhâga*) in prose (*bhâshâ*): —

Sâkhâ.	*Gôtra.*	*Father's name.*	*Donee's name.*	*Number of shares.*
Yajuḥ.	Kâśyapa.	Tâta-Nârâyaṇa-Yajvan.	Yajñêśvara-Yajvan.	2
Do.	Srîvatsa.	Mâdhava-Bhaṭṭa.	Vallabhâchârya.	2
Do.	Bhâradvâja.	Yallaya.	Vallabhôjjha.[23]	1
Do.	do.	Ayyalavadhâni.	Ramâyôjjha.	1
—	Harita.	Viśvêśvara-Yajvan.	Siṅgâ-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Yajuḥ.	Gârgya.	Gaṅganôjjha.	Kommanôjjha.	1
Do.	Bhâradvâja.	Ayyalavadhâni.	Sômâ-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	Kauṇḍinya.	Peddôjjha.	Siṅgâyôjja.	1
Do.	Harita.	Peddi-Bhaṭṭa.	Viṅgâ-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	Âtrêya.	Appale-Bhaṭṭa.	Nâgâyôjjha.	1
Do.	Bhâradvâja.	Ayyalavadhâni.	Sarvâ-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	do.	Anantôjjha.	Mâdhava-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	do.	Nandôjjha.	Yaṛâyôjjha.	1
Do.	do.	Kumâra-Svâmin.	Kûnâyôjjha.	1
Do.	Srîvatsa.	Mâdhava-Bhaṭṭa.	Auchaḷa-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	Kâśyapa.	Peddôjjha.	Mallâyôjjha.	1
Do.	Bhâradvâja.	Anantôjjha.	B[r]ahmâ-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	Âtrêya.	Ananta-Bhaṭṭi.	Mâdhava-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	Bhâradvâja.	Kumâra-Svâmin.	Appale-Bhaṭṭa.	1
Do.	Harita.	Kommâ	. . . .	. .

[21] See note 19 above.

[22] See note 16 above.

[23] According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *ojja*, *ôjja* or *ôjjha* means 'a priest, tutor, master.' Compare the Kanarese *ojjanu* or *ôjanu*, which, according to Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskṛit *âchârya*. The intermediate Pâli form *upajjha* proves, however, that the word must be derived from the Sanskṛit *upâdhyâya*.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF THE GRÆCO-BUDDHIST PEDESTAL FROM HASHTNAGAR.

Mr. V. A. Smith has published, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 257, a facsimile of a so-called Arian, *rectè* **Kharôshṭrî inscription on the pedestal of a Græco-Buddhist sculpture, found by** Mr. King at **Hashtnagar,** and in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LVIII. Pt. I. Plate x., an excellent photo-etching of the sculpture together with the inscription In the articles accompanying the two reproductions cf the document, he has given Sir A. Cunningham's reading: — **Saṁ 274 emborasmasa masasa me** pañchami 5.

Though the great archæologist. to whom we owe the correct determination of many Kharôshṭrî signs, has undoubtedly succeeded in reading the figures, and thereby in settling the most important point, every student of Prâkṛit will agree with me that his rendering of the words is open to improvement, because several of them are linguistically impossible. On comparing the facsimile and the photo-etching, I find that the line **has** to be read as follows: —

Saṁ II C xx xx xx x iv Pôstavadasa masasa di[va]saṁmi paṁ[cha]mi 5 [||*][1].

This is in Sanskṛit: —

सं २७४ प्रौष्ठपदस्य मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ [॥*]
and in English: —

"The year 274, on the fifth, 5, day of the month of Praushṭhapada (*i. e.*, Bhâdrapada or August-September)."

With respect to the characters of the inscription, I have to add that the right limb of the syllable *pô* has run together with the left portion of the figure 4, the lower part of which latter touches the foot of the vertical stroke of *p*. In the photo-etching the upper part of the vertical stroke of *p* is not visible, though it is unmistakable in the facsimile of the impression. The vowel-stroke of the syllable *pô* is attached rather low down to the vertical, and is nearly horizontal instead of slanting. In the Aśôka Edicts such a stroke would denote not *ô*, but *u*. Here it must be *ô*, because in the later Kharôshṭrî inscriptions *u* is expressed by a loop at the foot of the consonantal sign.

The second sign of the first word *sta* consists of a vertical line, with one very short and one somewhat longer horizontal, attached to its left. Some scholars have read it *tha* or *ṭha*.[2] In the Aśôka Edicts its most elaborate form is [illegible]. I have given my reasons for accepting Sir A. Cunningham's explanation in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XLIII. p. 154 f. The *va* of *divasaṁmi* has been almost effaced, and the *cha* of *paṁchami* has been injured. All the *anusvâras* stand below the line and are visible in the photo-etching alone. The last is injured and indistinct.

With respect to the difficult question to which era the year has to be referred, I can only say that Mr. Smith's alternative proposal to take Saṁ. 274 as a Śaka year, and as equivalent to 352 A. D., seems to me improbable. For, the letters of the inscriptions look very like those of Kanishka's and Huvishka's Kharôshṭrî-inscriptions. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the Kharôshṭrî writing was still used in the fourth century, A D.

G. BÜHLER.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 25.

The Revue Critique for 1889.

In the number for May 19th, M. Barth contributes a critique on M J. Grosset's contribution to the **study of Hindû music,** already noticed in these pages. M. Barth is of opinion that Hindû music must continue to remain unintelligible to European scholars until it is taken in hand by a master of both the Hindû and European systems of the art. In default of this, M. Grosset has done his best with the very inadequate materials at his command.

The same author deals, in the number for May 27th, with Dr. Fick's edition of **a Jaina version**[3] **of the legend of Sagara.** The Jains have taken this saga and turned it into a stupid story for the edification of the faithful. The Prâkṛit text is taken from the *Kathânakas* inserted by Dêvêndra Gaṇi into his commentary on the *Uttarâdhyayana-Sûtra*, on which Prof. Jacobi has already drawn for his well-known Prâkṛit grammar and reading-book. To this is added a translation, notes and glossary.

In the number for the 18th and 26th August M. V. Henry reviews Prof. Johannes Schmidt's

1 The representation of the Kharôshṭrî figures in Roman figures has been taken over from Mr. A. V. Smith.

2 The reading *pôṭhavadasa* is linguistically possible, and the form would likewise be correct Prâkṛit for *praushṭhapadasya*.

3 R. Fick, *Eine Jainistiche Bearbeitung der Sagara-Sage.* Kiel, C. F. Haeseler, 1889.

work on **the formation of the plural of Indo-Germanic neuters,**[4] in which it is contended that the Indo-European neuter plural, so far as we can judge from the scanty remains available, is not a single but a multiple category, and that its principal peculiarities must be referred, not to a true plural, but to a singular collective noun of the feminine gender. Thus **yugá*, 'the yokes' (Vedic *yugá*, Gr. *ζυγά*, Lat. *jugá*, &c), was primitively a substantive feminine, declined **yugá*, **yugás*, and the inflexion **yugá*, **yugám*, is only due to false analogy. M. Henry combats this conclusion at some length. The points are too technical to be reproduced here.

The following number contains another review, by the same writer, on Dr. Otto Hoffman's treatise on **the Flexion and Stem-formation of the Present in the Original Indo-Germanic Language.**[5] The work is designed to be sufficiently clear to be intelligible to a beginner in the newer paths of linguistic study, and at the same time sufficiently complete to be useful to the specialist who wishes to find quickly any detail which may have escaped his memory. The author has well succeeded, though the excessive brevity rendered necessary by the scale of the work is sometimes misleading.

In the number for October 7th, we have a criticism of Van den Gheyn's **European Origin of the Aryans,**[6] by M. S. Reinach. The author is one of those who combat the theory referred to in the title of his work. The book is a very complete *résumé* of all the arguments for and against this theory. The argument based on language, *viz.*, that Lithuanian is more nearly related to the original language than Sanskrit, is far from conclusive, even if the foundation were solid in all points, (which it is not). The Canadians speak a more archaic dialect of French than the Parisians, and the Jews of Salonica speak that dialect of Spanish which is nearest to the language of Cervantes. Similarly are disposed of the Palæontologico-linguistic arguments, founded on the alleged flora and fauna of the Primitive Aryans; the anthropological argument, founded on the equation, Aryan = a Fair-complexioned Dolichocephalic; the archæological argument, dealing with the Swiss lacustrine cities; and the geographical one, founded on the theory that the Aryans would not have had sufficient pasture in Central Asia. In conclusion, the reviewer, agreeing with M. Van den Gheyn, adheres to the Asiatic theory, and maintains that it is still better to say nothing about the cradle of the Aryans, and to talk only of the centre of dispersion of Indo-European languages. As Prof. Max Müller remarks, when an ethnographist speaks of an *Aryan race*, or of *Aryan blood*, he is committing an error as great as if he spoke of a *dolichocephalic dictionary*, or a *brachycephalic grammar*.

Passing over a review[7] by M. S. Lévi of Prof. Darmesteter's *Letters on India*, which are directed more to the general reader than to the Indian student, and a short but favourable notice by Mr. G. Drouin[8] on Mr. V. Smith's *Coinage of the Early Guptas*, (in which the reviewer regrets that the author has not added a Plate giving facsimiles of the coin legends, with a comparative alphabet), we come to the last article which will interest readers of the *Antiquary* — a review by M. V. Henry of Dr. Otto Franke's treatise on **Indian Genders.**[9] The work contains texts of the *Liṅgánuśásanas* of Śâkaṭâyana, Harshavardhana and Vararuchi, together with extracts from the commentaries of Yakshavarman and Śabarasvâmin, and an appendix on Hindû proper names. Each stanza in the text, which is not perfectly clear, has been translated, the portions of the commentaries are well selected, and a copious index enables the reader to find each word wherever it occurs. The introduction occupies half the volume, and in it Dr. Franke describes, amongst other matters, certain *Liṅgánuśásanas* hitherto unknown, and the chronology of the various *Liṅgánuśásanas*, Śâkaṭâyana and Vararuchi. The appendix deals with the principle of the formation of Indo-European proper names, with special reference to those of Greek and Sanskrit-India.

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

The Proceedings for 1889 possess few features of interest to Indian scholars. At the meeting of the 4th October, Dr. Leitner described the language, religion and customs of the Hunzas. This wild tribe nominally professes Islamism, but is in reality very far from it. Their religion is connected with that of the famous Hashîshîn or Assassins, and recognizes a prince, now resident in Bombay, as an incarnation of the deity. Their language is composed of words, each of which expresses an entire group of ideas, and

[4] *Die Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra.* Weimar, Herman Bolau, 1889.

[5] *Das Præsens der Indogermanischen Grundsprache in seiner Flexion und Stammbildung.* Gottingen, Vandenhæck & Ruprecht, 1889.

[6] *L'origine Européene des Aryas.* Paris, *Bureaux des Annales de Philosophie chrétienne*, 1889.

[7] Number for October 21st.

[8] November 11th.

[9] *Die Indischen Genuslehren.* Kiel, Hæseler, 1890.

which cannot be translated by single words into European languages.[10]

At the meeting of 30th October, a communication was read from Jivanji Jamshêdji Modi, the Pârsî High Priest at Bombay, regarding the receptacles for human bones, brought from Persia by M. Dieulafoy, and deposited in the Museum of the Louvre. While the modern Pârsîs deposit their dead in Towers of Silence, where the flesh is devoured by birds, and the bones are accumulated, the ancient Persians appear to have had the custom of depositing the bones in isolated receptacles. The sixth chapter of the *Vendîdâd* describes separately two different methods of disposing of the dead. One consisted in laying the corpse on the summit of a mountain, exposed to the rays of the sun, and the other in collecting the bones after the flesh has been devoured. The *Dâdistân-i-dînî*, a Pahlavî work, describes the ossuaries, called *astodâns*, in which these remains were kept. The preservation of the bones had for its object to render possible the future resurrection of the dead, who must, according to the Pârsî doctrine, "rise from their bones."[11]

G. A. GRIERSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CUSTOMARY OFFERINGS TO PRIESTS IN BENGAL.

At Rânîganj and elsewhere I found **miniature brass plates and cups**, etc., made and sold in large quantities for the purpose of being used in the customary offerings to *puróhits*. These, of course, contained a corresponding diminutive quantity of food. Is this is a breaking-down of the custom of *dán*? or is it an old established custom by which the poor man could ostensibly gain as much merit by *dán* as the rich man?

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE VEDANTASUTRAS, WITH THE COMMENTARY BY SAMKARACHARYA, translated by GEORGE THIBAUT. Part I. (SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST; Vol. XXXIV.). Oxford, 1890. Pp. cxxviii, 443.

This stately volume contains the first half of the **standard work of the Advaita school.** Those who have tried to study any of the philosophical systems of the Hindûs from the original text-books, can form an estimate of the difficulties which Dr. Thibaut had to overcome in the task of rendering the actual words of one of the deepest philosophers of ancient India into plain and elegant English, and of thus enabling the general reader to acquaint himself with the metaphysics of Śaṁkara as easily as with those of Spinoza. Śaṁkara's great work breathes the spirit of a noble and independent thinker. The bold and consequent manner in which he tries to solve the highest problems, ensures him a prominent place among the philosophers of all nations and ages. The perusal of his work will modify the views of the editor of a European hand-book which states in full earnest that Kâlidâsa's *Śakuntalá* is one of the chief sources of our knowledge of Hindû philosophy.[1] In the masterly introduction which Dr. Thibaut has prefixed to his translation, he contrasts Śaṁkara's commentary on Bâdarâyaṇa's *sûtras* with that of Râmânuja, the head of the Viśishṭâdvaita school; and arrives at the important conclusion that a number of Râmânuja's explanations seem to be in better accordance with the real tenets of Bâdarâyaṇa, while Śaṁkara's explanations are often forced and artificial. "If, now, I am shortly to sum up the results of the preceding enquiry as to the teaching of the Sûtras, I must give it as my opinion that they do not set forth the distinction of a higher and lower knowledge of Brahman; that they do not acknowledge the distinction of Brahman and Îśvara in Śaṁkara's sense; *that they do not hold* the doctrine of the unreality of the world; and that they do not, with Śaṁkara, proclaim the absolute identity of the individual and the highest Self" (p. c).

In connection with the present short notice of Dr. Thibaut's new volume, it may not be out of place to draw attention to his translation of an elementary treatise on the *Pûrva-Mîmâṁsâ* system, the *Arthasaṁgraha* by Laugâkshi-Bhâskara, which appeared in 1882 as No. 4 of the Benares *Sanskrit Series*. This difficult little book treats of the general maxims, according to which the *kalpasûtras* or rules for sacrifices are built up on the *Saṁhitâs* and *Brâhmaṇas*. Thus the *Pûrva-Mîmâṁsâ* is a half-sister of the *Uttara-Mîmâṁsâ* or *Vêdânta*, which is based on the *Âraṇyaka* portions of the *Vêda*, and the chief representative of which is Śaṁkara's *Bhâshya*.

[10] [All this is according to Dr. Leitner, be it understood. — R. C. T.]

[11] [The customs of the North American Indians may be noted in this connection. — R. C. T.]

[1] Ueberweg's *Geschichte der Philosophie*, 5th edition, Vol. I. p. 16.

EXAMINATION OF QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(*Concluded from page* 142.)

I TRUST that my lists of dates will show, in a fairly accurate manner, the practice of dating followed in connection with the Vikrama era from the earliest to the most modern times, and that the materials brought together will be regarded as sufficiently full and trustworthy, to warrant their being used in an attempt to answer some of the questions which have been indicated in an earlier part of these notes.

In the following I shall first endeavour to show what conclusions are suggested by the dates, regarding the questions of current and expired years, of northern and southern years, and of the *pûrṇimânta* and *amânta* schemes of the lunar months. I shall then indicate in what part of India we find the Vikrama era first employed, and where and by which dynasties it was used during the millennium succeeding the earliest known date. I shall examine and try to account for the names under which the era has been known at various times. And I shall conclude these notes with some matters of detail which either concern the Vikrama era only or have reference to the practice of dating generally.

Current and Expired Years; Northern and Southern Years; Pûrṇimânta and Amânta Schemes.

As any conclusions under these heads should, in the first instance, be drawn only from regular dates, I would here summarize the results of my calculations of the 150 dates, the details of which have been given *ante*, Vol. XIX. pp. 22-40 and 166-187, as follows:—

Total number of dates examined: 150.

A.—Dates in bright fortnights.

Number of dates: 80 (from V. 898 to V. 1874).

1.—Dates in the months Kârttika to Phâlguna.

Number of dates: 26 (from V. 1016 to V. 1729).

Results:

(*a*).—Dates in current years: 2 (V. 1304 and V. 1397); *i.e.* 7·7 °/₀.
(*b*).—Dates in expired years: 24 (V. 1016 to V. 1729); *i.e.* 92·3 °/₀.

2.—Dates in the months Chaitra to Âśvina.

Number of dates: 54 (from V. 898 to V. 1874).

Results:

(*a*).—Dates in northern current years: 3 (V. 1311, 1380, and 1587); *i.e.* 5·6°/₀.
(*b*).—Dates in north. exp. (or south. curr.) years: 27 (V. 919 to V. 1874); *i.e.* 50°/₀.
(*c*).—Dates in southern expired years: 23 (V. 898 to V. 1746); *i.e.* 42·6°/₀.
(*d*).—Uncertain, but probably in south. exp. year: 1 (V. 1200); *i.e.* 1·8°/₀.

B.—Dates in dark fortnights.

Number of dates: 70 (from V. 960 to V. 1877).

1.—Dates in the months Kârttika to Phâlguna.

Number of dates: 27 (from V. 1043 to V. 1875).

Results:

(*a*).—Dates in current years: 2 (V. 1209 and V. 1296); *i.e.* 7·4 °/₀.
[pûrṇimânta: 2; amânta: 0.]

(*b*).—Dates in expired years : 20 (V. 1043 to V. 1875) ; *i.e.* 74·1°/o.
[pûrṇimânta: 14; amânta: 6.]

(*c*).—Pûrṇimânta dates of current years or amânta dates of expired years: 5 (V. 1229 to V. 1535); *i.e.* 18·5°/o.

2.—Dates in the months Chaitra to Âśvina.

Number of dates: 43 (from V. 960 to V. 1877).

Results :

(*a*). — Dates in northern current years: 2 (V. 1202 and V. 1256); *i.e.* 4·7°/o.
[pûrṇimânta: 2; amânta: 0.]

(*b*). — Dates in north. exp. (or south. curr.) years: 15 (V. 960 to V. 1877); *i.e.* 34·9°/o.
[pûrṇimânta: 12; amânta: 3.]

(*c*). — Dates in southern expired years: 18 (V. 994 to V. 1538); *i.e.* 41·9°/o.
[pûrṇimânta: 8; amânta: 10.]

Uncertain: 8; *i.e.* 18·6°/o; *viz.* —

(*d*). — North. curr. amânta, or south. exp. pûrṇimânta: 2 (V. 1225 and V. 1390);

(*e*). — North. curr. amânta, or north. exp. or south. exp. pûrṇimânta: 1 (V. 1315);

(*f*). — North. exp. pûrṇimânta, or south. exp. amânta: 5 (V. 1332 to V. 1570).

Current and Expired Years.

The result obtained under A. 1, by which the years of only two dates out of 26 are current years, shows at once that **it has been at all times the rule to quote the Vikrama years as expired years,** and that current years were quoted only exceptionally. And this conclusion is supported by the combined results under A. 1 and 2, and B. 1 and 2, which show that only nine dates out of the total number of 150 must necessarily be regarded as dates in current years. Now this result, though it would not permit us to speak with confidence about any one individual date, may certainly be used, for statistical purposes, to pronounce an opinion on the nature of a whole set of dates, the years of which our calculations would permit us to regard as eithe current or expired.

Thus, the five dates under B. 1, *c*, which in accordance with our calculations might be regarded as either *pûrṇimânta* dates of current years, or *amânta* dates of expired years, may with little chance of error all be put down as *amânta* dates of expired years. And similarly may the two dates under B. 2, *d*, be safely regarded as *pûrṇimânta* dates of southern expired years, and the date under B. 2, *e*, as a *pûrṇimânta* date of either a northern or southern expired year. Occasionally our proceeding in this manner may indeed be shown to be correct by independent arguments. This is the case *e. g.* with the date of the year V. 1225 in an inscription of the *Mahânâyaka* Pratâpadhavaladêva, which by the result of the calculation falls under B. 2, *d*, (No. 143); for this date cannot be separated from another date of the same year V. 1225 in an inscription of the same chief (No. 126), which we know for certain to be a *pûrṇimânta* date of a southern expired year.

As regards the 27 dates under A. 2, *b*, and the 15 dates under B. 2, *b*, the years of which theoretically might be regarded as either northern expired or southern current years, it may safely be assumed that nearly all are dates in northern expired years, and they will all be classed as such below. But it cannot be denied that one or two of their number may really be dates in southern current years; and I mention this here at once to show that, in treating these dates as I do, I am not showing any undue favour to the southern year. The year of the single date under A. 2, *d*, may be taken to be the southern expired year, because the eclipse mentioned in the date was visible in India in that year only. As to the five dates under B. 2, *f*,

it is impossible to say from general considerations,[1] whether their years should be regarded as northern or southern expired years.

Since current years are quoted only exceptionally, it may be questioned whether we should, in every case, at once accept as correct the result of the calculation of a date, where such calculation would lead us to regard the year of the date as a current year. As to the dates treated of under A. 1, *a* and 2, *a*, and B. 1, *a*, no choice is left to us.[2] But the case may well seem to be different with the dates No. 108 and No. 109, under B. 2, *a*. By the strict results of our calculations these dates would indeed be *pûrṇimânta* dates of northern current years. But in regard to both, good reasons, — partly connected with the Siṁha era on which we expect Mr. Fleet to enlighten us, and partly based on a consideration of the exact ending-time of the *tithi*, — might probably be adduced for rejecting the seemingly correct results and taking the two dates as *amânta* dates of northern expired years.

Northern and Southern Years.

In accordance with preceding remarks, and disregarding as exceptional the dates in current years, we may count[3] as dates in northern (expired) years the dates under A. 2, *b* (with the exception of No. 47 which professes to belong to an *Âshâḍhâdi* year), and those under B. 2, *b*; *i.e.*, altogether 41 dates; and as dates in southern (expired) years the dates under A. 2, *c*, and B. 2, *c*, the date under A. 2, *d*, and the two dates under B. 2, *d*; *i.e.*, altogether 44 dates.

For reasons given above, and because the two dates No. 113 and No. 117 under B. 2, *b*, might equally well be considered as dates in southern years, this classification perhaps hardly does full justice to the southern year; but taking it to be approximately correct, I find that the numbers of dates of either kind were :—

up to	V. 1200:	6	in northern	years;	9	in southern	years;
„	V. 1300:	17	„	„	; 26	„	„ ;
„	V. 1400:	22	„	„	; 31	„	„ ;
„	V. 1500:	26	„	„	; 34	„	„ ;
„	V. 1600:	30	„	„	; 40	„	„ ;
„	V. 1877:	41	„	„	; 44	„	„ .

Accordingly, the total number of dates in southern years for all times slightly exceeds the total number of dates in northern years. In the earliest centuries of which we possess dates which admit of verification, the dates in southern years are decidedly more numerous than those in northern years; but in later times the northern year has been gaining considerably on the southern year. In fact, it may be said that, while even down to V. 1400 the proportion of northern to southern years remained about 2 : 3, this proportion has just been inverted afterwards. The general conclusion to which these figures would seem to point, is, that **the reckoning by southern (Kârttikâdi) years was from the beginning intimately connected with the Vikrama era,** just as the reckoning by northern (*Chaitrâdi*) years has always been characteristic of the Saka era; and it may fairly be assumed that the change, which has gradually taken place towards a more general employment of the northern year in connection with the Vikrama era, is owing to the influence of the Saka era.

---

1 The year of one of the five dates (No. 149) is shown to be a southern expired year by the Jupiter year which is quoted along with it.

2 A week after the proof of this paper was returned by me to Mr. Fleet, I was informed by Dr. Klatt, that the reading of my date No. 1, as taken from Professor Peterson's *Report*, must be wrong, because, according to the *Añchalapaṭṭâvalî*, Udayasâgara was *Sûri* from V. 1797 to V. 1826; and that the correct reading therefore would probably be *abdhi-kh-âh-indu* = 1804, not 1304. And calculating for V. 1804, expired, I find that the corresponding European date, as required, is Monday, the 4th January, A. D. 1748, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h. after mean sunrise. Accordingly, of the 26 dates treated of under A. 1, the year of only a single date was really a current year.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the following remarks on northern and southern years are necessarily confined to dates in the months Chaitra to Âśvina.

Here again, if from this point of view we look at the results of our calculations of some of the early dates, it may perhaps seem doubtful whether our calculation has yielded in every case the only possible or the true equivalent of the original date. The year 898 of our earliest regular date (No. 57) undoubtedly is a southern year. The year 919 of the second date (No. 30) is a northern expired year, but here it may be noted that this year is also described as the Saka year 784, a fact which will appear the more remarkable, when I say that down to V. 1439 this is the only instance in which the corresponding Saka year is mentioned by the side of the Vikrama year in any date of my lists, and which might well be taken to account somehow or, other for the employment of the northern year. The third date, of the year 960 (No. 110) would by the strict results of my calculations be a *pûrṇimânta* date of a northern expired year; but when we consider that in the southern expired year, with the *amânta* scheme, the *tithi* of the date commenced exactly at sunrise of the weekday mentioned by the date and ended only 51 min. after mean sunrise of the next day, we may well ask whether such a result, for the southern expired year, should not be regarded as satisfying the requirements of the case equally well. The 4th, 5th and 6th dates, of the years 962, 994 and 1011 (Nos. 58, 133 and 59), are all dates in southern years. The 7th date, again of the year 1011 (No. 111), is by the results of my calculations a *pûrṇimânta* date of a northern expired year; but here too the *tithi* of the date, with the *amânta* scheme, ended in the southern expired year only 26 minutes after sunrise of the day following the weekday of the date, so that what has been said above of the third date, would here also be applicable. The 8th and 9th dates, of the years 1042 and 1084 (Nos, 31 and 112), are dates in northern expired years; and the 10th 11th, 12th and 13th dates, of the years 1100, 1139, 1154 and 1192 (Nos. 134, 60, 61 and 125), all belong again to southern expired years. I need not continue this enumeration further; enough has been said to show that the number of early dates in northern years is perhaps even smaller than appears at first sight. Besides, it must not be forgotten that, so far as the present question is concerned, the northern expired year is really equivalent to the southern current year, and that there is no stringent reason why, in one or other of the above dates which are here taken as dates in northern expired years, the writer should not be considered to have quoted, exceptionally, a current southern year.

The terms 'southern' and 'northern' years, which are usually employed to denote years commencing with the months Kârttika and Chaitra, would naturally lead one to suppose that the *Kârttikâdi* reckoning had always been prevalent in the south and the *Chaitrâdi* reckoning in the north of India. To show how entirely wrong such a supposition would be, and to prove that, whatever may be the practice of quite modern times, **down to about the 14th century of the Vikrama era both kinds of years have been used over exactly the same tracts of country,** I put before the reader all regular dates, the nature of whose years we are able to determine, from rocks and stones, most of which undoubtedly have always remained at the places where the dates were first engraved on them. What I would conclude from these lists, is, that the use of the so-called southern year was indeed discontinued in northern India about the end of the 14th century, but that before that time the southern year was used in the north much more frequently than the northern year. In my opinion it would be well to discard the terms 'southern' and 'northern' years altogether, and to call the years, what they really are, *Kârttikâdi* and *Chaitrâdi* years.

Dates on rocks and stones,

in southern (*Kârttikâdi*) years:	in northern (*Chaitrâdi*) years:
V. 898 (No. 57) Dhôlpur, Northern Râjputânâ.	V. 919 (No. 30) Dêôgaḍh, Gwâlior; [Saka 784].
V. 994 (No. 133) Sîyaḍônî, N. W. Provinces.	V. 960 (No. 110) Têrahi, Gwâlior; [perhaps southern].
V. 1011 (No. 59) Khajurâhô, Bundelkhand.	V. 1011 (No. 111) Ambêr, North. Râjputânâ; [perhaps southern].
V. 1100 (No. 134) Byânâ, Northern Râjputânâ.	V. 1194 (No. 113) Kâlañjar, Bundelkhand.
V. 1154 (No. 61) Dêôgadh, Gwâlior.	
V. 1192 (No. 125) Kâlanjar, Bundelkhand.	

V. 1220 (No. 62) Delhi Siwâlik pillar.
V. 1222 (No. 63) Udaypur, Gwâlior.
V. 1224 (No. 64) Mahôba, Bundelkhand.
V. 1225 (No. 126) Phulwariya, Bihâr (?).
V. 1225 (No. 135) Jaunpur, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1225 (No. 143) Târâchândî, Bihâr.
V. 1240 (No. 67) Kâlañjar, Bundelkhand.
V. 1240 (No. 127) Mahôba, Bundelkhand.
V. 1243 (No. 68) Ajaygaḍh, Bundelkhand.
V. 1253 (No. 70) Bêlkhara, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1265 (No. 72) Mount Âbû, Southern Râjputânâ.
V. 1318 (No. 128) Jhânsi, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1320 (No. 129) Verâval, Kâṭhiâvâḍ.
V. 1390 (No. 141) Chunar, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1500 (No. 73) Mahuva, Barôda.
V. 1516 (No. 74) Gayâ, Bihâr.
V. 1215 (No. 32) Girnâr, Kâṭhiâvâḍ
V. 1216 (No. 33) Alha-ghâṭ, Central India.
V. 1252 (No. 38) Baṭêśvar, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1340 (No. 41) Kâlañjar, Bundelkhand.
V. 1353 (No. 42) Jaunpur, N. W. Provinces.
V. 1390 (No. 116) 'Kevati-kund,' Bundelkhand.
V. 1439 (No. 43) Mâchâḍi, Northern Râjputânâ.
V. 1445 (No. 44) 'Boram Deo,' Central Provinces.
V. 1481 (No. 45) Dêôgaḍh, Gwâlior.
V. 1496 (No. 46) Umgâ, Bihâr.
V. 1533 (No. 124) Kaira, Gujarâṭ.
V. 1581 (No. 117) Delhi, Panjâb.
V. 1717 (No. 119) Chambâ, Panjâb.
V. 1874 (No. 56) Nepâl.
V. 1874 (No. 120) Nepâl.
V. 1874 (No. 121) Nepâl.

The Pûrṇimânta and Amânta Schemes.

Proceeding as before, and omitting as doubtful whether they should be considered as *pûrṇimânta* or *amânta* the dates under B. 2, *a* and *f*, and the dates No. 110 and No. 111 under B. 2, *b*, I find that of 61 dates 37 may be regarded as *pûrṇimânta* and 24 as *amânta* dates; and that the numbers of either kind of dates were:—

up to V. 1200:	5 *pûrṇimânta*;	2 *amânta*;	
,, V. 1300:	14 ,,	; 8 ,,	;
,, V. 1400:	21 ,,	; 15 ,,	;
,, V. 1500:	24 ,,	; 17 ,,	;
,, V. 1600:	28 ,,	; 22 ,,	;
,, V. 1877:	37 ,,	; 24 ,,	.

Accordingly, the percentage of *pûrṇimânta* dates up to V. 1200 was about 71, between V. 1200 and 1400 about 55, between V. 1400 and 1600 about 50, and between V. 1600 and 1877 about 82. This may be taken to show that in early times the *pûrṇimânta* scheme of the lunar months was more commonly followed in connection with the Vikrama era than the *amânta* scheme, that afterwards the *amânta* scheme has been gaining considerably on the *pûrṇimânta* scheme, and that a change in favour of a more general employment of the *pûrṇimânta* scheme has again taken place in quite modern times.

Of the 61 dates to which these remarks refer, 20 can be shown to be dates in southern (*Kârttikâdi*) and 13 in northern (*Chaitrâdi*) expired years. Of the former, 10 are *amânta*, and 8 undoubtedly and two others most probably *pûrṇimânta* dates; of the latter, 10 are *pûrṇimânta*, and 3 *amânta* dates. These figures show that, while the southern (*Kârttikâdi*) year has been joined with the *pûrṇimânta* as often as with the *amânta* scheme, the northern (*Chaitrâdi*) year is more commonly joined with the *pûrṇimânta* scheme only; and they prove with certainty that **neither scheme of the lunar months is necessarily and exclusively connected with either the southern (Kârttikâdi) or the northern (Chaitrâdi) year.**

Locality and Names of the Era.

In order to ascertain where the era has been principally used and what names have been applied to it, it will probably be considered sufficient to examine the first 200 dates in the chronological list which I have given above, pp. 125 to 142, down to about A. D. 1300. The more recent dates are naturally of less importance and many of them are from MSS. and literary works regarding the locality of which I possess no exact information. Such is the case, too, with a few of the earlier dates, chiefly dates taken from MSS., which therefore will also be omitted in the following.

In my chronological list I have put queries against four of the earliest dates (Nos. 1, 2, 8, and 9), to show that doubts may possibly be entertained regarding their reading or exact interpretation. As these dates in no way affect my conclusions, I shall here take them to have been correctly given and explained by others. But I shall omit the date No. 6, of the Dhiniki copper-plate inscription of Jâikadêva, which apparently is a forged document.[4]

Where and by which Dynasties was the Era used up to about A. D. 1300?

The date No. 1 (V. 428) is from Bijayagaḍh, in north-eastern Râjputânâ;
No. 2 (V. 480) from Gaṅgdhâr, in south-eastern Râjputânâ;
Nos. 3 and 4 (V. 529 and 589) are from Mandasôr, on the borders of south-eastern Râjputânâ;
No. 5 (V. 746) is from Jhâlrâpâṭan, in south-eastern Râjputânâ;
No. 7 (V. 795) from Kaṇaswa, in south-eastern Râjputânâ;
No 8 (V. 811) from Chitôr, in southern Râjputânâ;
No. 9 (V. 879) from Kôṭâ, in south-eastern Râjputânâ; and
No. 10 (V. 898) from Dhôlpur, in north-eastern Râjputânâ.

The earliest known dates, from V. 428 to 898, are therefore all from **eastern Râjputânâ**, chiefly from that part of eastern Râjputânâ which borders on, or is included in, **Mâlava.**—From the same part of India, and from Râjputânâ generally, we also have the following later dates: No. 17 (V. 962) from Bhillamâla (Bhînmâl); No. 31 (V. 1011) from Ambêr; No. 33 (V. 1016) from Râjôrgaḍh; No. 50 (V. 1100) from Byânâ; No. 52 (V. 1136) from Arthûnâ; No. 120 (V. 1231) from Vîsalpur; No. 133 (V. 1244) from Tahangaḍh; Nos. 184 and 189 (V. 1324 and 1335) from Chitôr; No. 194 (V. 1342) from Mount Âbû; and No. 196 (V. 1344) from Udaypur.

The last of the above early dates, No. 10, is from an inscription of the Châhumâna Chaṇḍamahâsêna; and later dates of **Châhumâna princes** are: No. 98 (V. 1210) of Vigraharâjadêva; No. 104 (V. 1218) of Âlhaṇadêva; No. 105 (V. 1220) of Vîsaladêva; No. 109 (V. 1224) of Pṛithvîrâja; No. 114 (V. 1226) of Sômêśvara; and Nos. 115, 128, and 134 (V. 1226, 1239, and 1244) of Pṛithvîrâja.

From Râjputânâ the list takes us in an eastern direction, first to the neighbouring **State of Gwâlior**, and afterwards through **Bundelkhand** and **Rêwah** as far as **Gayâ in Bihâr.**

No. 11 (V. 919), from an inscription of Bhôjadêva of **Kanauj**, is from Dêôgaḍh in the Gwâlior State; Nos. 12 and 13 (V. 932 and 933), are from inscriptions of the same king in the Fort of Gwâlior; No. 14 (V. 936) is from Gyârispur, and No. 15 (V. 960) from Têrahi, both in the Gwâlior State; and No. 16, 18-21, 25-27, 29, and 34 (V. 960, 964, 965, 967, 969, 991, 994, 1005, 1008, and 1025), of the reigns of Mahêndrapâladêva and Dêvapâladêva of Kanauj, are from Sîyaḍôṇî in Bundelkhand.

No. 30 (V. 1011), from an inscription of the Chandêlla Dhaṅga, is the first of a long series of dates of the **Chandêllas** of Bundelkhand, to which also belong: No. 32 (V. 1011) of Yaśôvarman and Dhaṅga; Nos. 41 and 43 (V. 1055 and 1059) of Dhaṅgadêva; No. 51 (V. 1107) of Dêvavarmadêva; No. 60 (V. 1154) of Kîrtivarmadêva; No. 67 (V. 1173) of Jayavarmadêva; Nos. 75, 77, 78, 80, 94, 99, and 101 (V. 1186, 1187, 1188, 1190, 1208, 1211, and 1215) of Madanavarmadêva; Nos. 108, 129, 137, and 142 (V. 1224, 1240, 1252, and 1258) of Paramardidêva; Nos. 150, 168, and 170 (V. 1269, 1297, and 1298) of Trailôkyavarmadêva; Nos. 180, 185, and 191 (V. 1317, 1325, and 1337) of Vîravarman; and No. 197 (V. 1345) of Bhôjavarman.

Other dates from Gwâlior and Bundelkhand are: No. 42 (V. 1058) from Khajurâhô; No. 49 (V. 1093) from Udayagiri; Nos. 55 and 59 (V. 1145 and 1152) from 'Dubkund'; Nos. 58 and 63 (V. 1150 and 1161) from Gwâlior; Nos. 83, 85, and 193 (V. 1192, 1194, and 1340) from Kâlañjar; No. 91 (V. 1207) from Chândpur; No. 107 (V. 1222) from Udaypur in Gwâlior; Nos.

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XIX. p. 371. I would now also say that in V. 794 the Vikrama era was not used yet in the locality to which the inscription belongs.

116 and 131 (V. 1227 and 1243) from Ajaygaḍh; No. 130 (V. 1240) from Mahôba; and No. 181 (V. 1318) from Jhânsî.

From the tracts of country east of Bundelkhand as far as Gayâ, and those north of Bundelkhand and Rêwah up to the Jumna and the Ganges, and north of these rivers as far as Jaunpur, we have the following dates: No. 102 (V. 1216) from Alha-ghâṭ; No. 139 (V. 1253) from Rêwah; No. 110 (V. 1225) from Phulwariya (?); No. 112 (V. 1225) from the Târâchâṇḍî rock; Nos. 28, 123, and 186 (V. 1005, 1232 and 1325) from Gayâ; No. 22 (V. 974) from the Asnî inscription of Mahîpâladêva of Kanauj; No. 48 (V. 1093), from 'Kurrah'; No. 88 (V. 1199) from Gaḍhwâ; No. 45 (V. 1083) from Sârnâth; and No. 199 (V. 1353) from Jaunpur.

To the south-east of Râjputânâ, and adjoining it, is **Mâlava.** Of the **Paramâra** princes of this country and their successors we have the following dates: Nos. 35, 36, and 40 (V. 1031, 1036, and 1050) of Vâkpatirâja-Muñja; No. 44 (V. 1078) of Bhôjadêva; No. 53 (V. 1137) of Udayâditya; Nos 64 and 65 (V. 1161 and 1164) of Naravarmadêva; Nos. 82 and 84 (V. 1191 and 1192) of Yaśôvarmadêva; No. 89 (V. 1200) of Lakshmîvarmadêva; No. 126 (V. 1235 and 1236) of Hariśchandradêva; No. 140 (V. 1256) of Udayavarmadêva; Nos. 149, 151 and 152 (V. 1267, 1270, and 1272) of Arjunavarmadêva; Nos. 153, 158, and 163, (V. 1275, 1286, and 1289) of Dêvapâladêva; and No. 176 (V. 1312) of Jayasiṁhadêva. To Mâlava also belongs No. 81 (V. 1190) from Ingnôḍa.

Adjoining Râjputânâ on the south, and west of Mâlava, was the kingdom of **Aṇhilvâḍ** (including **Kâṭhiâvâḍ**), the **Chaulukya and Vâghêla** rulers of which furnish us with the following long list of dates: No. 38 (V. 1043) of Mûlarâja; No. 47 (V 1086) of Bhîmadêva I.; Nos. 56 and 57 (V. 1145 and 1148) of Karṇadêva; Nos. 71 and 86 (V. 1179 and 1196) of Jayasiṁha, dêva; Nos. 90, 96, 103 and 106 (V. 1202, 1208, 1218, and 1220) of Kumârapâladêva; Nos. 118, 119, and 121 (V. 1229, 1231, and 1232) of Ajayapâladêva; Nos. 136, 141, 144-148, 156, 159, 161, 165, and 166 (V. 1251, 1256, 1261, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1283, 1287, 1288, 1295, and 1296) of Bhîmadêva II.; No. 155 (V. 1280) of Jayantasiṁha; No. 171 (V. 1299) of Tribhuvanapâladêva; Nos. 172, 175, and 179 (V. 1303, 1311, and 1317) of Vîsaladêva; No. 182 (V. 1320) of Arjunadêva; and Nos. 190, 195, and 198 (V. 1335, 1343, and 1350) of Sâraṅgadêva.—From Kâṭhiâvâḍ we have, besides, the dates Nos. 100, 160, and 162 (V. 1215, 1288, and 1288 or 89) from Girnâr; and No. 177 (V. 1315) from Siyâl Bêt.

A few early dates of some of the rulers of **Kanauj,** north-east of Râjputânâ, have been already given above. Of the later **Râṭhôr** princes of Kanauj we have the following dates: No. 61 (V. 1154) of Chandradêva and Madanapâladêva; Nos. 62 and 66 (V. 1161 and 1166) of Madanapâla and Gôvindachandradêva; Nos. 68, 70, 72-74, 76 and 79 (V. 1174, 1177, 1181, 1182, 1185, 1187, and 1188) of Gôvindachandradêva; No. 87 (V. 1199) of Gôvindachandradêva and Râjyapâladêva; Nos. 93 and 95 (V. 1207 and 1208) of Gôvindachandra's queen Gôsaladêvî; Nos. 111 and 113 (V. 1225) of Vijayachandradêva; and Nos. 122, 124, 125, 127, and 132 (V. 1232, 1233, 1234, 1236, and 1243) of Jayachchandradêva.—To some of the later chiefs of Kanauj apparently belong Nos. 138 and 154 (V. 1253 and 1276). And from places north-east of Râjputânâ we have, besides, the dates No. 39 (V. 1049) from Dêwal; No. 92 (V. 1207) from Mahâban; and No. 192 (V. 1337) from Rôhtak.

With the exception of two or three dates from inscriptions and about a dozen dates from MSS. about the locality of which I am not certain, the above are all the dates in my chronological list down to the year V. 1359 or about A.D. 1300; and the result of this examination may be stated thus:—

Our earliest known dates, to about V. 900, are all from eastern Râjputânâ, especially from that part of eastern Râjputânâ which borders on, or is included in, Mâlava. From there, if we may judge by the dates collected, the era spread first towards the north-east and east, to Kanauj and to Gwâlior and Bundelkhand, and afterwards towards the south-east and south, to Mâlava

proper and Aṇhilvâḍ (including Kâṭhiâvâḍ). And, speaking generally, down to about A.D. 1300 the use of the era was confined to that comparatively small portion of India which would be included by straight lines drawn from the mouth of the Narbadâ to Gayâ, from Gayâ to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Runn of Cutch, and by the line of coast from the Runn of Cutch back to the mouth of the Narbadâ. Within these limits and down to the time mentioned the era was officially employed especially by the Chaulukya and Vâghêla princes of Aṇhilvâḍ, the Paramâras of Mâlava, the Chandêllas of Bundelkhand, the earlier and later dynasties of Kanauj, and the chiefs of Râjputânâ.

Names of the Era.

By far the greater number of dates contain nothing to show what era was followed by the writer. It is true that from early times the word 'year,' in dates of this era, has been mostly expressed either by the full word *saṁvatsara* or by the abbreviated terms *saṁvat* or *saṁ*, and that in consequence the term *saṁvat* has been supposed to denote exclusively a year of this particular era, and that the era itself has been described as the '**Saṁvat-era.**' But in reality *saṁvat* and *saṁ* may be used of the years of any era, and only in quite modern times are those terms by the Hindus themselves employed to distinguish Vikrama from Śaka years.[5]

Irrespectively of this modern usage, the years of only 63 dates of my chronological list are qualified by certain words or phrases which were intended to specify the era used; and it is in consequence of the employment of such words or phrases that the era is spoken of as either **the Mâlava or the Vikrama era.** The number of dates which have given rise to the former designation is only five; 58 dates of my list are expressly referred to the Vikrama era.

The Mâlava Era.

The five dates (Nos. 3, 4, 7, 14, and 115), the years of which are qualified by phrases containing the word *Mâlava*, occur all in inscriptions which are in verse, and are from places close to, or included in, Mâlava. The expressions actually used by the poets are three: in the Mandasôr inscriptions of V. 493-529 and V. 589, *Mâlavânâṁ gaṇasthityâ* and *Mâlava-gaṇa sthiti-vaśât*, years 'according to the reckoning of the Mâlavas'; in the Kaṇaswa inscription of V. 795 and the Mêṇâlgaḍh inscription of V. 1226, *Mâlav-êśânâṁ saṁvatsara-* and *Mâlavêśa-gata-vatsara-*, 'years of the Mâlava lords' or 'years elapsed of the Mâlava (lord or) lords'; and in the Gyârispur inscription of V. 936, *Mâlava-kâlâch=chharadâṁ*, 'years (elapsed from (the commencement of) the Mâlava time (or era).' As regards these phrases, the poet who recorded the late date of V. 1226 probably took the expression which he employed from some earlier poem; and altogether the phrases need not necessarily be considered to contain an indication regarding the origin of the era; but they show that from about the 5th to the 9th century this era was by poets believed to be especially used by the princes and people of Mâlava, while another era or other eras were known to be current in other parts of India. At the same time, considering that our earliest dates are actually from south-eastern Râjputânâ and the parts of Mâlava adjoining it, the employment of the word *Mâlava* in connection with the era may be taken to point out fairly accurately the locality in which the era was first employed. What special circumstances may have given rise to its establishment, I am unable to determine at present.

The Vikrama Era.

When we examine the dates of my list to about V. 1400, the first thing to strike us is that while among the first fifty dates (down to V. 1100) we find only three which the writers expressly refer to the Vikrama era, there are seven such dates among the dates 51-100 (from V. 1100 to V. 1215), fourteen among the dates 101-150 (from V. 1215 to V. 1269), and seventeen among the dates 151-207 (from V. 1269 to V. 1384). For these figures would seem to indicate that the

[5] See Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's *Report* for 1883-84, pp. 158-160.

connection of Vikrama with the era grew up gradually, or was an innovation which took centuries to become generally adopted. And here it may be stated at once that the earliest date (of the year V. 898) which contains the word *vikrama* at all, describes the era somewhat vaguely as 'the time called *vikrama*,' and that only about 150 years later, in a poem composed in V. 1050, we hear for the first time of a prince or king Vikrama, in connection with the era.

The next point to arrest our attention is that, with one slight exception which would rather prove the rule, down to V. 1400 the only princes who used expressions containing the word *vikrama* in the dates of their documents, were **the Chaulukya and Vâghêla rulers of Aṇhilvâḍ**, and that the phraseology employed in the inscriptions of these princes clearly shows a gradual advance from the simple 'year' to 'the year (of the era) established by the illustrious Vikramâditya.' The earliest Chaulukya copper-plate (date No. 38), a grant of the king Mûlaraja, is dated *saṁvat*, 'in the year,' 1043. In the copper-plates of Mûlarâja's successors, and in other inscriptions and MSS. the dates of which are referred to the reign of one or other of them, we find in the place of the simple *saṁvat* the following phrases:—

vikrama-saṁvat, in a copper-plate of Bhîmadêva I. of the year 1086, and in a copper-plate of Karṇadêva of the year 1148 (dates No. 47 and 57);

Srî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁvat, in a stone inscription of Jayasiṁhadêva of the year 1196 (No. 86);

Srîmad-Vikrama-saṁvat, in a stone inscription of the reign of Kumârapâladêva of the year 1202 (No. 90);

Nṛipa-Vikrama-kâlâd=arvâk, in a copper-plate of the reign of Ajayapâladêva of the year 1231 (No. 119);

Srî-Vikrama-nṛipatêḥ saṁvat and *śrî-Vikrama-narêndra-saṁvat*, in MSS. of the reign of Bhîmadêva II. of the years 1251 and 1261 (Nos. 136 and 144);

Srîmad-Vikramâdity-ôtpâdita-saṁvatsara- in copper-plates of Bhîmadêva II. of the years 1256, 1263, 1283, 1287, 1288, 1295, 1296, and in a copper-plate of Tribhuvanapâladêva of the year 1299 (Nos. 141, 145, 156, 159, 161, 165, 166, and 171);

Srîmad-Vikrama-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara- and *śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat*, in a copper-plate of Bhîmadêva II. of the year 1266 (No. 148);

Srîmad-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsarê, in a copper-plate of the Vâghêla Vîsaladêva of the year 1317 (No. 179);

Srî-nṛipa-Vikrama-saṁ, in stone inscriptions of the reigns of Arjunadêva and Sâraṅgadêva of the years 1320 and 1343 (Nos. 182 and 195).

Besides, *śrî-Vikrama-saṁvat* also occurs in two inscriptions of the years 1288 and 1288 or 89 (Nos. 160 and 162) at Girnâr in Kâṭhiâvâḍ which belonged to Aṇhilvâḍ; and we find *śrî-Vikrama-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-* exceptionally in three copper-plates, of the years 1191, 1235, and 1256 (Nos. 82, 126, and 140), of the later Paramâras of Mâlava who, in employing a phrase of this kind, may well be supposed to have imitated their neighbours, the kings of Aṇhilvâd, who more than once had conquered portions of Mâlava.

Now, what I would lay particular stress on in regard to the above expressions, is the gradual change which may be observed in the phraseology of the dates from the time of Mûlarâja to that of Bhîmadêva II. In the copper-plate of Mûlarâja the year of the date is simply called *saṁvat*, 'the year.' In the grants of Bhîmadêva I. and Karṇadêva the year becomes 'the *vikrama*-year.' This expression, under Jayasiṁhadêva, Kumârapâladêva and Ajayapâladêva, is changed to 'the year of the illustrious Vikrama,' or 'the year of the illustrious prince Vikrama,' or 'the year reckoned from the time of the prince Vikrama.' And finally, under Bhîmadêva II., about A. D. 1200, we have 'the year (of the era) established by the illustrious Vikramâditya.' In fact, that phrase which, supposing the era to have been established by or

invented in memory of a king Vikramâditya, we should have expected to find in the very earliest dates, we actually meet with only in some of the latest dates.

In addition to the dates enumerated we have, down to V. 1400, altogether seventeen dates which are expressly referred to the Vikrama era; and these seventeen dates again have this in common, that (exactly like the dates which are referred to the Mâlava era), all occur in inscriptions or literary works which are in **verse**. And in fourteen out of these seventeen dates the date itself is in verse and forms part of the poem, while in three instances it is in prose and has been added at the end of a poem. The exact terms in which the poets refer to the era in these dates, are as follows :—

No. 10 (V. 898), from a Châhumâna inscription at Dhôlpur: *gatasya kâlasya vikram-âkhyasya*, 898 years 'of the time called *vikrama*, gone by';[6]

No. 40 (V. 1050), from Amitagati's *Subhâshita-ratna-saṁdôha*: *samârûḍhê pûta-tridaśa-vasatiṁ Vikrama-nṛipê*, 'after king Vikrama had ascended to the pure dwelling of the immortals;'

No. 54 (V. 1139), from a *praśasti* by Guruchandragaṇi: *Vikkamâu kâlammi* 'in the time from Vikrama';

No. 58 (V. 1149), from an inscription at Gwâlior: *gatêshv=abdêshu Vikramât*, 'years gone by from Vikrama';

No. 114 (V. 1226), from a Châhumâna inscription at Bijhôlî: *kâlê Vikramabhâsvataḥ*, 'in the time of Vikramâditya';

No. 121 (V. 1232), from the *Narapati-jayacharyâ*: *Vikramârka-gatê kâlê*, 'in the time gone by from Vikramârka';

No. 130 (V. 1240), from an inscription at Mahôba: *Sâhasâṅkasya vatsarê*, 'in the year of Sâhasâṅka (*i. e.* Vikramâditya)';

Nos. 137 (V. 1252) and 180 (V. 1317), from Chandêlla inscriptions at Baṭêśvar and Ajaygaḍh: *Vikrama-vatsarê*, 'in the Vikrama year';

No. 143 (V. 1260), from a *praśasti* by Malayaprabhasûri: *śrî-Vikramatô gatêshu*, years 'gone by since the illustrious Vikrama';

Nos. 201 and 202 (V. 1365), from Jinaprabha's *Bhayaharastava-vṛitti* and *Ajitaśântistava-vṛitti*: *saṁvad=Vikrama-bhûpatêḥ*, 'in the year of the king Vikrama';

Nos. 206 and 207 (V. 1384), from Delhi Museum inscriptions: *abdê Vikramârkataḥ* and *Vikram-âbdê*, 'in the year from Vikramârka,' or 'of Vikrama.'

The above are all from verses; the following are from dates in prose, added at the end of poems: —

No. 63 (V. 1161), from an inscription at Gwâlior: *śrî-Vikramârka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-*;

No. 105 (V. 1220), from the Delhi Siwâlik pillar inscription: *saṁvat śrî-Vikramâdityê*; and

No. 192 (V. 1337), from the 'Pâlam Bâoli' inscription: *saṁvatsarê=smin=Vaikramâdityê-*.

Now, considering that eleven of these seventeen dates are from inscriptions in Râjputânâ and districts north of Râjputânâ, and in Gwâlior and Bundelkhand, the result of our examination may be stated thus: —

The earliest known instance of the word *vikrama* occurring in a date we find in an inscription in verse, by which the year 898 is referred to 'the time called *vikrama*;' a prince or a king Vikrama is for the first time spoken of in connection with the era in a poem composed in V. 1050; and over the largest part of the territories in which the era was used

[6] In verse 276 of Dhanapâla's *Pâiyalachchhî* the year 1029 also is referred to the *vikrama-kâla*. This date I had overlooked when compiling my chronological list.

it was, down to V. 1400, styled the Vikrama era by poets only. In official documents the description of the era as Vikrama era is practically confined to the kingdom of Aṇhilvâḍ, and the inscriptions of the rulers of that kingdom show how the original expression *saṁvat*, 'the year,' (in V. 1086) first became the *vikrama-saṁvat*, and was afterwards further amplified until about A. D. 1200, it had become 'the year (of the era) established by the illustrious Vikramâditya.' In the language of both poetry and prose, what we may call the technical expressions 'Vikrama era' and 'year of the king Vikrama' were preceded by the simpler or vaguer terms '*vikrama*-time' and '*vikrama*-year;' and my chronological list shows that, the later the dates, the more frequently were their years expressly referred to the Vikrama era.

This state of the case, in my opinion, certainly tends to show that the era was neither established by, nor designedly invented in memory of, a king Vikramâditya. Had it been founded by a king Vikramâditya in 58 B. C., or had there existed any tradition to that effect, it would indeed be more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years afterwards. And had it been invented in memory of some great king, the name of that king would surely have been prominently mentioned in the earliest dates, and would not have been brought to our notice gradually and, as it were, hesitatingly, when the era had already been in use for at least five hundred years. Besides, it must be borne in mind (though on this I would lay little stress) that, independently of the fact that this era commences in 58 B. C., nothing has yet been brought forward to prove the existence of a king Vikramâditya in the century preceding the birth of Christ. And as regards the late Mr. Fergusson's theory, according to which the Brâhmans, during the tenth or eleventh century A. D., in memory of a king Vikramâditya, invented this era which they made to commence in A. D. 544, but for convenience of reckoning antedated 600 years, that theory, highly artificial as it was in itself, can no longer be upheld, because we now possess at least two (contemporaneous) dates which are anterior to A. D. 544.[7]

The reason why the era in later times was joined with the name of a king Vikrama, has therefore still to be sought; and, as suggested by the dates, the question in the first instance would appear to be, how and in which sense the word *vikrama* originally came to be connected with the years of the era.

We have seen above that the greater number of early dates which admit of verification belong to southern (*Kârttikâdi*) years, and have arrived at the conclusion that this reckoning by *Kârttikâdi* years was a distinguishing feature of the Vikrama era. While the Śaka year began with the month Chaitra (March-April), the Vikrama year originally commenced with the month Kârttika (October-November);[8] the former began in spring, **the Vikrama year began in autumn.**

Now autumn (*śarad*) in India was the season when kings went out to war; **autumn was pre-eminently the Vikrama-kâla.** This the poets knew as well as the authors of the *Nîti-* and *Dharma-śâstras*, and are never tired of impressing on us.[9] In the *Râmâyaṇa* Râma says to Sugrîva:[10] —

This is the month of Śrâvaṇ, first
Of those that see the rain-clouds burst.

[7] See Professor Max Müller's *India, what can it teach us?*, p. 284 : — "The whole theory would collapse if one single coin or stone could be produced dated (contemporaneously) A. D. 543."

[8] See Mr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 66, note 2 : — "It can hardly be doubted that the original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright fortnight of Kârttika." I cannot quite concur in the remark of Mr. Fleet that the counting of the era by autumns is worth noting "as being one of the points which identify the Mâlava era with the Vikrama era;" for the word *śarad* also occurs in dates of other eras, and its employment is due to the fact that the writers of the dates were poets.

[9] Professor Geldner draws my attention to the fact that already in the *Ṛigvêda* Indra destroys the strongholds of the demons in autumn. Compare *Ṛigvêda*, i, 131, 4; 174, 2; ii, 12, 11; vi, 20, 10. — According to Varâhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ*, xliv, 1 and 2, the lustration of horses, elephants, and troops (preparatory to going out to war), is to take place on the eighth, twelfth, or fifteenth of the bright half of Kârttika o. Âśvayuja.

[10] See the *Kishkindhâkâṇḍa*, xxvi, 14-17, and xxx, 60-61. I quote above from Mr Griffith's Translation.

Four months, thou knowest well, extends
The season when the rain descends.
No time for deeds of war is this :
Seek thou thy fair metropolis,
And I with Lakshmaṇ, O my friend,
The time upon this hill will spend.

. . . .

When Kârttik's month shall clear the skies,
Then tempt the mighty enterprise.

And later on he thus laments over the inactivity of his ally :—

Lord Indra thousand-eyed has sent
The sweet rain from the firmament,
Sees the rich promise of the grain,
And turns him to his rest again.
The clouds with voices loud and deep,
Veiling each tree upon the steep,
Upon the thirsty earth have shed
Their precious burden, and are fled.
Now in kings' hearts ambition glows :
They rush to battle with their foes ;
But in Sugrîva's sloth I see
No care for deeds of chivalry.[11]

In the *Raghuvaṁśa* Raghu undertakes his *digvijaya* in autumn. Autumn, decorated with lotus-flowers, approaches him like a second Râjalakshmî, and invites him to set out before Raghu himself is resolved ; in autumn the bulls even seek to equal him in *vikrama*.[12] Similarly Bhâravi speaks of autumn at the marching out of Arjuna.[13] In the *Râvaṇavahô* and in the *Bhaṭṭikâvya* Râma sets out in autumn to slay Râvaṇa and regain Sîtâ.[14] In the *Gaüḍavahô* Yaśôvarma starts at the end of the rainy season, in autumn, to subject the whole earth to his sway.[15] In the *Harshacharita*, Bâṇa speaks of the grey beard of an aged warrior as the beginning of autumn (*śarad-ârambha*), white with flowering grasses, ejected again from the mouth after it had been drunk at war-time (*vikrama-kâlê*).[16] In the third act of the *Mudrârâkshasa* the poet devotes several stanzas to the description of autumn, solely to intimate to the audience

---

[11] The original text, in the Bombay edition, is :—

Anyônya-baddha-vairâṇâṁ jigîshûṇâṁ nṛipâtmaja ।
udyôga-samayaḥ saumya pârthivânâm upasthitaḥ ॥
Iyaṁ sâ prathamâ yâtrâ pârthivânâṁ nṛipâtmaja ।
na cha paśyâmi Sugrîvam udyôgaṁ cha tathâvidham ॥

[12] See *Raghuvaṁśa*, iv, 14, 22, and 24.

[13] See *Kirâtârjunîya*, iv.

[14] See *Râvaṇavahô*, ed. by S. Goldschmidt, i, 14 and 16 :—

"With difficulty passed for Dâśarathi the rainy season, — the evening twilight for the sun of his energy, the strong fetter for the elephant of his anger, the cage of the lion of victory.

"Then there came,— for the monkey chief the path of glory, the prime support of the life of Râghava, for Sîtâ the stoppage of her tears, for the Ten-headed the day of death,— there came the autumn."

And compare also i, 34, where the commentary has the note : *śarat-samayê bhaṭânâṁ yuddha udyôgô bhavati.*— See also *Bhaṭṭikâvya*, vii, 14; and compare particularly ii, 1, with the remarks of the commentators.

[15] See *Gaüḍavahô*, verse 192.

[16] The passage of the *Harshacharita*, referred to in the above, occurs in the 6th *uchchhvâsa* (on p. 156 of the Calcutta edition), and has been already cited by Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit in the Introduction of his edition of the *Gaüḍavahô*, p. 102, but explained altogether differently, probably because Mr. Paṇḍit's text was corrupt and yields no sense at all. My own reading of the text is : *vamann iva vikrama-kâla-pîtam akâlê-pi vikâsi-kâśa-kânana-viśadaṁ śarad-ârambham.* In my opinion Bâṇa would never have used the expression *vikrama-kâla* in the way he does, if it had been already in his time a technical term denoting an era.

that, as Châṇakya puts it, the time is one for warlike exertion, not for festivities.[17] In the prologue of a play which treats of war, it is the season of autumn that must be sung about.[18]

From autumn, the true *vikrama-kâla*, it is but a short step to the year being called *vikrama-kâla*, and in my opinion the Hindus did take this step, and **the vikrama-kâla of the dates originally is nothing else than the poets' 'war-time,' from autumn transferred to the year.** Since poets were accustomed to speak of *śarad* as *vikrama-kâla*, it was but natural that this expression should have become connected also with *śarad* in the sense of 'year,' especially as *śarad* has always been with poets a most common word for year; and to describe the year as *vikrama-kâla* must have seemed the more appropriate as suggesting that which was the characteristic feature of the year which people were using, namely the fact that that year commenced in autumn, the season of war. Thus the usage of the poets would first have led to the employment, in connection with the years of the era, of the terms *vikrama-kâla* and *vikrama-saṁvatsara* or *vikrama-saṁvat*, the very terms which we meet with in the earliest dates that contain the word *vikrama*.

Afterwards, when the origin and the true meaning of the terms *vikrama-kâla* and *vikrama*-year had been forgotten, people would seek to interpret those terms after the manner of their time, and, Vikrama being a well-known name of famous kings, they would naturally connect the era with a king of that name who would be supposed, either, like their own kings, to have counted the years from his accession, or to have otherwise given occasion for the establishment of the era. The manner in which the change actually took place, is clearly indicated by the dates which we have examined. The *vikrama*-time and the *vikrama*-year became 'the time of *the illustrious* Vikrama' and 'the year of *the illustrious* Vikrama.'

The name thus created for the era could not of course at once have been used everywhere, but would only have been adopted gradually; and accordingly, when we see it occur rarely in the earlier and more and more frequently in the later dates, this is exactly what, in conformity with my views, might have been expected. And curiously enough we find that even down to V. 1400, in general only poets described the era by the new name, just as the usage of poets had first suggested its invention, and just as it is the poets who, at an earlier stage, had described the same era as the Mâlava era, — a name whose direct connection with the later name appears to be only this, that both are essentially poetical names of the era with which we are dealing.

Others have intimated that the Vikrama era was invented by the Brâhmans to get rid of the Saka era, supposed to have been obnoxious as being the era of the Buddhists. I have not been able to discover anything which would support such a theory. What an examination of the dates teaches, would rather appear to be this, that the (*Kârttikâdi*) Vikrama year was peculiarly the year of the warriors or Râjaputras, while the Brâhmans who were responsible for the making of the calendars would naturally have been reckoning by *Chaitrâdi* ('Saka) years, as we must do now when calculating or verifying a Hindu date. And it is at any rate a fact that the Vikrama era has been adopted, more than by others, by the non-Brâhmanical Jainas, just as the official description of it as Vikrama era, in early times, is especially peculiar to the kingdom of Aṇhilvâḍ, the stronghold of the Jaina religion.

Some matters of detail regarding the calculated dates.

Irregular dates: — Returning now to the list of calculated dates, I would first obviate a misunderstanding for which my own classification of the dates might possibly, to some extent, be held responsible. I have sometimes heard it stated that the Hindus in recording their dates have never been very accurate, and anybody holding such views would probably, in support of them,

[17] See Mr. Telang's Edition, p. 116, line 3 of the commentary: *anêna śaradguṇa-kathanêna svasya jaitra-yâtrâ-saṁnâha-samaya iti dhvanitam | vakshyati cha Châṇakyaḥ | sô-yaṁ vyâyâma-kâlô n=ôtsava-kâla iti ||* Compare p. 138, l. 3.

[18] Professor S. Lévi's *Théatre Indien*, Appendix, p. 27.—Allusions to the fact that autumn (*śarad*) is the season of war are also met with in inscriptions: see *e. g.* M. Barth's *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p. 13, 6, and p. 16, 4.

point to my lists in which, out of 200 dates, no less than 45 (Nos. 151-195) have been put down as irregular. But a more careful examination will show that the case is not as bad as it appears, at first sight. For of what I have called irregular dates, two (Nos. 158 and 159) are really regular,[19] and seven others (Nos. 151-157) are shown to be regular, when calculated by the proper *Siddhânta* which the writer of the date must be supposed to have followed; and in the case of eight other dates (Nos. 160-167) the irregularity is simply owing to the facts that the dates either are partly illegible or that they were misread by those who first deciphered them. Thus the number of irregular dates would already be reduced from 45 to 28. And out of these again eight (Nos. 168-175) are termed irregular solely because the *tithi* apparently is joined in them, not with the day on which it ended, but with the day on which it commenced. Now we know that a *tithi* often *must* be joined with the day on which it commences, and in the case of some of these so-called irregular dates we can already now point out the exact rule by which it has actually been so treated. The whole subject of what may be called current *tithis* is indeed so intricate and offers to the Hindus themselves so great difficulties that it cannot be treated here incidentally and for the Vikrama dates alone; but what I have seen of it would certainly for the present make me suspend my judgment in cases where the civil day would seem to have been joined with the *tithi* commencing on it, and I would therefore not venture to say that any of the dates 168-175 are really incorrect.

Accordingly there remain altogether 20 dates (Nos. 176-195) which there seem to be good reasons for considering as wholly or partly faulty. Out of this number no less than fifteen dates occur in copper-plate inscriptions, two (Nos. 177 and 189) are dates of stone inscriptions, two (Nos. 182 and 195) are in verses recording the times when certain literary works were composed, and one (No. 186) is a date of a MS. Here the comparatively large number of apparently incorrect dates met with in copper-plate grants — 15 out of 45 dates of copper-plate inscriptions which my list contains — must strike us as very remarkable and, considering the general correctness of other dates, one cannot help suspecting that some at least of the documents which contain those incorrect dates must be forgeries.

Years of other eras, quoted along with the Vikrama years:—In addition to the Vikrama year, ten of the calculated dates (Nos. 20, 22, 23, 25, 30, 43, 45, 48, 119, and 200) also quote the corresponding **Saka** year, once (in No. 20) incorrectly. I have already mentioned that the earliest and only ancient date of this description occurs in the Dêôgaḍh stone inscription of Bhôjadêva of Kanauj of V. 919 (No. 30), and that after that time the 'Saka year is not quoted again along with the Vikrama year till V. 1439 (No. 43). One of the ten dates (No. 119 of V. 1717) quotes, besides the 'Saka year, also the corresponding **Saptarshi** year, here described as the Sâstra year; and the same Saptarshi year is quoted also with the Vikrama year only, in the date No. 94. Two dates, of V. 1202 and 1266 (No. 108 and No. 9) quote the **Siṁha** year; and the well-known Verâval date of V. 1320 (No. 129) quotes not only the Siṁha, but also the **Muhammadan** (Hijra) and **Valabhî** years. Besides, the date No. 261 of the chronological list, of V. 1652, quotes the **Allâi** (or Ilâhi) year to which the day of the date belonged. — As regards the Vikrama year itself, it may be mentioned here that the four dates Nos. 23, 47, 101, and 167 of the list of calculated dates are expressly referred to the **Âshâḍhâdi** Vikrama year, of which I have treated separately *ante*, Vol. XVIII. p. 251.[20]

Jupiter years quoted along with the Vikrama years: — Jupiter years are quoted in only sixteen dates of my list, and it is a remarkable fact and one which well accords with the original practical character of the Vikrama era, that none of these dates is earlier than V. 1232 (No. 163). With the exception of one quite modern date from the Kanarese country (No. 200 of V. 1841), the systems followed are the so-called northern systems. In three dates, of V.

[19] On the dates Nos. 158 and 159 see my remarks on 'repeated *tithis*,' below.

[20] The Âshâḍhâdi Vikrama year 1574 is quoted in the date of a MS., described by Professor A. A. Macdonell in the preface of his edition of Kâtyâyana's *Sarvânukramaṇî*, p. xiii.

1464. 1531, and 1555 (Nos. 149, 22, and 48) the Jovian year was actually current on the day of the date, but had not begun at the commencement of the solar year (**mean-sign system**). In six dates, of V. 1275, 1386, 1445, 1458, 1707, and 1785 (Nos. 11, 166, 44, 20, 25, and 55) the Jovian year was no longer current on the day of the date, but was current at the commencement of the solar year (**northern luni-solar system**). And in six other dates, of V. 1232, 1353, 1500, 1650, 1686 and 1877 (Nos. 163, 42, 73, 51, 53, and 175) the Jovian year was current both on the day of the date and also at the commencement of the solar year (**either mean-sign system or northern luni-solar system**). — Regarding the wording of the dates attention may be drawn to the phrase *Bhâvê saṁvatsarê pûrṇê* in the date No. 166, by which the year Bhâva is distinctly described as, what it really was, an expired year. And in general it may be observed that in no less than five out of the above sixteen dates (Nos. 20, 22, 25, 48, and 200) the 'Saka year is quoted along with the Vikrama year.

Intercalary months: — Turning now from the years to the months, we find that intercalary months are distinctly quoted as such in ten dates. With a single exception, all these dates are dates of MSS. In five of them, of V. 1534, 1630, 1724, southern V. 1746 and northern V. 1747 (Nos. 75, 50, 78, 79, and 158), the name of the month is qualified by the word *prathama-*; in three, of V. 1218, 1298, and 1489 (Nos. 34, 137, and 157), by the word *dvitîya-* or the abbreviated term *dvi°*; and in only one quite modern date (No. 175 of northern V. 1877) by *adhika-*, which in this instance has reference to the first of the two bright fortnights of the intercalary month. The exception mentioned is the date of a stone inscription of V. 1100 (No. 134) in which the month is poetically described as *mâyâ-Bhâdrapada*, 'the false Bhâdrapada,' an expression which my calculation of the date shows to denote the first of the two *amânta* months Bhâdrapada. — It may be added that one of the ten dates (No. 157 of V. 1489) furnishes an instance for the well-known fact that calculations by several *Siddhântas* do not always yield the same intercalary month.

Under the date No. 79 I have shown that the writer has called the same month, which in one place he describes as *prathama-Vaiśâkha*, in another place simply *Vaiśâkha*, though referring both times to the same lunar fortnight. And my list contains several other dates the months of which were intercalary, though this is not indicated by the wording of the dates. Thus Chaitra was intercalary in the date No. 36 of V. 1232, and Vaiśâkha in No. 62 of V. 1220, and the bright half of the first date was the second bright half (of the proper Chaitra), and the bright half of the second date the first bright half (of the intercalated Vaiśâkha). Similarly Jyêshṭha was intercalary in the date No. 121 of V. 1877, and Âshâḍha in No. 129 of V. 1320, and the dark halves of both months were the first dark halves (of the *pûrṇimânta* proper Jyêshṭha and Âshâḍha). Of the two dates No. 110 of V. 960 and No. 145 of V. 1315 it is impossible to speak with confidence; and the date No. 166 of V. 1386 is altogether so peculiarly worded that the absence of any reference to the fact that the month of it was intercalary possesses little significance.

Laukika months: — In seven dates of copper-plate inscriptions of the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilvâḍ, the earliest of which is of the year V. 1256 and the latest of V. 1317, the word *laukika-* and the abbreviated terms *lauki°* and *lau°* are prefixed to the names of the months. Thus, in the dates Nos. 9, 13, 39, and 109, of V. 1266, 1283, 1263, and 1256, where the date is first given in words and afterwards repeated in figures, we find *laukika° Mârgga-* and *lauki° Mârgga-*, *laukika-Kârttika-* and *lauki° Kârttika-*, *lau° 'Srâvaṇa-* and *'Srâvaṇa-*, *Bhâdrapada-* and *lau° Bhâdrapada-*. Besides we have in No. 138 of V. 1317 *laukika-Jyêshṭha-*, in No. 164 of V. 1264 *lau° Âshâḍha-*, and in No. 194 of V. 1299 *lau° Phâguṇa*. Here the circumstance that the simple *'Srâvaṇa* is in the same date employed in the place of *lau° 'Srâvaṇa* and *lau° Bhâdrapada* in the place of the simple *Bhâdrapada*, as well as the manner in which the dates work out, would almost suffice to prove that the *laukika* months are nothing else than the ordinary lunar months. But the matter is placed beyond all doubt by certain passages in Jaina literary

works[21] which tell us that the Jainas had two kinds of names for the months, the *laukika* or ordinary names, 'Srâvaṇa, Bhâdrapada, etc., and the *lôkôttara* names abhinandita (or abhinanda), pratishṭhita (or supratishṭha), vijaya, prîtivardhana, śrêyaḥ, śiva, śiśira, himavat, vasantamâsa, kusumasaṁbhava, nidâgha, and vanavirôha (or vanavirodhin). *Laukika-'Srâvaṇa* would thus mean 'the month which is ordinarily called 'Srâvaṇa (but whose *lôkôttara* name is *abhinandita*),' and this Jaina usage has been followed in the above dates; and it is plain now why the word *laukika*, which some scholars have erroneously taken as qualifying the year, occurs in this manner just in inscriptions from Aṇhilvâḍ. — In the place of *laukika* and in the same sense the word *sâdhâraṇa* appears to be used in the date No. 186 of V. 1512, which is from a MS. of which I do not know where it was written.

Nakshatras, Karaṇas, and Yôgas: — If we now turn to the days of the dates, it must strike us that, compared with the dates of the 'Saka era, the Vikrama dates, especially in more early times, rarely furnish any *data* besides the *tithi* and weekday. Thus, down to V. 1250, out of seventy dates of my list of calculated dates only one (No. 57 of V. 898) gives the *nakshatra* and *yôga*, and four (Nos. 190, 30, 58, and 31, of V. 794, 919, 962, and 1042), two of which are from literary works and the earliest of which is from a forged copper-plate, give the *nakshatra*. And altogether, of the 200 calculated dates, three (Nos. 11, 22, and 23) give the *nakshatra*, *karaṇa*, and *yôga*, five (Nos. 8, 57, 71, 122, and 136) the *nakshatra* and *yôga*; 20 the *nakshatra* only, and one (No. 39) gives the *yôga* (Vyatîpâta) only. Of these 29 dates ten are from stone inscriptions, ten from literary works, six are dates of MSS., and three of copper-plates. All the items thus furnished are correct, except those given in the dates Nos. 190 and 195.

Lunar and solar eclipses: — Five dates from copper-plate inscriptions mention lunar eclipses, and five, also from copper-plates, solar eclipses. **The lunar eclipses all work out satisfactorily.** Two of them (in Nos. 5 and 40, of V. 1055 and 1272) were total eclipses, visible in India, and two (in Nos. 4 and 161, of V. 1036 and 1220) partial eclipses, also visible in India. Of the eclipse mentioned in No. 80 of V. 1200 it is impossible to speak quite positively, because it so happens that there were lunar eclipses on each of the three possible European equivalents of the Hindu date, but as only one of these eclipses was visible in India, it is highly probable that this is the eclipse referred to by the inscription. — Of the five **solar eclipses** only two work out satisfactorily. One of these (in No. 83 of V. 1043) was a total eclipse, which was not visible in India, and the other (in No. 114 of V. 1270) a total eclipse, visible in India. The three other solar eclipses are mentioned in the dates Nos. 190, 192, and 194; of V. 794, 1166, and 1299, which do not work out properly. — What deserves to be drawn special attention to here, is, that one of the solar eclipses, as already remarked, **was not visible in India.**

Saṁkrântis:—The date No. 133 of V. 994 quotes an unspecified *saṁkrânti* (really the Vrisha-saṁkrânti) which took place during the *tithi* of the date, 3 h. 30 m. after mean sunset: and another unspecified *saṁkrânti* is quoted, wrongly, as it appears, in the date No. 193 of V. 1187.—Two dates, No. 74 of V. 1516 and No. 119 of V. 1717, mention the **Mêsha-saṁkrânti**, which in both cases took place during the *tithi* of the date, in the one date 5 h. 1 m. before mean sunrise, and in the other 1 h. 1 m. after mean sunset.— A **Dakshiṇâyana-saṁkrânti** which also took place during the *tithi* of the date, 4 h. 32 m. after mean sunset. is quoted in connection with the date No. 112 of V. 1084.—Besides, the **Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti** is mentioned in five dates. In two of them, No. 12 of V. 1280 and No. 174 of V. 1234, the *saṁkrânti* took place during the *tithi* of the date, in day-time, but the dates differ from each other in this that in the second date the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced. In the date No. 169 of V. 1078 (assuming the reading of it to be correct) the *saṁkrânti* took place 3 h. 29 m. before the commencement of the day on which the *tithi* commenced 3 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise; and in No. 176 of V. 1161 it took place 7 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise, between

[21] Compare e.g *Indische Studien*, Vol. X. p. 298, and Professor Weber' *Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 592.

three to four hours after the end of the *tithi* of the date. Finally, in No. 191 of V. 1154 the Uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti is wrongly quoted, because it cannot possibly take place on the third of the bright half of the month Mâgha, the day given by the date.—The general result is, that in six out of eight cases in which a *saṁkrânti* may be supposed to have been correctly quoted, it took place during the actual *tithi* of the date; and taking this to be the rule, I have little doubt that the same was the case in the date No. 169, and that the reading of that date should be altered in the way already suggested by me under the date.[22]

Other holy or festive times :— Occasions, other than eclipses and *saṁkrântis*, on which donations were made, are mentioned in connection with the dates in the following terms :— *manvâdau*, in connection with Chaitra-śudi 15, in the date No. 172 of V. 1185 ; *akshayatṛitîyâ-parvaṇi* and *akshayatṛitîyâ-yugâdi-parvaṇi*, with Vaiśâkha-śudi 3, in No. 63 of V. 1222 and No. 173 of V. 1229 ; *mahâ-Vaiśâkhyâṁ parvaṇi*, with Vaiśâkha-śudi 15, in No. 71 of V. 1256 ; *mahâchaturdaśî-parvaṇi*, with Śrâvaṇa-śudi 14, in No. 35 of V. 1218 ; *Kârttikôdyâpana-parvaṇi*, with Kârttika-sudi 11, in No. 180 of V. 1231 ; *amâvâsyâ-parvaṇi* in No. 109 of V. 1256 ; *vyatîpâta-parvaṇi* (denoting here the *yôga* Vyatîpâta) in No. 39 of V. 1263 ; *abhishêka-parvaṇi* in No. 10 of V. 1263 ; and *âtmîya-mâtuḥ sâṁvatsarikê* in No. 178 of V. 1107. Among these dates special attention may be drawn to Nos. 63, 172, and 173, which quote the **manvâdi, yugâdi,** and **akshaya-tṛitîyâ festivals.**

Repeated tithis:—An instance of a repeated *tithi* is distinctly furnished by the date No. 158 of V. 1747 in which the day is described as *dvitîya-chaturthî-dina* ; and I would here draw particular attention to that date because my previous remarks on it are not quite correct. When they were written, I had been misled to believe that a day on which no *tithi* ends receives the number of the *tithi* which ends on the preceding day, and I accordingly stated that in the date under discussion we should by Professor Jacobi's Tables have two days numbered 3, and only one fourth day. But as in reality, and most naturally, a day on which no *tithi* ends receives the number of the *tithi* which is current during the whole of that day and ends on the following day, the result obtained from Professor Jacobi's Tables quite accords with the wording of the date No. 158, and Wednesday, 19th March, A.D. 1690, was by those Tables really a *dvitîya-chaturthî-dina*. A proper understanding of the rule regarding *adhika tithis* also shows the date No. 159 of V. 1404 to be quite correct by the Tables. For since in that case the 14th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of Thursday, 18 October, and ended 0 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, 19 October, A. D. 1347, both the Thursday and the Friday must have been numbered 14 in the calendar, and the Thursday, which more fully might be described as *prathama-chaturdaśî-dina*, is properly denoted in the date by *sudi* 14.

Suggestions for Calculating Dates.

The above are about all the remarks of more general interest that are suggested to me by the lists of dates, and I would therefore for the present[23] conclude these notes with a few practical hints which may save trouble to others.

So far as my own experience goes, a *tithi* of the bright fortnight never ends on the same weekday more than once in three consecutive years, and accordingly, when, by calculating a *tithi* of the bright fortnight for one of the (two or three) possible years, the proper weekday has been found, such a result may generally be considered as satisfactory, and no further calculation need be made for the remaining possible year or years. In the case of a date of the bright fortnight of the months Kârttika to Phâlguna (*e. g.*, No. 3), the calculation should first be made for the expired Vikrama year, because mostly this will at once furnish the desired result. In dates of the bright fortnight of the months Chaitra to Âśvina (*e. g.*, No. 30 or 57), the calcula-

[22] Attention may be drawn here to the occurrence of the term *shaḍaśîtika*, denoting one of the solar months, in No. 166 of V. 1386.

[23] Some interesting dates collected since the publication of my lists will be published hereafter.

tion should first be made for either the northern or the southern expired year, and the northern current year should be tried only when neither of the two other years has yielded a satisfactory equivalent of the original date.

A *tithi* of the dark fortnight never ends on the same weekday more than once in three consecutive years *for the same scheme of a lunar month*, *i.e.*, either the *amânta* scheme, or the *pûrṇimânta* scheme. But not infrequently such a *tithi* in the *amânta* month of one year may end on the same weekday on which it ended in the *pûrṇimânta* month of the same name of the preceding year. Accordingly, in verifying a date of the dark fortnight of the months Kârttika to Phâlguna, one should begin by calculating for the *pûrṇimânta* month of the expired year. If thereby the desired weekday is found (as, *e. g.*, in No. 83), the result may be regarded as final, and no further calculations are necessary. On the other hand, if the *pûrṇimânta* month yields no satisfactory result, the *amânta* month of the expired year should be tried (as, *e. g.*, in No. 97); and here it should be remembered that, even when the proper weekday has thus been obtained, the result is not necessarily the only one possible, because the *pûrṇimânta* month of the current year may perhaps yield the same weekday (as, *e. g.*, in No. 103). The verification of dates in dark fortnights of the months Chaitra to Âśvina is more troublesome still, and it seems impossible to suggest any particular line of procedure beyond saying that the necessary calculations should here too always first be made for the expired (northern or southern) years. But in addition to what has been already stated concerning the weekdays of the *pûrṇimânta* month of one year and the *amânta* month of the same name of the following year, it may finally be mentioned here that sometimes the *amânta* month of the northern current year, too, yields the same weekday for the end of a *tithi* as the *pûrṇimânta* month of the same name of the southern expired year (as, *e. g.*, in No. 143).

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 196. — COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF NARENDRAMRIGARAJA-VIJAYADITYA II.

I edit this inscription from the original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, and are now, I understand, in the British Museum. I had them for examination in 1878. I have no information as to where they were obtained. The inscription has recently been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, in his *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 31 ff., No. 35; his version of the text, however, being given in Dêvanâgarî, I have now to give my own reading in Roman characters.

The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about 9″ by 3″. The edges of them were raised into rims; and the writing is mostly in a state of fairly good preservation: the surfaces of the plates are a good deal corroded, and in a few places they are quite eaten through by rust; but even there only a very few letters are entirely obliterated. — The **ring** on which the plates are strung is about $\frac{3}{8}$″ thick and $4\frac{1}{4}$″ in diameter; it has not been cut; but one end of it is loose in the socket, and advantage was evidently taken of this to detach the plates, in order to make the impressions which are in the Elliot collection; they were afterwards secured by a thickening of the ring at the same end. The **seal** on the ring is circular, about $2\frac{1}{4}$″ in diameter. In relief on a countersunk surface, it has, — across the centre, the legend *śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*; in the upper part, the sun and moon; and in the lower part, a floral device. — The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets; and are of the regular type of the period and part of the country to which the record belongs. The average **size of the letters** is about $\frac{3}{16}$″. Many of them are filled in with a hard incrustation of rust; but in the others there are discernible, as usual, marks of the working of the engraver's tool. They do not show through on the reverse sides of the plates. — The **language** is Sanskṛit; and, except in the quotation of four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses and in the use of a verse to give the name of the *Dûtaka*, the whole record is in prose. — In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are

(1) the use of *kri* and *krî* for *kṛi*, in *saṁkriti* and *saṁkrîti*, lines 21, 23; (2) the use of the Drâviḍian *ḷ* in the dynastic name, line 5, and in *karavâḷa*, line 7, *naḷa*, line 8, *lâḷita*, line 9, *dhavaḷa*, line 10, and *gaṇḍasthaḷa*, line 11; and (3) the doubling of *ś* after *r* in *darśśi*, line 15.

The inscription is one of the Eastern Chalukya king **Narêndramṛigarâja-Vijayâditya II.** It is non-sectarian; the object of it being only to record the grant, to twenty-four Brâhmaṇs, of **the village of Koṟṟapaṟṟu** in a *vishaya* the principal part of the name of which is illegible. The grant was made on **the occasion of an eclipse of the moon**; but the date is not specified by any further details. It may be noted how **the grantees are** grouped together, not by their birth-places or their *gôtras*, but by their *sûtras*.

With the exception of **Vijayavâḍa**, the birth-place or residence of the writer, **which must** be the modern **Bêzwâḍa** in the Kistna District, I cannot identify, with any certainty, **any of** the places that are mentioned in this record.

The *Dûtaka* of the grant was **the prince Nṛipa-Rudra**, who is described as a brother (*bhrâtṛi*) of Vijayâditya II., but as **a descendant of the Haihaya race.** He appears, therefore, to have been a half-brother, born from a different mother belonging by birth to **the lineage of the Kalachuris of Tripura.**

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 Svasti 'Srîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-**Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâriti-putrâṇâṁ**
2 **Kauśikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâṁ** mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâ-
3 d-ânudhyâtânâṁ **bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-**prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâhalâñchhan-êkshaṇa-
4 **kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâ[ṁ*]** aśvamêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapu-
5 shâṁ **Chaḷukyânâṁ** kulam=alaṁkarishṇôḥr[2]=anêka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-labdha-nija-bhuja-vija-
6 **ya-śrî**(śri)yaḥ niravady-ôdâra-guṇa-gaṇ-âlaṁkṛitasya śrî-**Vijayâditya**-mahârâjasya
7 pautraḥ sphurita-karavâḷa-dhârâ-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-bhûmaṇḍalasya sva-charita-nyak[k*]rita-

Second Plate; First Side.

8 Nṛiga-Naḷa-Nahush-Âṁbarîsha-Yayâtê[ḥ*] Vishṇôr=iva sva-chakra-nandakasya **Vishṇu-varddhana-mahâ-**
9 râjasya priya-tanayaḥ pratâ[p-â*]nurâg-âvanata-samasta-sâmanta-mauli-lâḷita-śâsanaḥ
10 kshatr-ôchita-śakti-traya-pâtrîbhûtaḥ anêka-saṁgrâma-vijay-âsâdita-vikrama-dhavaḷaḥ Ya-
11 ma[3]-daṇḍa-chaṇḍa-dôrddaṇḍa-maṇḍal-âgra-nakha-khaṇḍita-ripu-kari-gaṇḍasthaḷê(ḷô) **Narêndramṛiga-**
12 **râja**[4] arâti-shaḍvargga-nigraha-karaḥ samadhigata-râjâ(ja)vidyâ-chatushṭayaḥ chatur-upâya-pra-
13 yôga-chaturaḥ dushṭâ(shṭa)-nigraha-śishṭ-ânugraha-karaḥ Madhumathana iva sva-vikram-âkrânta-bhûchak[r]aḥ
14 Yudhishṭhira iva Bhîm-Âjâu(rjju)na-parâkrama-sahây[ô*] Daśaratha-suta iva Sîtâ-nandana-karaḥ Manur=i-

Second Plate; Second Side.

15 va san-mârgga-darśśî padmâkâ(ka)ra iva arî(ri)-timira-nikara-vidhvaṁsan-âditya[ḥ*] parama-brahmaṇya[ḥ*] parama-mâhê-
16 śvaraḥ samastabhû(bhu)vanâśraya-śrî-**Vijayâditya**-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭâ-rakaḥ [5] . . . . . .

---

[1] From the original plates.
[2] Read °*karishṇôr*.
[3] I take this word, which I had misread, from Dr. Hultzsch's text.
[4] Read °*râjaḥ*.
[5] Three, or possibly four, letters are quite illegible here.

17 **vâḍi**-vishaya-nivâsinô râshṭrakûṭṭa(ṭa)-pramukha-kû(ku)ṭumbinaḥ sarvvân=ittham= âjñâpayati [1*] Viditam=astu
18 vô=smâbhiḥ **Penpaṇḍuru**[6]-vâstavyâya Kauśika-gôtrâya Hiraṇyâ(ṇya)kêśi-sûtrâya vêda-
19 vêdâṁga-p[â*]ragâya Veṇamaśarmmaṇê **Valûcheri**[7]-vâstavyâya Kauśika-gôtrâ[ya] Hi-
20 raṇyakêśî(śi)-sûtrâya Chaṭiśarmmaṇê **Poḍeṁgu**[8]-vâstavyâya Gautama-gôtrâya Hiraṇya]-
21 kêśi-sûtrâya Vidaśarmmaṇê **Poḍ[e*]ṁgu**-vâstavyâya Saṁkrî(kṛi)ti-gôtrâya Hira-ṇyâ(ṇya)kêśi-sû-

Third Plate; First Side.

22 trâya Maviṇḍiśarmmaṇê **Poḍeṁgu**-vâstavy[â*]ya A(ha)rita-gôtrâya Hiraṇyâ(ṇya)kêśi)-sûtrâya **Yâ**-
23 jñaśarmmaṇê **Poḍeṁgu**-v[â*]stavyâya Saṁkri(kṛi)ti-gôtrâya Hiraṇyâ(nya)kêśi-sûtrâ-[ya] . . . . [śa]rmma-
24 ṇè **Krovâsiri**[9]-v[â*]stavyâya A(ha)rita-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Kanda(? kuṇḍa)-śarmma-
25 ṇe **Urpuṭûru**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya A(â)pasta[10]mba-sûtrâya
26 Vishṇuśarmmaṇê **Vaṁgipaṟṟu**-v[â*]stavyâya Kauṇḍinya-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâ-
27 ya Guñjadêvaśarmmaṇê **Vaṁgipaṟṟu**-v[â*]stavyâya 'Sâṇḍilyâ(lya)-gôtrâya A(â)pa-
28 stamba-sûtrâ[ya*] Bhadraśarmmaṇê **Vaṁgipaṟṟu**-v[â*]stavyâya Kauṇḍinya-gôtrâya A(â)pa-

Third Plate; Second Side.

29 stamba-sûtrâya Vishṇuśarmmaṇê **Vaṁgipaṟṟu**-v[â*]stavyâya Kauṇḍinyâ(nya)-gôtrâya A(â)-
30 pastamba-sûtrâya Nârâyaṇaśarmmaṇê **Chânturu**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâ-
31 ya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Drôṇaśarmmaṇê **Chânturu**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâ-
32 ja-gôtrâya Âpastamba[11]-sûtrâya Nârâyaṇaśarmmaṇê **Krovasiri**[12]-v[â*]stavyâ-
33 ya Harita-gôtrâya . Âpastamba-sûtrâya Mâdhavaśarmmaṇê **Krovasiri**[13]-v[â*]sta-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

34 vyâya Parasara[14]-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Vennamaśarmmaṇê **Krovasiri**-[15] v[â*]stavyâya Vatsa-gô-
35 trâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Arudiśarmmaṇê **Urpuṭûru**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya
36 A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Nandiśarmmaṇê **Kârañchedu**[16]-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya A(â)pa-
37 stamba-sûtrâya Vishṇuśarmmaṇê **Kârañchedu**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sutrâ-
38 ya Bhâramâśarmmaṇê **Kârañchedu**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba sûtrâya Yañja(jña)śa-

---

6 Dr. Hultzsch has read *ṇḍa* in the second syllable of this word; but the end stroke of the subscript consonant is continued upward so pointedly, that it can only be *p*. He has also taken the name of the village as Abhipendaṇḍuru.

7 Dr. Hultzsch has read the first syllable of this word as *na*; but, in my opinion, wrongly.

8 In the second syllable of this word, the *ḍ*, as distinguished from *d*, is marked clearly in lines 21, 22, and 23, though not here.

9 In lines 32, 33, and 34, this word appears with the short *a* in the second syllable. It is difficult to say which may be the correct form. The writer might be more likely to write *va* for *vâ* (and has in various instances used *a* instead of *â*), than *vâ* for *va*; but there are several cases in which he has written *â* by mistake for *a*.

10 This letter, *sta*, was omitted here, and was inserted between the *pa* and the *sta* of the same word in the next line.

11 Here, and in lines 33 and 51, this word occurs properly, with the long *â* in the first syllable.

12, 13 See note 9 above. 14 Read *parâśara*. 15 See note 9 above.

16 Here, and in lines 37 and 38, Dr. Hultzsch has read the third syllable of this word as *hai*; but, in my opinion, wrongly.

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

39 rmmaṇê **Chântu[ru*]**-v[â*]stavyâya Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Bâdadiśarmmaṇê **Krâjaṁ-**

40 v[â*]stavyâya Kauṇḍinya-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Veṇṇaśarmmaṇê **Râyûru-**v[â*]stavyâ-

41 ya Agnivaiśya-gôtrâya A(â)pastamba-sûtrâya Ṛompayaśarmmaṇê vêda-vêdâṁga-ratêbhyaḥ

42 shaṭ-karmma-niratêbhya[ḥ*] chatru-viṁśâti-brâhmâṇêbhyâ[17] **chandru(ndra)-grahaṇa-nimittê** udaka-pû-

43 rvva[ṁ*] **Koṟṟapaṟṟu**-nâma-grâmas=sarvvâ(rvva)-kara-parihâraṁ kṛitvâ dattaḥ [||*] Asy=âvadhi-vibhêdaḥ[18] [|*] pûrvvata[ḥ*] **A-**

44 **tûgupaṟṟu** dakshiṇataḥ **Vâna(?ma)paṟṟu** paśchimataḥ **Vâṇḍṟûpedayû** uttarataḥ **Gaṇi(? na)yyâra-**

45 **bu(?mbu)** [|*] êtêshâm=apy=ava(?)tta [||*][19] Asy=ôpari na kênachid=bâdhâ karaṇiyâ karôti yas=sa pa-

Fifth Plate.

46 ñcha-mahâpâtaka-[saṁ]yuktô bhavati [||*] Vyâsên=âpy=uktaṁ [|*] Bahubhir[20]=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânu-

47 pâlitâ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Sva-dâ(da)ttâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ [yô] harêta

48 vasundharâṁ shashṭi-varusha[21]-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ [||*] Kalpa-[kô]ṭ[i]-sahasrâṇi

49 svarggê [tishṭha]ti bhûmi-da[ḥ*] a(â)kshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Râmêṇ=âpy=u-

50 ktaṁ [|*] Sarvvân[22]=êvaṁ bhâvinaḥ pârtthivêndrân bhûyô-bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ sâmânyô=yaṁ dharmma-sê-

51 tur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê-kâlê pâlaniyô bhavadbhiḥ [||*] **Narêndramṛigarâjasya**[23] bhrât[â*] **Haihaya-vaṁśa**-jaḥ âjñapti-

52 r=asya dharmmasya **rnṛi(nṛi)pa-Rudr[ô*]** nṛip-ôttama[ḥ*] [||*] **Vijayavâḍa**-vâstavyâya[24] Aksharalalit-âchâryyêṇa likhitam [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The son's son of the *Mahârâja* **Vijayâditya (I.)** (line 6), who adorned the family of **the Chaḷukyas** (l. 5), who are of **the Mânavya gôtra** (l. 1), and who are **Hâritîputras**:—

The dear son of the *Mahârâja* **Vishṇuvardhana (IV.)** (l. 8), who by his achievements put to shame Nṛiga, Naḷa, Nahusha, Ambarîsha, and Yayâti:—

Narêndramṛigarâja-(Vijayâditya II.) (l. 11), (*a very lion of a king*) who has cleft open the temples of the elephants of his foes with the claw that is the scimitar in his arm which is as firm as the rod of Yama, — he, the most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (l. 15), the asylum of the universe (l. 16), the illustrious **Vijayâditya (II.)**, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramêśvara*, the *Bhaṭṭâraka*, thus issues a command to all the cultivators, headed by the *Râshṭrakûṭas*, dwelling in the . . . . . . **vâḍi** *vishaya* (l. 17);—

" Be it known to you! On the occasion of **an eclipse of the moon** (l. 42), the village named **Koṟṟapaṟṟu** (l. 43) has been given by Us, with exemption from all taxes, to twenty-four Brâhmaṇs; *viz.*, Veṇamaśarman (l. 19), a resident (*by birth*) of **Penpaṇḍuru,** belonging to the

---

17 Read *chatur-viṁśati-brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ.* 18 Dr. Hultzsch has given the reading *vich*[*âraḥ*].

19 Dr. Hultzsch has here read *cha*[*turviṁśatyai*] *datta*[*ḥ* |*].

20 Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the next two verses. 21 Read *varsha.* 22 Metre, Śâlinî.

23 Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh). 24 Read *vâstavyêna.*

Kauśika *gôtra* and the Hiraṇyakêśin *sûtra*; Chaṭiśarman (l. 20), a resident of **Valûcheri**, belonging to the Kauśika *gôtra* and the Hiraṇyakêśin *sûtra*; Vidaśarman (l. 21), a resident of **Poḍeṅgu**, belonging to the Gautama *gôtra* and the Hiraṇyakêśin *sûtra*; Mavinḍiśarman (l. 22), a resident of **Poḍeṅgu**, belonging to the Saṁkriti *gôtra* and the Hiraṇyakêśin *sûtra*; Yâjñaśarman (l. 22-23), a resident of **Poḍeṅgu**, belonging to the Harita *gôtra* and the Hiraṇyakêśin *sûtra*; . . . . śarman (l. 23), a resident of **Poḍeṅgu**, belonging to the Saṁkṛiti *gôtra* and the Hiraṇyakêśin *sûtra*; Kandaśarman (?) (l. 24), a resident of **Krovâśiri**, belonging to the Harita *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Vishṇuśarman (l. 26), a resident of **Urpuṭûru**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Guñjadêvaśarman (l. 27), a resident of **Vaṅgiparṛu**, belonging to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Bhadraśarman (l. 28), a resident of **Vaṅgiparṛu**, belonging to the 'Sâṇḍilya *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Vishṇuśarman (l. 29), a resident of **Vaṅgiparṛu**, belonging to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Nârâyaṇaśarman (l. 30), a resident of Vaṅgiparṛu, belonging to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Drôṇaśarman (l. 31), a resident of **Chânturu**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Nârâyaṇaśarman (l. 32), a resident of **Chânturu**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Mâdhavaśarman (l. 33), a resident of **Krovaśiri**, belonging to the Harita *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Vennamaśarman (l. 34), a resident of **Krovaśiri**, belonging to the Parâśara *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Arudiśarman (l. 35), a resident of **Krovaśiri**, belonging to the Vatsa *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Nandiśarman (l. 36), a resident of **Urpuṭûru**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Vishṇuśarman (l. 37), a resident of **Kârañchedu**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Bhâramâśarman (l. 38), a resident of **Kârañchedu**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Yajñaśarman (l. 38-39), a resident of **Karañchedu**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Bâdadiśarman (l. 39), a resident of **Chânturu**, belonging to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; Veṇṇaśarman (l. 40), a resident of **Krâjaṁ**, belonging to the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*; and Ṛompayaśarman (l. 41), a resident of **Râyûru**, belonging to the Agnivaiśya *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*.

Lines 43 to 45 give the boundaries of the village; *viz.*, on the east, **Atûguparṛu**; on the south, **Vânaparṛu, or Vâmaparṛu**; on the west, **Vâṇḍṛûpedayû**; and on the north, **Ganiyyârabu** (?).

Lines 45 to 51 contain a sentence prohibiting obstruction to the enjoyment of the grant followed by four of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses.

Line 51 f. tells us that the *Dûtaka* (denoted by the word *âjñapti*) was a prince named **Nṛipa-Rudra, born in the Haihaya lineage, a brother** (*bhrâtṛi*) **of Narêndramṛigarâja.** And the record ends with the statement that the charter was written by Aksharalalitâchârya, a resident of **Vijayavâḍa.**

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA, WITH EXTRACT FROM A PAPER BY THE LATE PROF. H. H. WILSON.

BY J. BURGESS, LL.D., C.I.E.

In this Journal (Vol. XIV., pp. 319 ff.) I last called attention to the information that might be derived from Sanskṛit literature on the ancient and mediæval geography of India, suggesting that some effort might be made to collect and arrange it. In 1882 I had indexed the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ* and made other geographical notes, some of which were engrossed in the footnotes which I contributed to the late Rev. S. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, but I have not found time since to do much more. Lately, however, in writing on an allied subject, my attention was directed to Colonel Wilford's last paper in the *Asiatic Researches* (Vol. XIV., pp. 373-470), intended as the first of a series on the geography of India, which, Prof. H. H. Wilson said, "would have established the learned author's reputation on a firmer basis, than any of his preceding erudite, but often fallacious, investigations." In the introduction to this paper he gives

an account of the works he had consulted, which were apparently valuable, but not very widely circulated. Some of these are: — the *Kshêtra-samâsas,* — one purely mythological, another (written by order of Râja Bijjala of Paṭna, who died A.D. 1648) is entirely geographical and "a most valuable work;" the *Muñja-pratidêśa-vyavasthâ*, by Râja Muñja, and its redaction the *Bhôja-pratidêśa-vyavasthâ*, — both large works; a work written by order of Bukkarâya of Vijayanagar Vik.-Saṁ. 1341, which Wilford supposes is the same as the *Bhuvana-sâgara*; a commentary on the geography of the *Mahâbhârata*, written in Bengal by order of a Râja Paulastya, in the time of Husain Shâh (A.D. 1493-1518); the *Vikrama-sâgara*, considered a valuable work; and the *Bhuvana-kôśa*, — said to be a section of the *Bhavishya-Purâṇa*, but revised and greatly augmented, — probably subsequent to 1550.

In the Search for Sanskṛit MSS., it might be well to make enquiry for these and similar treatises and tracts. Among them may be found much that would be of great importance for the elucidation of the mediæval, as well as the earlier, geography of India.

In 1824 Professor H. H. Wilson found some fragments of a geographical work, which formed the subject of a paper he contributed to the *Oriental Magazine* for that year (Vol. II., pp. 186 ff). As this paper has not been republished in his collected works, and the *Oriental Magazine* is now practically inaccessible to most, I venture to submit his version of the fragments, with so much of his prefatory remarks and footnotes as is of interest:—

"The work," he says, "from which they are taken, is professedly a section of the *Bhavishyat Purâṇa*: it is not, however, found in the entire copies of that *Purâṇa*, and is, no doubt, a distinct composition. Much of the work is either of some antiquity, or is made up of ancient materials; but there is a very large proportion that is clearly quite modern, mention being made of several Muhammadan cities. The style of the description, in conformity to the prophetic character of the *Purâṇa*, of which it pretends to be a section, is also prophetic, and announces what countries and towns will exist in the Kali age. We shall take the liberty however, to substitute the present or the past, for the future tense.

"Divisions of Pundra-Deśa, from the Bramanda Section of the Bhavishyat Purâṇa.

"That part of **Bhârada** or India known by the name of **Pundra**,[1] consists of seven principal divisions, **Gaur, Varendra, Nivritti**, near the country of Sumbha, the forest tract called **Nârikhanda, Varâhabhumi, Varddhamâna**, and **Vindhya-Pârswa** or the country along the foot of the Vindhya mountains. These we shall severally describe.

"**Gaura**, in which **Gaureśa** is situated, lies to the north of **Varddhamâna**, and south of the **Padmâ**.[2] The Ganges here assumes a southerly direction. The country is populous, abounds with villages, and contains several considerable towns, the principal of which are the following:—

"**Gaureśa**, situated on the borders, **Râmakeli, Maulapaṭṭan** on the Bhâgirathî or Hugli river. In the vicinity of **Kiriteśwari** is **Morasudâbâd**, founded by a Yavana; **Kanthakâkhya** and **Sântipura** on the banks of the river. The cities of Gaura have been often destroyed.

"The inhabitants of Gaura are, in general, worshippers of Vishṇu, and assiduous in repeating his name. They are, however, immoral, licentious, and dishonest, and no man may call

1 "From the following description it appears, that Pundra is the collective name of a country, following a curiously circuitous direction. It is bounded on the north-east chiefly by the Barhamputra, north of Dacca, and the eastern portion of the Himâlaya. It then follows a course south-west across the Ganges, passes to the south of Bihâr; and again comes to the Ganges about Mirzapur, being bounded on the west by Rewa and Bundelkhand. Gondwana, Chutia Nâgpur, Orissa, and Lower Bengal, therefore, are the limits of its southern course. Pundra, consequently comprises the following districts: in Bengal, Râjshâhi, Murshidâbâd, Dinâjpur, Rangpur, part of Nadiya, Bîrbhûm, Bardwân, part of Midnapur, and the Jungle Mahâls. In Bihâr, part of Râmgir, Pachit, and Palamau; and in Allahabad [? N.-W. Provinces], part of Chunâr." —[Allowance must be made for the less accurate method of transliteration that prevailed at the time when the paper, from which these extracts are given, was written. — EDITORS.]

2 The Peddâ or main stream of the Ganges after giving off the Hugli.

his house or his wife his own. The learned amongst them have allowed their legal and ceremonial observances to fall into disuse. The natives are generally feeble and short-lived.

"**Varendrâ**[3] is a tract abounding in water, and very fertile, lying east of the **Padmâvatî.** The chief cities are, **Pudilâ** near the Nârada river; **Nâtârî,** famous for dancers, mimes, and jugglers, the capital of a large district in the centre of Varendra, called **Nâtâra**;[4] **Chapalâ,** on the banks of the Varala river; **Kâkamâri,** a city full of the writer-caste; and **Syamataka** on the **Chalana Bil.** The people of Varendra are the ready servants of the Mlechhas, or foreign barbarians. They are worshippers of 'Siva, eat meat and drink wine. They are weak and contemptible. The country abounds with beggars, and the Brâhmans follow heterodox and unrighteous doctrines.

"**Nivritti**[5] lies on the north of Varendra, and on the west of Banga, near the country of Virâtha. It abounds in pasture grounds, and dogs, goats, buffaloes, and kine. Another name for it is **Matsyaka,** derived from its plentiful supply of fish: but this name is specially applied to the parts which lie along the skirts of the track occupied by **Pulindas** (foresters and mountaineers).[6] The chief towns are **Varddhana-kuṭâ,** governed by a Yavana; **Kâchhapa** on the banks of the **Gurâ**[7] river; and **Sriranga,** or **Vihârikâ,** where the women are remarkable for flat noses.

"The inhabitants of Nivritti are of short stature, very dirty and ignorant. Under the dominion of the Yavanas all distinction of caste was confounded, and the people are sunk in meanness and immorality.

"**Nârikhanda**[8] is a district abounding in thickets. It lies west of the Bhâgirathî; north of the Dwârikeśwarî[9] river. It extends along the **Panchakûṭa** hills on its west, and approaches Kîkata[10] on the north. The forests are very extensive, chiefly of *sâkhota, arjuna,* and *sâl* trees, with a plentiful addition of brushwood. The district is celebrated for the shrine of **Vâidyanâth.**[11] The deity is worshipped by people from all quarters, and is the source of every good in the present age. In the division of Vîrabhûmi, the no less eminent form of the same divinity, named **Bakreśwara,**[12] is present in the world. Three-fourths of the district are jungle, the remaining fourth is cultivated. The soil of a small part of it is very fertile; but far the greater portion is saline and unproductive. There is no want of water, and numerous small streams run through the forest: the principal of these is the **Ajaya.**[13] In many places there are iron mines. The people are in general small, black, and of immoral propensities and ignorant of religious duties, a few only are attached to the name of Vishṇu. They are dexterous bowmen and industrious cultivators.

"In that part of the district called **Vîradeśa** is the city of **Nagara**;[14] also **Sipulya,** and other towns. On the western borders are the villages **Mayanpur, Châśagrâma,** and **Suvernadi.** On the southern confines towards the **Odra** country, is **Kindavishṇa. Suvarṇamukhya** is in the forest, and **Panchâla** in the stony and gravelly tract. In the eastern parts are **Mandarâvani** and **Kâsganj,** and on the west of the jungle near Vaidyanâth are **Patrakolâ** and **Bharawani.**

---

[3] Varendra or Barendra appears to include Râjashâhi and part of Maimansingh. [4] Now Nator.

[5] "This seems to include Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Kuch Bihar; but we are not aware what country is intended by Virâtha."

[6] "These seem intended for the Mech tribe, a race once occupying the tracts in Rangpur on the south of the Brahmaputra."

[7] The Tîsta or Tri-srota, the river of three streams.

[8] "This comprises the north portion of Bishanpur, part of Bîrbhûm, and part of Bhâgalpur and Mungêr."

[9] "Corrupted into Dalkisore; Wilford says it is named from Darikeśvara Mahâdeva."

[10] Synonymous with Magadha. [11] At Devagadh.

[12] Probably the same place as 'Bucclesore' in Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, called 'Bhûm Bâkeswar' *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. I. p. 449. — J. B.

[13] "The Aji, called also Ajavatî and Ajamatî according to Wilford."

[14] Nagar, the capital of Bîrbhum till the 13th century.

"**Varâhabhumi**[15] is the next division of Pundra. The central portion is a forest: along the skirt of it is **Dhavalabhumi.** In one direction it is contiguous to **Tungabhumi,** and another to the **Sekhara** mountain; and it comprises **Varabhumi, Sâmanta-bhumi,** and **Mân-bhumi.** This country is overspread with impenetrable forests of *sal* and other trees. On the borders of Vara-bhumi runs the **Darikeśi** river. In the same district are numerous mountains, containing mines of copper, iron, and tin. The men are mostly Râjputs, robbers by profession, irreligious, and savage. They eat snakes, and all sorts of flesh; drink spirituous liquors, and live chiefly by plunder, or the chase. As to the women, they are, in garb, manners, and appearance, more like Râkshasîs than human beings. The only objects of veneration in these countries are rude village divinities. The principal towns are **Pushpapaṭṭan, Kusumapaṭṭan, Chatranagar, Raghunâthpur, Dhavalapura, Sivullapala,** and **Barâhanagar.** The chief villages are **Chakraveshṭana, Kichandra, Suvernatapanna, Nandala, Keśara, Râyapur,** two **Sarangas, Virabandhana, Suvarnarikki, Patri, Kadali, Trapushabad,** near the Sitavatî, and **Vakamtothaka.**

"**Varddhamâna**[16] is the next division of Pundradeśa. The country is highly populous, and the people are pious and cultivated, obedient to the laws, and diligent in their religious duties. The chief object of worship is the *śâlâgrâm*, which is to be found in every respectable house. Amongst the principal cities are **Hâtaka,** near a forest; **Vilwapaṭṭan,** west of the Bhâgirathî, near the Saraswatî river; and **Sâmantapaṭṭan** on the borders.

"**Vindhyapârswa**[17] is the last division of Pundradeśa. It lies north of **Rânastambha,** south of the Ganges, west of Kîkata, and east of Tîrtharâja. It comprehends a population of a very miscellaneous character. The greater number are addicted to the worship of Devî, eat flesh, and drink spirituous liquors. In the early part of the Kali age, this country was the residence of a Kshatriya prince, who assumed the garb, the attributes, and name of Vâsudeva, and passed himself off for the real Kṛishṇa. The divine lord of Dwâraka, however, vindicated his rights, and a war ensued, in which the impostor was slain.

"The principal towns and villages are **Sudarsana,** near the mountains; inhabited chiefly by hunters and fowlers and people of low caste. **Pushpagrâma** within the hills near the Son. **Dhârâraksha,** near the hills on the Gâlikâ river. **Guragrâm,** on the side of the hills near the Son. **Mudgalapur,** amongst the hills near the Chandraprabhâ river. **Shâhpur, Mârjârapur,**[18] **Sivapur,** and **Majapapur,** on the banks of the Ganges. **Barada** on the Son; and **Manigrâm** on the Parnâ river. In the south-west quarter, about three yojans from the Bhâgirathî, is **Marâha-Nagar,** which is the residence of the governor of the province, amidst forests and and mountains. **Kântita-patan** is situated upon the Ujjalâ river, near the Ganges, and **Surapatan** on the Chandraprabhâ.

"Besides these, Yavanas have many cities and villages in these parts, as **Janahâbâd, Nemaj-Ganj, Sher-ganj, Sikandarpur, &c., &c.**"

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF ONE OF THE KANHERI INSCRIPTIONS OF AMOGHAVARSHA I.

At the time when I edited **the Kaṇheri inscription of the Râshṭrakûṭa Amôghavarsha I.,** which is published *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 134, I was not able to calculate Indian dates for myself; and I now find that the European equivalent for the date of the inscription referred to, which I have given, *ib.* note 9, is altogether wrong.

The inscription is dated, in words, and again partly in figures, in the Śaka year 775, and the **Prajâpati saṁvatsara,** on the second lunar day

15 "Probably part of Midnapur, Pachit, and perhaps part of Râmgarh. The Śekhara mountain is probably Pârsvanâth hill near Madhuvan."

16 "Bardhwân: but how far the limits of the district coincide with those here intended, cannot be conjectured; for our text is but a small part of the original, several pages of the MS. being here defective."

17 'Side of the Vindhya,' a tract about Chunâr and Mirzapur; for Râna-stamba is Chandêl and Bhagelkhand; and Tîrtha-râja is a synonym of Prayâg.

18 "This may be meant for Mirzapur."

of the dark half of Âśvina, on **Budha-dina** or **Wednesday.** By the Southern System of the cycle the Prajâpati saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka 773 expired; and by the Northern System it commenced, according to the Sûrya-Siddhânta rule without *bîja*, in Śaka 772 expired, on the 26th November, A. D. 850, and ended in Śaka 773 expired, on the 22nd November, A. D. 851. And accordingly, either the year 775 has been put wrongly in the date for 773, or the saṁvatsara Prajâpati has been quoted incorrectly. Calculation shews that we have to decide in favour of the former alternative. For, the second of the dark half of Âśvina, *pûrṇimânta* or *amânta*, did not fall on a Wednesday in either Saka 775 current or Śaka 775 expired; but by the *amânta* scheme it did fall on a **Wednesday,** — the 16th September A. D. 851,[1] — **in Śaka 773 expired. And Wednesday, the 16th September A. D. 851,** is therefore the proper equivalent of the date, and this date fell in the Prajâpati samvatsara by both the Southern and the Northern Systems of the Cycle.[2]

Dates in which the year of the Cycle is quoted correctly, and the Śaka year incorrectly, are not uncommon.

Thus, the Añjanêri stone inscription of Sêuṇadêva, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 126, is dated in the Śaka year 1063, and the **Dundubhi saṁvatsara,** on the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Jyêshṭha, on **Sôma** or **Monday,** under the *nakshatra* **Anurâdhâ** and the *yôga* **Siddha.** By the Southern System of the Cycle the Dundubhi saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka 1064 expired, not with Saka 1063; and calculation shews that the year of the date was really Śaka 1064 expired. For, the date corresponds, for Śaka 1064 expired, to **Monday,** the 11th May A. D. 1142, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h. 32 m., and when the *nakshatra* was **Anurâdhâ** up to 13 h. 47 m, and the *yôga* **Siddha** commenced 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.

Again, to quote only one other example, the Pâṭnâ stone inscription of the Yâdava Siṁghaṇa and his feudatories Sôidêva and Hêmâḍidêva, which I have re-edited in *Epigraphia Indica*, is dated in the Śaka year 1128 and the **Prabhava saṁvatsara,** on the full-moon *tithi* of Śrâvaṇa, at the time of **a lunar eclipse.** By the Southern System of the Cycle the Prabhava saṁvatsara coincided with Śaka 1129 expired, not with Śaka 1128; and besides, if the year of the date were really Śaka 1128 expired, the corresponding date would fall in A. D. 1206, and in that year there was no lunar eclipse at all. On the other hand, taking the year of the date to be Śaka 1129 expired, which was the Prabhava saṁvatsara, the corresponding date will be the 9th August A. D. 1207, when there was **a lunar eclipse** which would have been just visible in Khândêś.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A PECULIAR CUSTOM OF SUCCESSION.

From a debate in the House of Lords on the **Manipur** matter (see the *Times* of the 23rd June, 1891), it appears that "**the succession to the** "**Gaddi,** or as we should say to the throne, is "based upon a peculiar system. Where there is "a series of brothers, they succeed one after "another, and so the succession goes on until the "last of the brothers is exhausted, and then it is "his son, and not the son of the elder brother, "who succeeds."

The Manipur State is one of recent origin. But a peculiar custom such as this, — if it really exists, — must probably have some basis in antiquity. And there are not wanting instances within the limits of India proper, which suggest that it may have been an occasional rule there in early times.

Thus: — Among **the Rulers of Valabhi** (see *ante*, Vol. XV. p. 273), the *Sênâpati* Dharasêna I. was succeeded by his younger brother, the *Mahârâja* Drôṇasiṁha; the latter, by his younger brother, the *Mahârâja* Dhruvasêna I.; and the latter, again, by his younger brother, the *Mahârâja* Dharapaṭṭa: and the succession was then continued by Dharapaṭṭa's son Guhasêna, and his descendants.

Again, in the **Chalukya family** we may note specially, in the Eastern Branch, the succession after Jayasiṁha I. and Jayasiṁha II. (see page 283 above); and in the Western Branch, the succession after Satyâśraya II., and again after Vikramâditya V. (see Mr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 18-19).

Instances could, of course, be brought forward to shew that such a rule, if it existed, was at any rate not invariably observed. But the cases quoted above are at least peculiar coincidences. And they, and many other points in early Indian history, suggest that there may have

[1] On that day, the second *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise.

[2] Compare a similar date, of Śaka 788 expired, discussed by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVII. p. 142, No. 10.

been an early practice, more or less binding, of the kind which appears to exist now in Manipur.

The matter seems worth looking into further; especially with a view to ascertaining whether the Dharmaśâstras prescribe any such rule of inheritance and succession for the warrior and regal caste.[1]

SOCIAL CUSTOMS; MARRIAGE.

In Telingana.

(1) The custom of **sending a sword to represent** an unavoidably **absent bridegroom** at a wedding, is not uncommon among Râjus and Velamas. It is considered allowable among other Hindus also. See *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 669.

(2) With reference to *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 678, Khônds, Sauras, Gadabas, Jâtapas, Pânos, Ḍôms (Gañjâm and Vizagapatam Hills), Paidis, Rellis, Yerukalas, Dômmaras, Pâmulavândâ, Mandulavândlu, Gangiredlavândlu, Mondvândlu, Jalagadugulavândlu, Baitakummaras (wandering smiths), Yanadis, Oddi Upparas (Oddars), Upparas, Chachchudis (Mehtars), Mâlas, and Mâdigas, **permit the remarriage** of deserted or divorced women and widows. If a superseded woman means in this connection a woman who has declared herself divorced before a *pañchayât* because her husband married again without her consent, such a woman is permitted by any of these castes to re-marry. A man of any of these castes may marry a woman outcasted on his account from a caste higher than his own.

Masulipatam. H. G. PRENDERGAST.

THWE-THAUK.

Thwê-thauk in Burmese means 'one who has drunk blood,' *i.e.*, **one who has drunk the blood of either an animal or a human being, infused in water or spirit, as a mark of exchange of friendship or fraternity.** If the blood is that of a human being, it is generally obtained from a puncture in the arm; and if that of an animal, it is obtained by killing a fowl, as among the Chinese[2] and Karens, a buffalo, as among the Kachins,[3] or a dog, as among the Chins. It is believed that this drinking of blood effects, as it were, the amalgamation of the natures, both material and moral, of the parties contracting friendship, and that this would cause a feeling of reciprocity in each other's breast.

This custom obtains among the Chinese and Indo-Chinese nations. **Among Chinamen,** the ceremony is performed in a temple, and the gods are called upon to witness the compact. The tie existing between two '**blood-drunk**' brothers is even stronger than that between brothers born of the same parents. In the case of the latter, the motive power is natural fraternal affection, which may sometimes be made subservient to private interests, but in the case of the former, the tie is surrounded by a halo of honour and religious sanction, which every Chinaman is taught to respect.

Among the Karens, Kachins, Chins, and other wild tribes of Burma, the custom is still in force and is as punctiliously observed as ever. But **among the Burmans,** it has died out through the influence of Buddhism, the humanitarian doctrines of which discountenance the shedding of blood and the placing of reliance in the supernatural powers, whose presence is invoked in the ceremony. Still the Burmese language possesses certain words, which attest to the fact that, in his pre-Buddhistic days, the Burman was not loath to contract friendship or fraternity by 'blood-drinking.' **A petty officer in the Burman army was called a Thwê-thauk,** and when King Mindôn invited all the scions of royalty to live at the capital, he placed them under *thwê-thauks*, who were to keep watch and ward over them. In **Upper Burma, an upper menial servant** is called

[1] [See my paper on *Modern Panjabi Coins*, *ante*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 328-330. The Musalmân State of Mâlêr Kôtlâ was founded by a Sûfî saint, a Sarwânî Afghân by descent, in the Pañjâb, in the middle of the 15th Century A. D. He married a daughter of Sultân Bahlôl Lôdî, and also a daughter of a local magnate. His descendants by the latter are the present Nawâbs of Mâlêr Kôtlâ, and their rule of succession was that obtaining in Manipur until the British Government interfered in 1871 and made primogeniture the rule of descent. — R. C. T.]

[2] The Kolde Hui, the secret society to which the recent anti-foreign outrages in the Yangtse Valley are attributed, is at present the most powerful of these troublesome organizations in China. * * * It is believed that the ceremony of initiation consists in killing a cock and drinking the blood, either alone or mixed with wine. This has always been a common practice with all Chinese secret societies. — *Rangoon Gazette* of 2nd October, 1891.

[3] A small quantity of the blood of the slaughtered animal has been caught, and is now mixed in a large vessel with an abundant supply of raw native spirits. The whole is stirred up with the points of swords and spears, which are dipped into the liquor; and each chief, as he comes up in the supposed presence of the attendant deities and takes his draught from the sacred bowl, swears his oath of fidelity in muttered prayers, which imply the most fearful results as a certain consequence of infidelity. The dipping of the spears and swords in the liquor, in which the oath is drunk, is said to be typical of the violent death which would, of a certainty, be incurred by a departure from the engagements contained in the oath. — Fytche's *Burma Past and Present*, Vol. II. p. 111.

a *thwê-thauk*, and according to Judson's *Burmese Dictionary*, a band of fifty men is also called a *thwê-thauk*.

No doubt the origin of the custom may be traced to a society, whose government and domestic relations were loosely organized, and which naturally, in all matters affecting life and property, gave preference to might rather than to right. In such a society, the sacred ties of affection, due to consanguinity, required to be strengthened and supplemented by an external ceremony, based on superstition, for the purpose of defending or advancing the interests of the commonwealth. In primitive man the amount of self-control is not sufficient to keep the rising passions in check, and hence a banding together or an agglomeration of human units is required to resist aggression or to invade the rights of others. Nowhere is the motto 'Union is strength' more rigidly followed than in a state of society, where moral force is powerless against physical force.

TAW SEIN KO.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE MINOR LAW-BOOKS, translated by JULIUS JOLLY. Part I. Nârada and Bṛihaspati. (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXIII.) Oxford, 1889. 8vo. pp. xxiv., 391.

Though in the series advertised to the public as "Sacred Books of the East" the *sacred* books of India have hitherto been conspicuous by their absence, the knowledge of Hindu law has been advanced to a large extent by the translations of *Smṛiti*-texts that were contributed by the two leading authorities, Professors Bühler and Jolly. The new volume which the latter scholar has brought out, contains annotated translations of two very important law-books. Both are professedly based on Manu, but anterior to his commentator Mêdhâtithi. Professor Jolly assigns **Nârada** to the fifth or sixth, and **Bṛihaspati** to the sixth or seventh centuries A. D. Nârada's is 'the only *Smṛiti*, completely preserved in MSS., in which law, properly so-called, is treated by itself, without any reference to rules of penance, diet, and other religious subjects.' Of special value to Hindu reformers is the following text of Nârada (p. 184 f. of Professor Jolly's translation): —

"When her husband is lost (*i. e.* gone no one knows whither) or dead, when he has become a religious ascetic, when he is impotent, and when he has been expelled from caste: these are the five cases of legal necessity, in which a woman may be justified in taking another husband."

Unlike Nârada's, the *Smṛiti* of Bṛihaspati appears to have treated of the whole sacred law, but is not preserved in MSS. Professor Jolly has collected from quotations in later law-books, and arranged under their proper headings, all those fragments of Bṛihaspati which refer to law in its proper sense, — a laborious and difficult task, which few could have performed so well. If the footnotes did not draw attention to the sources from which the single passages are taken, the reader might feel inclined to consider the text as a complete treatise on Hindu law. The chapter on documents (VIII.) contains the subjoined interesting note on royal edicts, which is quoted from Bṛihaspati in the *Vîramitrôdaya* (p. 305 f. of Professor Jolly's translation):—

"12. Having given a tract of land or the like, the king should cause a formal grant (*śâsana*) to be executed on a copper-plate or a piece of cloth, stating the place (of issue), the ancestors (of the king), and other particulars,

"13. And the names of (the king's) mother and father, and of the king himself, [1] (and containing the statement that) 'This grant has been made by me to-day to N. N., the son of N. N., who belongs to the Vedic school N. N.,

"'14. As being endurable while the moon and sun last, and as descending by right of inheritance to the son, grandson, and more remote descendants, and as a gift which must never be cut down or taken away, and is entirely exempt from diminution (by the allotment of shares to the king's attendants, and so forth),

"'15. Conveying paradise on the giver and preserver, and hell on the taker, for a period of sixty thousand years, as the (respective) recompense for giving and taking (the land).'

"16. (Thus the king should declare in the grant), the secretaries for peace and war [2] signing the grant with the remark: 'I know this (*jñâtaṁ mayâ*).'

"17. (The grant) should be provided with (the king's) own seal (*mudrâ*), and with a precise statement of the year, month and so forth, of the value (of the donation), and of the magistrate.[3] Such a document issued by the king is called a royal edict (*śâsana*)."

[1] The reading *mâtâpitrôr âtmanaś cha puṇyâya* (Dr. Burnell's *S.-I. Palæography*, p. 97), 'for the merit of my parents and of myself,' is in better accordance with the wording of the grants themselves.

[2] It seems preferable to explain *saṁdhivigraha-lêkhakaiḥ* as an inaccurate expression, caused by the metre, instead of *sâṁdhivigrahika-lêkhakâbhyâm*.

[3] The term *adhyaksha* appears to correspond to the *dûtaka* or *âjñapti* of the grants.

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. 26.

Journal of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society, Vol. V. (Parts 1-4).

(*A*) PROCEEDINGS.

Papers read: (I) *V. A. Shukofsky:* on the Persian versions of the old Russian tale, "Shemjaka's Judgment." (II) *D. Th. Kobeko:* on the expedition of Karelin to the south-eastern coast of the Caspian. (III) *Baron V. R. Rosen:* on M. Snouck Hurgronje's "Mekka." (IV) *Baron V. R. Rosen:* Some notes on the Musalmân versions of "Barlaam and Joasaph." (V) *S. F. Oldenburg:* on the Pâli version of "Shemjaka's Judgment." (VI) *Baron V. R. Rosen:* on the oldest Grammars of the Turkish and Mongol Languages written in Arabic. (VII) *V. V. Radlof:* on the Turkish titles given to Uigur Khâns between 764 A.D. and 849 A.D., from the history of the Tan Dynasty. (VIII) *A. J. Harkavy:* on MSS. materials for a biography of Sayyid al-Fayûmî in the Imperial Public Library. (IX.) *Baron V. R. Rosen:* on an Arabic satirical work. كتاب اختراع الخراع للصفدى (X) *N. P. Likhatchef:* on some caldrons found in Bulgar. (XI) *N. S. Golenishef:* on an inscription of Darius found in Egypt. (XII) *A. G. Toumansky:* on the Bâbîs in Askhâbâd. (XIII) *A. Th. Shebounin:* on the Kufic Kurân from Samarkand now in the (Russian) Imperial Public Library. (XIV) *S. F. Oldenburg:* on the Persian versions of the *Kitâb-i-Sindbâd.* (XV) *Baron V. R. Rosen:* on a passage in the History of al-Meraghî relating to the translation of the "Book of Kalilah and Dimnah" into Arabic. (XVI) *V. A. Shukofsky:* on his archæological excursion to the Transcaspian Provinces. (XVII) *V. V. Radlof:* on an Uigur stone inscription brought by N. M. Jadrintzef from the ruins of Karakorum.

(*B*) ARTICLES.

I.—Central Asia and the Further East.

1. *The expedition of Karelin to the South-Eastern Coast of the Caspian in* 1836, *by D. Kobeko.* Karelin, for some time an officer in the Artillery, afterwards in the service of Khân Jangêr, and finally in the (Russian) Home Office, died in 1872. He made three journeys to different points of the Caspian coasts and one to the Altai. He left accounts of his travels, some of which are published; and a set of drawings, relating to his expedition in 1836, is now in the library of the Scientific Committee of the Treasury Office. The scientific results of his travels are interesting and important, and his diaries may even now be consulted with profit. As to political results, there were none; since all the different measures he proposed with a view to consolidate Russian influence on the Caspian were rejected by the Foreign Office.

2. *On two stones with Chinese inscriptions, by E. Koch (with one plate and two lithographs).* In the summer 1889, M. N. Jadrintzef brought home with him two inscribed stones found in the ruins now called Khara Balgasun on the upper part of the Orkhon River. According to M. Koch they bear inscriptions belonging to the time of the Uigur rulers of Mongolia, between 761 A.D and 840 A.D. Unfortunately the stones are in such a damaged state as to defy a complete decipherment. One of them bears, besides the Chinese inscription, some lines in Uigur characters, and these lines are now the oldest known Turki document.

3. *Titles and names of the Uigur Khâns, by M. Radlof.* In this article the author supplies us, from the Chinese history of the Tan Dynasty, with the names and titles of 12 Uigur Khâns, which he completely restores from the corrupt Chinese transliteration. These Turkî words, bearing a close resemblance to the language of the *Kudatku-Bilik* (composed scme 300 years later), corroborate most happily the stone documents just mentioned. In an additional note M. Radlof gives a transcript and translation of what is left of the Uigur inscriptions. His conclusions are: — (1) The Uigurs spoke a Turki dialect closely allied to the language preserved in the *Kudatku-Bilik.* (2) Indications from Chinese writers, informing us of an Uigur alphabet in the VIIIth Century, A. D., are quite trustworthy. This alphabet of the Northern Uigurs is identical with the alphabet of the Uigurs of Eastern Turkistân, propagated by the Nestorians and adopted in the XIIIth Century by the Mongols. The existence of Uigur stone documents of the VIIIth Century in Northern Mongolia is deemed to be so important a fact, that the Imperial Academy of Sciences has decided upon sending an expedition with a view of exploring the ruins, which are supposed to belong to the once famous Karakorum. The expedition started from St. Petersburg in April 1891.[1]

[1] This expedition has been most successful. A large quantity of inscriptions has been found. M. Radlof is going to publish shortly a detailed account of the work done by the expedition.—15th Dec. 1891; S. d'O.

4. *On some Witty Etymologies of the Sarts,* by N. Ostroumof. The article gives some instances of alterations by the common folk in the names and titles of Russian officials in Turkistân. The name of the late Governor-General, Tchernjajef, the Sarts pronounced as Shir-nâib (the Lion's Representative): the title "Procuror" (Attorney General) they pronounce "Birkurar" and explain it as the title of a person "who at once sees and decides," (*Bir-Kurar*). General (Jandaral) they explain as جاندار علي, Jândâr Ali, &c.[2]

5. *A stone document of the Conquest of Korea by the Manjûrs,* by A. Pozdnejef. This is a text and translation of an inscription in Manjû and Mongol relating to the conquest of Korea by the Manjûrs. The text was published in the September Number (1889) of the *Journal* of the China Branch, R. A. S., with a note promising an edition of the Chinese text and asking persons acquainted with Manjû to give explanations on this part of the text. In answer to this Prof. Pozdnejef undertook a translation, and found out that, besides the Manjû, there is also a Mongol text, in some points differing from the Manjû. The inscription is interesting from two points of view; (1) as furnishing us with some new facts on the relations between Korea and China, and (2) as offering us the hitherto oldest known specimen of Manjû writing, the inscription being only seven years posterior to the introduction of the Manjû alphabet, which took place definitively in 1632. To the last point we may now add that Prof. Pozdnejef has since found in the Paris National Library a very interesting MS. relating the adaptation of the Mongol Alphabet to the Manjû Language. A detailed account of this MS. will shortly be published.

6 *Contribution to the bibliography of the Kalmuck folktales. N. Vesselofsky.* In a short note the author points to a translation of the popular poem of Jangar, by M Bobrovnikof in the Imp. Russ. Geographical Society's *Messenger* for 1854, omitted by Prof. Pozdnejef in his last article[3] and to the Kalmuck (Qalmâq) tales collected by Lehr in Russian and published at Moscow in 1873.

II.—Persia.

1. *Some notes on the Pârsî Schools in Persia. A. Orlof.* — This is a translation, with some explanatory notes, of an article, signed by four Persian Pârsis and dated 19th September, 1884, in an Ispahân newspaper, called *Farhang.* According to the article, there were then in Yezd 6,737 Pârsis, showing some increase as compared with the 6,483 in 1879 (according to Houtum-Schindler). There were 7 schools with 402 pupils, and in one of these schools the *Avesta* and Pahlavî were taught. "It would be very interesting to know how this teaching is going on," remarks M. Orlof, and he quotes an article of M. Shukofsky (*Journal of the Public Instruction Office* for 1885), to show that, so early as in the reign of Muḥammad Shâh, a beginning had been made of teaching these languages, which was, however, unfortunately unsuccessful. So far as one can judge from the scanty information we have as to the position of the Pârsis in Persia, the teaching is improving, chiefly through the help of their Indian brethren.

2. *Persian versions of the old Russian tale called "Shemjaka's Judgment," by V. Shukofsky.* This is a tale, which once had a wide circulation both in the East and West. It relates the story of a man, who, by a series of accidents, gets accused of many crimes and is liberated by a wise judge, who, in some versions, pronounces his judgment from a sense of justice, and in others in expectation of a bribe. The oldest known version is in the *Jâtakas.*[5] M. Shukofsky gives two Persian versions, one in verse, from a chap-book (text and translation), and the other in prose (translation only, as the text was published in a Persian lithographed Reading-book in St. Petersburg in 1869).

(3) *Indo-Persian humour, by V. Shukofsky.* In this article are quoted some satirical verses from an Indo-Persian *Tazkira* called روز روشن. The verses relating the wonderful feats of a sham hero, are ascribed to a certain 'Ja'fir, the jester.' This little poem is a delightful pendant to the Persian folk-song treating of the same subject, published by M. Shukofsky in Vol. I. of the *Zapisky.*

III.—India.

1. *Popular dramatic entertainments at the Hôlî festival in Almôrâ. I. P. Minayef.* — This account of twelve dramatic entertainments was found in the papers of the late Prof Minayef, who wrote them down most probably from the mouth

---

[2] [It is interesting to note that precisely the same process goes on in Burma, among the joke-loving population there, as regards British officials. Mr. Lightning is a title common to one or two quick-tempered officials. As to folk-etymologies of European names and words in India, they are simply innumerable.—ED.]

[3] Prof Pozdnejef is printing an account of the wars between the Manjû and Korea.

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XX. p. 87a.

[5] *Gâmaṇichaṇḍajâtaka,* translated by the Rev. R. Morris in the *Folklore Journal,* and analysed and partly translated by Mr C. Tawney in the *Journal of Philology.* A list of the different versions of this tale has been published by the present writer.

of one Hari Lâl, a *baniyâ* in Almôrâ (Kumâun), who communicated to him some fine folktales, which are to be found in Minayef's *Indian Tales collected in Kamâon in* 1875, published in St. Petersburg, in 1877. The somewhat plain language of these pieces of real folklore was probably the cause why the late Professor did not put them in the account of his journey to India (St. Petersburg,—1878; 2 Vols.) Nearly all the pieces are of a satirical character, some of them being directed against false devotees, some against the European rulers of the country, some against Missionaries, some against unfaithful wives.

IV.—Semitic.

1. *On a fragment of a Hebrew papyrus*[6] *from the collection of W. S. Golenishef, by A. Harkavy.* This short fragment bears on ritual. It is chiefly remarkable for its age, as it belongs to a date between the VIIIth and Xth Centuries.

2. *Contributions to the biography and works of Sayyid-al-Fayûmî from the MSS. in the Imperial Public Library by A. Harkavy.* Sayyid-al-Fayûmî (892-942 A. D) the **first Hebrew grammarian,** belongs to the time of the revival of Hebrew science, in the IXth and Xth Centuries, A.D., in Egypt. Some of his works are known and published, but many important facts relating to his literary career can be gathered from this Hebrew-Arabic MSS. in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg. Dr. Harkavy gives extracts from the following works of Al-Fayûmî. (1) From the "Book of Poetry" (a manual), and (2) from the "Book of the Exiled" (a controversial work). To this last are appended some extracts from works directed against the Sayyid.

3. *On an inedited MS. of the Arabian Nights, by Baron D. Gunzburg.* The MS. under notice belongs to the private library of Baron Gunzburg, and of all the MSS. of the Arabian Nights that have been as yet examined, it is the most closely allied to the MS. of Michel Sabbagh (Paris National Library, Nos. 2522 and 2523), and consequently to the Baghdâd MS. This MS. is complete, unusually correct, and written in a very elegant style. It seems to be **one of the best of the MSS. of the Arabian Nights.** A remarkable feature of it is **the high esteem in which women are held** throughout the whole text, against the usual oriental way of treating women.

The article gives a comparative table of the tales, and a detailed comparison of the tale of Aladdin's Lamp in Zotenberg's text. This story is somewhat short in Baron Gunzburg's MS., but it is given in a more elegant and refined style than in the printed version. We may add that it is most desirable that Dr. Zotenberg, who is preparing a work on the Arabian Nights, should get access to this fine MS.

V. — Armenian and Georgian.

1. *A summer journey to Armenia. Notes and extracts from Armenian MSS., by N. J. Marr.* This is the result of a journey to Armenia in the summer of 1890. M. Marr went to Armenia chiefly to collect materials for his work (shortly to be published) on the **Armenian fables ascribed to Vardan.** He found, however, time enough to peruse also other MSS. of the rich Etchmiadzin Library, and to make a catalogue of the Armenian MSS. in the monastery on Lake Sevan (Gokcha). Besides some emendations to the text of Moses of Khoren, the article gives:—(1) a note on Asath, the translator of the Armenian "Barlaam and Joasaph," who is named in two MSS. of the Sevan Monastery, and one MS. of Etchmiadzin, written in 1441: (2) a passage from the "Answers and Questions of Vardan" bearing on the legend of king Artavazd: (3) a passage of Vardan the Great **(XIIIth Century)** on a translation of the Bible into Syriac by the king Abgar, which tells us that at that time there was no **Armenian alphabet**; M. Marr points out the importance of collecting all possible data bearing on the history of the Armenian alphabet and on works in Armenian prior to the invention of the Mesropian alphabet: (5) on the *Oskiphoriks,* a sort of collection of pious legends and apocryphas: (6) a note on the Armenian text of the Georgian Chronicle: the original of all hitherto known copies is the MS. No. 1722 of the Etchmiadzin Library: (7) the Book of Adam and Eve; copious extracts of the Armenian text of which apocrypha are given with a Russian translation, and the text seems to go back to the Greek version: (8) Joseph and Asseneth; some notes on this interesting apocrypha, edited by Prof. Carrière; M. Marr gives from the Etchmiadzin MSS. two texts (with translation) bearing on the same history; *viz,*—"The Prayer of Asseneth" and the "Testament of Joseph," which last he identifies with the "Prayer of Joseph" in the list of apocryphas of Mekhitar (XIIIth Century).

The article is to be continued, and will deal with some more apocryphas and other Armenian texts.

2. *Sophron, son of Isaac, or Isaac, son of Sophron? by N. J. Marr.* The existing MSS. of

[6] A facsimile is given on pl. 1. 4.

the Georgian "Barlaam" are insufficient to decide the question whether the author of this version was called Sophron, son of Isaac, or Isaac, son of Sophron.

3. *The Etymology of the Armenian Sepouh and the Georgian Sepé, by N. J. Marr.* These titles, according to M. Marr, go back through a series of transformations to the Avestic *Vîśôputhra.* The argumentation is very able, but not definitively persuading.

VI.—Egypt.

1. *Archæological results of a journey to Egypt in the winter of* 1888-89 (*with five plates*), *by W. S. Golenishef.* The author during a stay of more than half-a-year in **Egypt** succeeded in making some important and interesting acquisitions, some of which were exhibited at a meeting of the Oriental Section of the (Russian) Archæological Society, where the author gave explanations, which, in a somewhat revised and enlarged shape, are embodied in the present article. As most of these objects have already been described in special reviews, we have only to say a few words on some of the most interesting: a collection of pâpyri, some of which are in **Pahlavi**, Hebrew and Greek; portraits from Tel-al-Amarna; some inscriptions; a seal with a Phœnician inscription "in honor of Jeremias"; some interesting pieces of Koptic embroidery. The article gives also some interesting notes on the Bulâq Museum, on the acquisition of antiquities in Egypt, and short diary notes of a journey from Edfu to the Red Sea (chiefly topographical).

VII.—Archæology and Numismatics.

1. *The Elizabethpol Find, by Baron W. Tiesenhausen.* The Imperial Archæological Commission received last year from Tiflis a silver buckle and **236 Persian coins,** chiefly of the XVIIth to XIXth Centuries A. D. (1122-1220 A. H.), found in the province of Elizabethpol. A description of this buckle is given in the article.

2. *New Find in Bulgar* (*in the Province of Kasan*) *by N. Likhatchef.* In September, 1889, a peasant in the village of Uspenskoje, Bulgary, dug up in his courtyard some brass caldrons, two of which had on them Arabic inscriptions (benedictions to the possessor). M. Likhatchef's opinion is that these objects most probably belong to the end of the XIVth Century.

3. *On two fuls found near the village Balymer in the Government of Kasan, by N. Likhatchef.* In the autumn of 1889, near Balymer, were dug up a skeleton and near it two copper coins: one with the name of **An-Nasir-li-din-Allah,** and the second with the name of **Mangu Kaan.** More such finds would be most desirable, as they would help to give a certain date to all such sepultures in Bulgar.

VIII.—Miscellanea.

1. *Translations from Persian, Turkish and Arabic; Imitations of Oriental Poets. by M. G.* Delightful poems, faithful renderings of oriental ideas and feelings; translations from Sâdî, Ḥâfiz, Firdûsî, &c.

2. *Kerope Petrovitch Patkanof* (*with portrait*), *by N. Vesselofsky.* A short biography of the well-known Armenian scholar. Prof. Patkanof, who was born in 1833, was the son of an Armenian priest. He began his studies in the College of Stavropol, passed later into the Lazaref Institution in Moscow, remained some time in the University of Dorpat, and finished his studies in the chief Teaching Institution in St Petersburg. He was later for some time teacher in a Female College in Tiflis, and afterwards, till his death in 1889, he was a professor at the University of St. Petersburg. His first scientific work (as a student he wrote many poems, which are still very popular in Armenia) was the *Catalogue de la Littérature Arménienne.* He also edited and translated many of the Armenian historians, wrote on Armenian geography, on the inscriptions of Van, etc. A list of his works is appended to the article.

3. *Musalmân books printed in Russia during the year* 1889, *by W. D. Smirnof.*—This is a list with a bibliographical description; the number of copies printed of each book is also given.

IX.—Reviews.

1. *The Kirghiz and Karakirghiz of the Syrdaryinsky District. Vol. I., Common Law* (*Russian*), *by N. T. Grodekof.*—This book shows clearly that **the administration is carefully studying the country it has to deal with.** A clearer distinction between *'âdat* and *sharî'ât* is most desirable, as the *sharî'ât* is often only a powerful means of oppression in the hands of the upper classes directed against the masses. General Grodekof's book will be of great use to the Orientalist and to the administrator.

2. *Ethnographical Notes on Tibetan Medicine,* (*Russian*), *by W. Ptizyn.*—This is a list of 101 maladies, 429 names of drugs, and a description of surgical instruments. All the names are given in Tibetan with Russian translations. The whole is compiled from communications from **Lâmas** from the Transbaikal District.

3. *History of the Town of Kassimof* (*Russian*), *by N. Shishkin.* — This is a short history of the

town, founded chiefly on the large work of Weljaminof-Zernof, entitled *The Tsars and Tsarêviches of Kassimof.*

4. *Persian, Arabic and Turkish MSS. in the Tashkent Library (Russian), by E. Kahl.*—A description of 87 MSS. The chief interest lies in the **historical part of the Persian MSS.**, where some good and old copies of interesting works are to be found.

5. *Journal of the East-Siberian Section of the Geographical Society, Ethnographical Section, Vol.* I., p. I., *Buriat Folktales* (*Russian*). A very carefully made collection of **51 folktales**, with interesting notes and excellent indices.

6. *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. IX.*, by *Stanley Lane Poole.* — An excellent catalogue of a splendid collection; in this volume we find more than 200 inedited coins. On pp. 312-313 the reviewer proposes to read ابش instead of اىش, as the *b* ب is clearly to be seen on two *dînârs* in the Museum of Baron Stieglitz. Other different readings are proposed.

7. *Modern Persian Comedies, etc., edited by Dr. A. Wahrmund. No.* I, *Monsieur Jourdan, with German translation, notes and glossary.*—These comedies, which first appeared in a Russian shape (Tiflis, 1853), were translated into Turkish (*ib.* 1860) and lastly into Persian (1874). They are very bad representatives of modern Persian, and in many passages are **only adaptations of the Turkish, and even of the Russian, original.** From this point of view they can be hardly welcome, and are not to be put in the hands of beginners. The reviewer gives some corrections to text, translation and glossary.

8. *Glossary of Iberian and Latin words used by the Mozarabes, etc.* (*Spanish,*) *by D. F. J. Simonet.* The first part of the book is an **ardent panegyric of the Mozarabes** (Mosarabs), who, according to the author, have created the so-called Arabic civilisation **in Spain.** The somewhat too passionate argument does not always sufficiently reason out many other facts, which indeed do not quite corroborate the fundamental idea of the author. The second part is the Glossary, which is quite on a par with the first part. It is not everybody that will agree with D. Simonet's conclusions, but to all Arabic scholars, interested in the **history of Spain,** it will give much useful information.

9. *The Tale of a certain Old Man* (*Russian*), *by Ch. Loparef.*—This is a diary of a **voyage to the Holy Land in the XVIth Century, by a Russian.** M. Loparef has edited the text with copious notes. Two postscripts on the MS. are interesting, as giving some facts of the intercourse between Russia and Turkey at that time. Appended to the Review is a notice by Baron Rosen on the word **Tchelebi,** which occurs in one of the postscripts. From different explanations he adopts that of Aḥmed-Vefik-Pasha in his *Lehjehi-Othmanich.*[7] *Cheleb* goes back to Persian *Chelipâ*, which goes back to the Syriac *Tslibâ* (the Cross). Cf. Arab. صليب. The learned Pâshâ is wrong only in referring its origin to the time of Christian influence in the reign of Changêz Khân. We know now that this influence is to be dated much earlier, from the time of the first Nestorian missionaries. In this way we have, as the oldest meaning of the word, "Man of the Cross," Christian. As the first who adopted the Christian faith were persons of high and even of royal descent, it was afterwards applied to them, and still later, as a designation of all educated people. The oldest hitherto known mention of this interesting word is from 1313. More facts will enable us to decide the question definitively.

10. *A Historical Grammar of the Modern Armenian language of Tiflis* (*Russian*), *by A. Thomson.* This is a perfectly worthless, unscientific compilation, written without any knowledge of the most elementary principles of philology. The painful impression produced by M. Thomson's book is greatly relieved by a series of most interesting philological notes by the reviewer (M. Marr).

11. *Journal of the East— Siberian Section of the Geogrophical Society, Vol. I. Parts 2 and* 3. *Vol. II. p.* 1. (*a*) **Buriat legends, Yakut folktales, songs, riddles and proverbs** (collected by T. A. Khudjakaf): (*b*) New materials bearing on the **Shamanism of the Buriats** (by M. Khangalof in Russian); copious materials, carefully collected.

12. *Journal of the Society of Investigation of the Amûr Country, Vol. I.* (*Russian*). This recently founded Society has started a periodical. The contents of its first number are interesting. We may point out an article of the President, M. Busse, "On Archæological remains in the valleys of Lefû, Daubikhe and Oulakhe." The report of the Society tells us that it has an Archæological Museum with 285 objects.

13. *The Sarts, Ethnographical Notes. Vol. I*, *by N. Ostroumof.* A series of articles. — (1) Historical and Ethnographical notes on the **Sarts.** (2) Characteristics of the Sarts; (3) Russian Influence; (4) Reminiscences of Sattar Khân 'Abd-ul-ghafarof; (5) A description of the journey of the

[7] It is adopted from the same source by M. Barbier de Meynard in his *Dictionary.*

merchant, Mirzâ Bukhârî to Kharkof, Moscow and St. Petersburg; (6) The Turkistan Gazette; (7) Conclusion.

14. *A Chinese-Russian Dictionary, by the Rev. Father Palladius and P. S. Popof.* A very rich dictionary containing 11,668 hieroglyphs. The best parts are those relating to Buddhism, Taoism and the Confucian philosophy. The pronunciation is that of Peking. It is to be regretted that the accents are omitted.

15. *Minor works of A. von Gutschmid, Vols. I and II.* (*German*). A most important publication both for the Orientalist and for the historical student. The first volume gives articles on Egyptology and Greek Chronography; the second volume relates entirely to the Semites and to early church history. Two more volumes will be published on the history of the non-Semitic nations of Asia and on Roman-Greek mediæval history.

16. *Handbook of Arabic as spoken in Egypt* (*German*) *by Dr. K. Vollers.* A most excellent hand-book for Arabists, who wish to get acquainted with modern Arabic. To persons who are not trained in literary Arabic, the book will be probably somewhat difficult.

17. *Transactions of the Egyptian Institute, 2nd Series, No.* 10 (*French*). Among articles bearing on Oriental subjects, that of Yakub-Artyn-Pasha may be noted, which deals with Koptic methods of fractional configurations, now quite antiquated, though in circulation for a long time.

18. *Arabic Authors by J. J. Arbuthnot.* The reviewer pronounces this book to be "a failure."

19. *Bibliographical Appendix.*—Notices some of the latest Oriental publications in Russia.

SERGIUS D'OLDENBURG.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES ON SOUTH-INDIAN FESTIVALS.

I.—PONGAL.

The Pongal is one of the chief Hindu festivals in Southern India and generally takes place about 12th January. It is celebrated with much delight and amusement by all classes of the Hindus, as being held on the day on which the sun leaves the sign of Capricorn and proceeds towards the Equator.

All houses are neatly whitewashed and repaired. Relations are invited from a distance, and alms are given to the poor. New rice, mixed with milk, green gram, sugar and other edibles are boiled in a new vessel in an open yard in the centre of the house and offered to the sun-god. Every one in the house partakes of this food with great eagerness, for, if the rice has boiled well it is a good Pongal, promising future happiness. Relatives, friends and acquaintances all salute the master and inquire whether 'it has boiled.' On the third day is the cattle feast, when all the cattle are bathed and adorned and their horns painted in various colours. Rice and milk are boiled and given to the cattle.

II.—VARUSHAPPIRAPU, OR NEW YEAR'S DAY.

This falls about the 12th of April, and is a very important festival. Early in the morning every one takes a bath in cold water, in a river if possible or at home. During the day there are great public rejoicings. Relatives are invited and the holy water mixed with margosa (*nim*) flowers, while molasses and young tamarind are presented by the family priest and freely passed round. This is done to secure good health during the coming year. Towards evening the family priest produces the new Almanac and reads out the more striking passages, explaining them at the same time, while the whole family sits round him eagerly gathering their fortune during that year.

III.—DIPAVALI.

A social festival held about the 23rd of October in commemoration of the auspicious day when the Asuras Bâlâchakravartî and Narakâsura were slain by Vishṇu. As this event is said to have taken place in the evening, the people express their joy at the event by illuminating their houses with lights arranged in artistic lines and letting off fireworks and crackers. The Hindus of all classes get up as early in the morning as two o'clock, anoint their bodies with gingelly oil and bathe in hot water, put on new clothes and ornaments, and gaily decorate their children. Sweetmeats of all kinds are prepared, of which everybody in the house partakes after the bath.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

MEDICAL LORE IN MADRAS.

If fever comes on a person on a Saturday, the fever will last till the next Saturday. Medicines are generally not administered on a Saturday, as it is an inauspicious day. They would only be given on the next day.

K. SRIKANTALIYAR.

INDEX.

ERRATA IN VOL. XX.

p 170, lines 10, 11, *for* [illegible] â, *and* concludes *á* sentence, *read* [illegible] *á, and* concludes a sentence.

p 208. lines 33, 34, *the words* t=tâvakaiḥ kṛity. am=anyat ||[21] *should lie in line 34 opposite the numeral* 27.

p. 287, No. II., Text. line 1, *for* śrî-Vîra, *read* sri-Vira-, and Translation, line 3, *insert a comma at the end of the line.*

p. 288, line 7 from the bottom, *for* Śaṉikkiḻamai-yum, *read* Saṉi-kkiḻamaiyum.

p. 311, text line 2, *for* jâḍya[10]- tamô, *read* jâḍya[10]-tamô.

p. 314, text line 2, *for* gra[hair ? ||[9]]; *read* gra[hair ?[9]].

p 344, line 3, *for* paṭṭâvâlî, *read* paṭṭâvalî.

p. 379, line 9, for *Mahâraja*, read *Mahârâja.*